HISTORY
OF
CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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Being an elaborate account of all branches of Classical Sanskrit Literature, with full Epigraphical and Archæological Notes and References, an Introduction dealing with Language, Philology and Chronology and Index of Authors and Works

BY

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY DEAR MOTHER AMRTAMBA

अमृतवाक्षि

जननि नमस्ते

वत्सेति वत्सेति समाह्वयन्तीं
परामृशन्तीं सदयं करेण ।
कालेन नीतामममृतत्वमम्बां
ध्यायामि सन्ध्यासु वरेण्यवृत्ताम् ॥

ओं नमः

श्रियःपतये



अखिलभुवनजन्मस्थेमभङ्गादिलीले
विविधविनतभूतव्रातरक्षैकदीक्षे ।
श्रुतिशिरसि विदीप्ते ब्रह्मणि श्रीनिवासे
भवतु मम परस्मिन् शेमुषी भक्तिरूपा ॥

महाकविवचस्सुधाप्रसरसौरभोल्लासिता
महार्हगुणनायकप्रथितवृत्तमुक्तोज्ज्वला ।
महामहिमदेवतास्तवनहृद्यरत्नाङ्किता
वृषाद्रिपतिपादयोस्सुतनुरर्पितेयं कृतिः ॥

PREFACE

LOOK AT THIS DEDICATION TO LORD SRI VENKATESVARA! That will remind you of the Glory and Purpose of His Manifestation in this world of sin and exalt you to the region of the blessed and the immortal. With a salutation to the great Sages Vālmīki and Vyāsa, the work begins and gives an elaborate account of Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhāraṭa and Purāṇas, with all their recensions, editions and commentaries. The vast expanse of Classical Sanskrit Literature has been arranged on the model of standard works on foreign literature. The main classes are three, Śravyakāvya, Ḍṛśyakāvya and Sāhiṭya. First come the poems proper, of two classes, major and minor, (Śravyakāvya)—, which is all verse, or all prose or mixed prose and verse with all their minor varieties, topical and ingenious. Secondly comes the drama (Ḍṛśyakāvya) in all its technical ramifications and with all motifs temporal, spiritual and allegorical. Next is science of poetry (Sāhiṭya) in its widest sense embracing rhetoric, dancing, music and erotics. To this is appended a chapter on Prosody or metrics (Chandas). All topics are introduced by an exposition of the rhetorical definitions and theorisations and treated from their traceable beginnings, which to some extent are traditional and theological; but I would not call them 'mythical' implying a stigma of falsity and fiction. As far as it was in my reach, all that has been said about any author or work anywhere in books, journals or papers has been entered in the references and this will help special studies. Dynasties of Kings that ruled in India in different parts and at different times have been fully honored by a collation of relevent notes, epigraphical and archælogical, not merely because the kings were the fountains of literature, but many of them were themselves poets of celebrity. Works known and unknown, lost and extant, printed and unprinted, catalogued and uncatalogued, have all been mentioned and in many cases the stray places where they are still available in manuscript. Above all there is the quotation of gems of poetry of varying interest from amour and nature to devotion and renunciation, and these in themselves are an anthology of meritorious specimens of poetic thought and expression.

The INTRODUCTION deals with several topics of general interest allied to the study of Classical Sanskrit Literature; such for instance is the spiritual origin and aspect of language as envisaged in the Veḍas and as elaborated by schools of Grammarians, the progress of structural and linguistic changes in the expression of the Sanskrit language, from Chanḍas to Bhāṣa, and the like; this will assist the study of Comparative Philology, of which "*The Discovery of Sanskrit*" is acknowledged to be the origin. Of foremost importance, there is the subject of Indian Chronology. India has its well written history and the Purāṇas exhibit that history and chronology. To the devout Hindu and to a Hindu who will strive to be honest in the literary and historical way, Purāṇas are not 'pious frauds.' In the hands of many Orientalists, India has lost (or has been cheated out of) a period of 10-12 centuries in its political and literary life, by the assumption of a faulty Synchronism of Canḍragupṭa Maurya and Sandracottus of the Greek works and all that can be said against that "*Anchor-Sheet of Indian Chronology*" has been said in this Introduction. In the case of those early European Orientalists, very eminent and respectable in themselves, this thought of resemblance and historical synchronism was at least sincere, for it was very scanty material that they could work upon. But for their successors in that heirarchy who are mostly our "Professors of Indian History," that have given a longevity and a garb of truth to it by repetition, there is to my mind no excuse or expiation, if at all it be a confession of neglect and a recognition of India's glorious past in its entire truth.

The INDEX OF AUTHORS AND WORKS (in Sanskrit) is followed by a small supplement (in English) on miscellaneous matters. The Index is not merely a means of reference and indication, but embodies corrections and additions, so as to act as what is usually expressed as "Errata et Corrigenda et Addenda." Many authors and works that could not be mentioned in the body of the work, because they came to be known too late, are entered there. The reader will therefore take the Index as part of the main work and not merely as an easy appendix to it. In all, the number of works and authors would be some thousands, arranged alphabetically on the plan of Stein's Index to Kashmir Catalogue and Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum. Recent and living authors have been, so far as I could get at, noticed, and this work, it is submitted with all humility, deals with the history of Classical Sanskrit Literature from the earliest times to the present day.

In the year 1906, I published a small book, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature. Being the first and only work of its comprehension, it was well received everywhere in our Universities and was quoted profusely in the publications of the Universities of the United States of America. I was often asked to reprint the book, but conscious of its inadequacy I did not do it, but in its stead I thought of a comprehensive work that would present at a glance the full vista of Sanskrit literary domain and that in the light of past historical researches. Even the ardent Pandit knows not the vast literature that has been lost or lies hidden in the libraries of India.

But what are your chances of using these libraries? Manuscripts and catalogues now out of print are all 'stored' in these receptacles. They may be there for years, unthought and untouched, save for changes of physical location. The pages may turn red, brown, blue and brittle, but they still lie uncut by the hand of any reader. The Guardian (Curator, Secretary, Librarian, call them as you please) will well watch these receptacles on their pedestals. The guardian will applaud your attempt at research and will promise to help it by a loan of books on your application, but he is "helpless" and must soon express his regret in reply as "rules are against loan." If you apply to a higher authority for relief, the paper runs through the regular channels to the same guardian, and on his report, after a lingering expectation, you get an order (a copy of the prior one) with a difference only in the preamble and the subscription. Libraries "are meant for visitors," but most of them do not look in, but look on, all the more so, if a museum or a house of curios is adjacent to the library. And these rare books are only rarely wanted and that by a incrusted antiquarian of my ilk. One that comes there does not need the book; one that is far away cannot get it. If you do go there, stealing a holiday, the key of a particular almirah where your wanted work is kept may be with the guardian who is away elsewhere. What then is a library for? It is not a Palace of Toys! Much of this tale was true of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras some years ago, when I commenced the preparation of this work. I am not sure if at present the position is better. But I am aware that not many years ago, there was an indictment of the methods of this Library by His Holiness Śrī Yatirājaswāmi in his preface to his edition of Śṛngāraprakāśa. The expression of his chagrin, in language poetic, is well worth reading as a piece of excellent prose literature.

I wrote for information to libraries, I rarely had a reply, for some of these guardians have "no staff, no provision for paper or postage." If I asked for an extract from any manuscript—say the first and last few lines—some institutions demanded copying charges. I applied for a copy, the charges were exorbitant. For instance, for an indifferent copy in two quarter sheets of thirty-two anustubh verses (of 32 letters each) I was asked to pay about a rupee and postage. I paid and consoled myself by the thought that this fee went for the maintenance of a poor Pandit, and that it was in no way more rapacious than the fee charged recently by a Banker for giving an extract of a single line from a ledger, viz., Rs. 5 for search, Rs. 5 for copying the line, and Rs. 5 for adding a certificate that it was a 'true copy', and these charges are only made "according to rules." We have to get on 'under the rules'; no one cares to look into these iniquities. Equally so was it with many Professors of Colleges. They would have no time to reply and the few that deigned to oblige after reminders had very little to say. To trace an author and his affairs, I had in many cases to correspond with several persons, and only perseverence did win it. If the post office could exempt my letters from postage, it would give a different aspect, but alas, not. It is under these auspices I began and progressed. But I cannot refrain from expressing that the acquisition of the material gathered in this book has been too costly for an equanimous retrospect and I shall not be far wrong to say that each author, save those few that are too well known, cost me on an average four annas. I have often felt that it is not an enterprise that a prudent householder should have embarked upon, but it was too late to think of the folly.

Amidst official work in judicial service, in places distant from metropolis, there was little leisure for a continuous study. A few days snatched at intervals during the recesses of summer and other holidays were rarely sufficient for visits of references to libraries scattered all over India. After all the work was ready—ready in bulk—about 8 years ago. It went to print. After a year, it was carried away in the current of an estate that vested in the Official Assignee. A request and a claim got it out of the muddle. The Press was sold. Delay there was, but the printing was resumed. I fell ill and I raved about this work and its contents, astonishing the doctor what it was all about, though I thought I was lecturing sensibly on Sanskrit Literature. There was again a change in the management and there was another lull.

After sometime, the printing was taken up and slowly moved on. Once the manuscript of a whole chapter which was in the custody of a manager was lost—"said to be not sent at all"—but after all traced as 'mislaid', after I re-wrote much of it from scanty material gathered again from memory. If with all these mishaps and vicissitudes the work took 20 years and more, need I say that the suspense is enough to dole dismay to a chronic optimist which I presumed that I was.

In the preparation of the work, I have had the fullest sympathy from all Universities (except probably the University of Madras) and all Local Governments and the Governments of Indian States and the Government of Ceylon. They have been magnanimous and let me have their Sanskrit and other publications free as presents and that has well nigh contributed to the fullness of the notes, literary, epigraphical and archælogical. To them I am ever thankful. To Sjt. P. R. RAMA AIYAR, the Proprietor of Messrs. P. R. Rama Aiyar & Co., Booksellers, Madras, who with his selfless generosity first received this work in his Press for love of literary research, I express my first regard. Due to tortuous ways divine, his Press changed hands, but blest was it, that it became the Press of Sri Venkatesvara Devasthanam, Tirupati. At the hands of His Holiness SRI MAHANT PRAYAGA DOSSJEE VARU of Sri Hatheeramjee Mutt, Tirupati, then its Vicharanakartha, I received a kindly appreciation; he directed that the printing part of the work be done free in the Press, a work that has been meant to be dedicated to Śrī Venkateśvara of Tirupati, at whose feet my family does humble hereditary service. When the management of the Devasthanam was assumed by the Committee appointed by the Local Legislature with its Commissioner, MR. K. SITARAMA REDDI, B.A., B.L., I was allowed to have the same concession with certain alterations. It is with this assistance and the particular interest which the present Commissioner, MR. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIAR, B.A., B.L, evinced in speeding up the printing, the work is now seeing its publication. To the Committee and the Commissioner, gratitude will ever be transcendant in my memory—all the more so because they are the custodians of the Wealth and Glory of LORD VENKATESVARA.

Owing to pressure of Official duties and the anxiety to see the end of the publication, which has been by various causes often impeded during the last eight years, errors of print have crept in, but I slyly feel that the learned eye of my loving reader will easily skip through the

faults and fleet over the matter aright. In this hope, and what is more fervent, in the hope that this labour of love will be received with all possible indulgence I venture to present these pages to the literary world.

TIRUPATI HILLS,
TIRUPATI,
May 1937.

M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR

श्रीः

महाशयाः—

अत्रेदं विज्ञाप्यते श्रीशेषशैलजनपदनिवासिना ग्रन्थकर्त्रा कृष्णेन—

पितृव्यपादानां श्रीमतां श्रीनिवासरङ्गनाथाचार्याणां सकाशे दासेन शैशवे लब्धः साहितीपरिचयलेशः। अतिक्रान्ते छात्रभावे बहुषु पत्तनेषु प्राड्विवाकपदव्यां प्रचलिताधिष्ठानतया अश्रान्ते सन्दर्शितराजकीयधर्मशास्त्रविषयकबहुग्रन्थरचनया च गैर्वाणीं वाणीं यथाभिलषितं सुकृतिभिर्भवद्भिरिवासेवितुं न पारितं दासेन। तथापि पूर्वस्मिन् जन्मनि कृतेनावदातेन कर्मलेशेन शारदाया आराधने समुद्योजितो दासः संस्कृतकविकाव्यचरितग्रथनेन। तदप्यारब्धं समुचितसामर्थ्यहीनेनादूरदर्शिना दासेनेति विलसितं नियतिलीलायाः। अक्षुण्ण एष पन्थाः। कियान्वा कविमुखेषु गीर्वाणवाणीप्रसर आसीदस्ति चेति प्रायेण न जानन्ति बहवो विद्वांसः, विरलतया दर्शनीयानामाकराणामालयानां सूचीनां च। परस्सहस्राः पञ्चमहाकाव्यसदृशाः प्रबन्धाः निलीना विलीनाश्च। रूपकाणि च तथैव। केचन ग्रन्थाः कवयश्च नामावशिष्टाः कीर्तिशेषा एव। आशास्यतामचिरात्तेऽपि दर्शनपथमवतरन्त्विति।

एष विंशतिवार्षिकः प्रयत्नः

अश्रुतादृष्टपूर्वविविधसाहित्यसाम्राज्यशोभना अखिलभारतवर्षीयकविवरेण्यचरितसुमनोगुम्फितेयं कृतिः महता क्लेशेन धनव्ययेन च केवलया गीर्वाणवाणीपरिचरणधियैव भगवत्या वाग्देव्याः प्रसादेन महतां चाशिषा परिसमाप्तिमागता।

यथाज्ञातं यथाश्रुतं यत्रकुत्रापि व्याख्यातमुपक्षिप्तमुदाहृतं वा एतावता कालेन दृष्टमदृष्टं श्रुतमश्रुतं मुद्रितममुद्रितं लब्धमलब्धं सर्वमपि कविकर्म कालतो देशतश्च विमृश्य सकलमपीतिवृत्तं समारभ्यादिकाव्यात् अद्यावधि यावच्छक्यमत्र संमेलितम्। किंच उपोद्घाते च सुविपुले—शब्दब्रह्मणो माहात्म्यमुपवर्णितम्। भाषाशास्त्रस्य देववाणीमातृत्वमुपदर्शितम्। पुराणेतिहासानां प्रामाण्यमुद्घोषितम्। तत्परिपन्थिनां वादानां दुष्टता च प्रकटिता। रसविशिष्टाः वाग्विलासाः तत्र तत्र स्थानेषु समुचितेषु वाचिताः। यथा ग्रन्थ एष भविष्यति सुभाषितभाण्डागारः सहृदयाह्लादनाय।

तथाभूतं प्रबन्धं महतां पादमूले समर्प्य विद्वत्परितोषणेन कृतार्थीकर्तुमात्मानं समीहते दासः॥

A REQUEST.

Annual supplements will be issued about new books discovered, printed and noticed in Journals. Readers are requested to send such information to the author, and to suggest additions and amendments.

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BOOK III

INTRODUCTION

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अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजं होतारं रत्नधातमम् ।
अग्निः पूर्वेभिऋषिभिरीड्यो नूतनैरुत सदेवाँ एह वक्षति ॥

1. **The sacred literature of India,** inferior to none in variety or extent, is superior to many in nobility of thought, in sanctity of spirit and in generality of comprehension. In beauty or prolixity, it can vie with any other literature ancient and modern. Despite the various impediments to the steady development of the language, despite the successive disturbances, internal and external, which India had to encounter ever since the dawn of history, she has successfully held up to the world her archaic literary map, which meagre outline itself favourably compares with the literature of any other nation of the globe. The beginnings of her civilization are yet in obscurity. Relatively to any other language of the ancient world, the antiquity of Sanskrit has an unquestioned priority. "Yet such is the marvellous continuity" says Max Muller "between the past and the present of India, that in spite of repeated social convulsions, religious reforms and foreign invasions, sanskrit may be said to be still the only language that is spoken over the whole extent of the vast country.[1] So says M. Winternitz: "Sanskrit is not a 'dead' language even to day. There are still at the present day a number of Sanskrit periodicals in India, and topics of the day are discussed in Sanskrit pamphlets. Also, the Mahabharata is still today read aloud publicity, To this very day poetry is still composed and works written in Sanskrit, and it is the language in which Indian scholars converse upon scientific questions. Sanskrit at the least plays the same part in India still, as Latin in the Middle Ages in Europe, or as Hebrew with the Jews."[2]

"No country except India and no language except the Sanskrit can boast of a possession so ancient or venerable. No nation except the Hindus can stand before the world with such a sacred heirloom in its possession, unapproachable in grandeur and infinitely above all in

1. *India*. 78–9.
2. *History of Indian Literature*, I. 45.

glory. The Vedas stand alone in their solitary splendour, serving as a beacon of divine light for the onward march of humanity."[1]

The sciences of Comparative Pathology and Mythology owe their origin to what has been termed the "Discovery of Sanskrit." "To the Sanskrit, the antiquity and extent of its literary documents, the transparency of its grammatical structure, the comparatively primitive state of ancient system and thorough grammatical treatment it has early received at the hands of native scholars, must ever secure the foremost place in the comparative study of Indo-Aryan researches."

2. A. WEBER in his Indian Literature thus summed up his reasons for asserting the autiquity of the Vedic Literature :

In the more ancient parts of the Rigveda-Samhita, we find the Indian race settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Punjab, and even beyond the Panjab, on the Kubha, or *Kwpna,* in Kabul. The gradual spread of the race from these seats towards the east, beyond the Sarasvati and over Hindustan as far as the Ganges, can be traced in the later portions of the Vedic writings almost step by step. The writings of the following period, that of the epic, consist of accounts of the internal conflicts among the conquerors of Hindustan themselves, as, for instance, the Mahabharata ; or of the further spread of Brahmanism towards the south, as, for instance, the Ramayana. If we connect with this the first fairly accurate information about India which we have from a Greek source, viz., from Megasthenes, it becomes clear that at the time of this writer the Brahmanising of Hindustan was already completed, while at the time of the Periplus (see Lassen, I. AK., ii. 150, n. ; I. St.. ii. 192) the very southermost point of the Dekhan had already become a seat of the worship of the wife of Siva. What a series of years, of centuries, must necessarily have elapsed before this boundless tract of country, inhabited by wild and vigorous tribes, could have been brought over to Brahmanism. And while the claims of the written records of Indian literature to a high antiquity—its beginnings may perhaps be traced back even to the time when the Indo-Aryans still dwelt together with the Persa-Aryans —are thus indisputably proved by external, geographical testimony, the internal evidence in the same direction, which may be gathered from their contents, is no less conclusive. In the songs of Rik, the robust spirit of the people gives expression to the feeling of its relation to nature, with a spontaneous freshness and simplicity ; the powers of

1. *Hindu superiority*. 189.

nature are worshipped as superior beings, and their kindly aid besought within their several spheres. Beginning with this nature-worship, which everywhere recognises only the individual phenomena of nature, and these in the first instance superhuman, we trace in Indian literature the progress of the Hindu people through almost all the phases of religious development through which the human mind generally has passed. The individual phenomena of nature, which at first impress the imagination as being superhuman, are gradually classified within their different spheres; and a certain unity is discovered among them. Thus we arrive at a number of divine beings, each exercising supreme sway within its particular province, whose influence is in course of time further extended to the corresponding events of human life, while at ihe same time they are endowed with human attributesand organs. The number—already considerable—of these natural deities, these regents of the powers of nature, is further increased by the addition of abstractions, taken from ethical relations; and to these as to the other deities divine powers, personal existence and activity are ascribed. Into this multitude of divine figures, the spirit of inquiry seeks at a later stage to introduce order, by classifying and co-ordinating them according to their principal bearings. The principle followed in this distribution is, like the conception of the deities themselves, entirely borrowed from the contemplation of nature. We have the gods who act in the heavens, in the air, upon the earth; and of these the sun, the wind, and fire are recognized as the main representatives and rulers respectively. These three gradually obtain precedence over all the other gods, who are only looked upon as their creatures and servants. Strengthened by these classifications, speculation presses on and seeks to establish the relative position of these three deities, and to arrive at unity for the supreme Being. This is accomplished either speculatively, by actually assuming such a supreme and purely absolute. Being, viz., "Brahman" (neut), to whom these three in their turn stand in the relation of creatures, of creatures, of servants only; or arbitrarily, according as one or other of the three is worshipped as the supreme god. The sun-god seems in the first instance to have been promoted to this honour? the Persa-Aryans at all events retained this standpoint, of course extending it still further; and in the older parts of the Brahmanas also—to which rather than to the Sambitas the Avesta is related in respect of age and contents—we find the sun-god here and there exalted far above the other deities (*prasavita devanam*). We also find ample traces of this in the forms of worship, which so often preserve relics of antiquity. Nay,

व्यभवदेष्वेव लोकेषु त्रीणि पशुषु तुरीयम्। या पृथिव्यां साऽग्नौ, सा रथन्तरे यान्तरिक्षे, सा वायौ सा वामदेव्ये। या दिवि सादित्ये, या बृहति सा स्तनयित्नौ। अथ पशुषु ततो या वागत्यरिच्यत तां ब्राह्मणेष्वदधुस्तस्माद् ब्राह्मणा उभयीं वाचं वदन्ति या च देवानां या च मनुष्याणामिति।" (इति नैरुक्ते परिशिष्टे—१३।१।६)। अथैषाक्षरस्य स्तुतिः तावत् ऋग्वेदे १।१६४।३६, अथर्ववेदे ६।२८।८, तैत्तिरीय आरण्यके १०।१३, पुनः ऋग्वेदे १०।७१।८, नैरुक्ते परिशिष्टे च १३।१।१०-१३ वर्तते। (अत्रत्यदुर्गाचार्य्यव्याख्यानमपि द्रष्टव्यम्)।

भूयश्च नैरुक्ते उपोद्घातप्रकरणे पदचतुष्टयोद्देशे उक्तम्—"तद्यान्येतानि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च तानीमानि भवन्ति"। अनन्तरं सप्तचत्वारिंशदक्षराण्युद्भूतानीति श्रूयते। यथा—"सर्वे स्वरा इन्द्रस्यात्मानः। सर्वे उष्माणः प्रजापतेरात्मानः। सर्वे स्पर्शा मृत्योरात्मानः।" (सामवेदीयछान्दोग्योपनिषद्, २।२२।३)। अत्र स्वराणाम् इन्द्रः एव कर्त्ता (अर्थात् सर्वे अकारादयश्चतुर्दश स्वरा देवराजेन इन्द्रेण उद्भाविताः)। शषसहाः—प्रजापतिना चन्द्रेण च। कादयो मपर्यन्तानि समुदयाक्षराणि महादेवेन च वर्णितानि (ककारादयः स्पर्शवर्णा यरलवाश्च)! अत्रैव शाङ्करभाष्यम्—"सर्वे स्वरा अकारादयः इन्द्रस्य बलकर्मणः प्राणस्याऽऽत्मानो देहावयवस्थानीयाः। सर्व उष्माणः शषसहादयः प्रजापतेर्विराजः कश्यपस्यैवाऽऽत्मानः। सर्वे स्पर्शाः कादयो व्यञ्जनानि मृत्योरात्मानः।

* * * * *

इन्द्रादयो वेदे देवताः प्रख्याताः। तेषाम् आवासात् (त्रिदशालयात् देवनगराद्वा) सप्तचत्वारिंशदक्षराण्याविर्भूतानि। तन्निमित्तमेव "देवनागरः वर्णः" इति कथ्यते, तदन्विता भाषा "देवभाषा" इति व्यपदिश्यते। तथाहि—"एते वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद् ब्राह्मणाः।" ऋक्संहितायामपि नेम ऋषिः (८।१००।११)—"देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति।"

अत्र सायणभाष्यम्—"एषा माध्यमिका वाक् सर्वप्राण्यन्तर्गता धर्माभिवादिनी भवतीति विभूतिमुपदर्शयति यां देवीं द्योतमानां माध्यमिकां वाचं देवा माध्यमिका अजनयन्त जनयन्ति तां वाचं विश्वरूपाः सर्वरूपाः व्यक्तवाचः अव्यक्तवाचश्च पशवो वदन्ति तत्पूर्वकत्वात् वाक्यप्रवृत्तेः * * * *

दीर्घतमा औचथ्यः पुनरेव—"मन्त्रयन्ते दिवो अमुष्य पृष्ठे विश्वविदं वाचमविश्वमिन्वाम्" (ऋग्वेद १।१६४।१०)। सायणभाष्यम् तत्रैव—

"* * * * *

दिवः पृष्ठे द्युलोकस्योपरि अन्तरिक्षे मन्त्रयन्ते गुप्तं परस्परं भाषन्ते देवाः किं विश्वविदं विश्ववेदनसमर्थां विश्वैर्वेदनीयां वा अविश्वमिन्वाम् असर्वव्यापिनीं वाचं गर्जितलक्षणाम्

1. *JSSP*, XVIII.

अमुष्य आदित्यस्य संबोधनौ मन्त्रयन्ते इत्यर्थः ।" तस्मिन् काले भाषा अव्याकृता अभूत् । यथा—"वाग् वै पराची अव्याकृता अवदत् ।" देवसृष्टा भाषा "देवभाषा" सर्वजनमान्या सर्वविदिता च । ततश्च, चतुर्मुखस्य आदेशात् इन्द्र-चन्द्र-महेशाः "व्याकरणं" नाम शब्दशास्त्रं विरचयाम्बभूवुः ।

तत्रमाहेश व्याकरणविषये किंवदन्तीः—

"यान्युज्जहार माहेशाद् व्यासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।
किन्तानि पदरत्नानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोष्पदे ।।" इति ।

पक्षान्तरे यमस्य शब्दशास्त्रं न विद्यते इत्यत्र प्रसिद्धिः । तथाहि पाणिनीयशिक्षाग्रन्थे, (३)—"त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः शम्भुमते स्थिताः" अत एव अत्र जगति त्रेतायुगस्य इन्द्र-चन्द्र-भूतेशाः आदितोऽक्षरोत्पादनकर्त्तार एवेति सम्यग् बोध्यम् ।।

4. Samskrta, or as now written, Sanskrit, is the language of the Gods, *Gīrvāṇavāṇī*. In this language stand the ancient scriptures of Vedic and Purāṇic religion. The Vedic literature is the most ancient record of any people of the world and forms the source of the earliest history of the Indo-Aryan race, nay, mankind as a whole.

"The Veda has two-fold interest: it belongs to the history of the world and to the history of India. In the history of the world the Veda fills a gap which no literary work in any other languages could fill. It carries us back to times of which we have no records anywhere, and gives us the very words of a generation of men, of whom otherwise we could form but the vaguest estimate by means of conjectures and inferences. As long as man continues to take an interest in the history of his race, and as long as we collect in libraries and museums the relics of former ages, the first place in that long row of books which contains the records of the Aryan branch of mankind, will belong for ever to the *Rig-veda*. The world of the Veda is a world by itself; and its relation to all the rest of Sanskrit literature is such, that the Veda ought not to receive, but to throw light over the whole historical development of the Indian mind."

The literature of the Vedas is termed Śruṭi, meaning what has been heard, that is, what is not the work of man.

5. Vedas are eternal (*nitya*), beginningless (*anādi*) and not made by man (*apauruṣeya*); (2) they were destroyed in the deluge at the end of the last *Kalpa*, and (3) that at the beginning of the present *Kalpa*

commencing with the *Kṛta-yuga* of this present Mahāyuga, the Ṛishis,[1] through *tapas*, re-produced in substance if not in form the ante-diluvian Vēḍas which they carried in their memory by the favour of God. This is another expression of the historical view of modern scholars, like Mr. Tilak. They state that the Vedic or Āryan religion can be proved to be interglacial, but its ultimate origin is still lost in geological antiquity, that the Āryan religion and culture were destroyed during the last glacial period that invaded the Arctic Āryan home, and that the Vedic hymns were sung in post-glacial times by poets, who had inherited the knowledge or contents therein of an unbroken tradition from their ante-diluvian fore-fathers.

On the commencement of Vedic era, opinions are at the opposite poles. Tradition takes it to a remote age of millions of years on the computation of yugas.

In his *Arctic Home in the Vedas,* B. G. Tilak divides the whole period from the commencement of the Postglacial era, corresponding to the beginning of our Krita Yuga of the present Mahayuga to the birth of Buddha in five parts :—

"I. 10,000-8,000 B.C.—The destruction of the original Arctic home by the last Ice Age and the commencement of the post-glacial period.

II. 8,000-5,000 B.C.—The age of the migration from the original home. The survivors of the Aryan race roamed over the northern parts of Europe and Asia in search of lands suitable for new settlements. The Vernol Equinox was then in the constellation of Punarvasu, and as the Aditti is the presiding deity of Punarvasu, according to the terminology adopted by me in Orion, this may therefore, be called the Aditi or the Pre-Orion Period.

III. 5,000-3,000 B. C.—The Orion Period, when the Vernal Equinox was in Orion. Many Vedic Hymns can be traced to the

1. Bṛhaddevaṭa enumerates woman-seers of the hymns.

गोघा घोषा विश्वपारा पालेषाम्मातृकर्षिका ।
ब्रह्मजाया जुहूर्नाम अगस्त्यस्य स्वसा दितिः ।
इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रमाता च सरमा रोमशोर्वशी ।
लोपामुद्रा च नद्यश्च यमी नारी च शाश्वती ।
श्रीर्लाक्षा सार्पराज्ञी वाक् श्रद्धा मेधा च दक्षिणा ।
रात्री सूर्या च सावित्री ब्रह्मवादिन्य ईरिताः ॥

early part of this period and the bards of the race seem to have not yet forgotten the real import or significance of the traditions of the Arctic Home inherited by them. It was at this time that the first attempts to reform the calendar and the sacrifical system appear to have been systematically made.

IV. 3,060-1,400 B.C.—The Kṛittikā Period, when the Vernal Equinox was in the Pleiddes. The Aitarēya Samhita and the Brahmaṇas, which begin the series of Nakshatras with the Kṛittikas are evidently the productions of this period. The compilation of the hymns into Samhitas also appears to be a work of the early part of this period. The traditions about the Original Arctic home had grown dim by this time and very often misunderstood, making the Vēdic hymns more unintelligible. The sacrificial system and the numerous details thereof found in the Brahmaṇas seem to have been developed during this time. It was at the end of this period that the Vēdāṅga Jyōtisha was originally composed or at any rate the position of the equinoxes mentioned therein observed and ascertained.

V. 1,400-500 B. C.—The Pre-Buddhistic Period, when the Sūtras and the Philosophical system made their appearance."

6. "The atmosphere of England and Germany seems decidedly unpropitious to the recognition of this great Indian antiquity so stubbornly opposed to the Mosaic revelation and its Chronology dearly and piously cherished by these Western Orientalists. Strongly permeated with the Chronology of the Bible which places the creation of the Earth itself about 4,004 B.C., European scholars cannot place the great separation of the Original Āryan races themselves earlier than 2,000 B.C., and the first historical entry of the Hindu Āryas into the continent of India before 1,500 B.C." Arthur A. Macdonell, may be said to summarise the opinions of these Western Orientalists, when he says:—

"History is the one weak spot in Indian literature. It is, in fact, non-existent. The total lack of the historical sense is so characteristic, that the whole course of Sanskrit literature is darkened by the shadow of this defect, suffering as it does from the entire absence of exact chronology.. ...Two causes seem to have combined to bring about this remarkable result. In the first place, early India wrote no *history*, because it never made any. The ancient Indians never went through a struggle for life, like Greeks in the Persian and the Romans in the Punic wars, such as would have welded their tribes into a nation, and developed political greatness. Secondly, the Brāhmans, whose task it

would naturally have been to record great deeds, had early embraced the doctrine that all action and existence are a positive evil, and could threfore have felt but little inclination to chronicle historical events. Such being the case, definite dates do not begin to appear in Indian literary history till about 500 A.D. The chronology of the Vēdic period is altogether conjectural, being based entirely on internal evidence. Three main literary strata can be clearly distinguished in it by differences in language and style, as well as in religious and social views. For the development of each of these strata a reasonable length of time must be allowed; but all we can here hope to do is to approximate to the truth by centuries. The lower limit of the second Vēdic stratum cannot however be fixed later than 500 B.C., because its latest doctrines are presupposed by Buddhism, and the date of the death of Buddha has been with a high degree of probability calculated, from the recorded dates of the various Buddhist councils, to be 480 B.C. With regard to the commencement of the Vēdic Age, there seems to have been a decided tendency amongst Sanskrit scholars to place it too high. 2,000 B.C. is commonly represented as its starting point. Supposing this to be correct, the truly vast period of 1,500 years is required to account for a development of language and thought hardly greater than that between Homeric and the Attic age of Greece. Professor Max Muller's earlier estimate of 1,200 B.C., forty years ago, appears to be much nearer the mark. A lapse of three centuries, say from 1,300-1,000 B.C., would amply account for the difference between what is oldest and newest in Vēdic hymn poetry. Considering that the affinity of the oldest from of the Avestan language with the dialect of the Vēdas is already so great that, by mere application of phonetic laws, whole Avestan stanzas may be translated word for word into Vēdic, so as to produce verses correct not only in form but in poetic spirit; considering further, that if we know the Avestan language, at as early a stage as we know the Vēdic, the former would necessarily be almost identical with the latter, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Indian branch must have separated from the Irānian only a very short time before the beginnings of Vēdic literature, and can therefore have hardly entered the North-West of India even as early as early as 1,500 B.C. All previous estimates of the antiquity of the Vēdic period have been outdone by the recent theory of Professor Jacobi of Bonn, who supposes that period goes back to at least 4,000 B.C. This theory is based on astronomical calculations connected with a change in the beginning of the seasons, which Professor Jacobi thinks has

taken place since the time of the *Rigveda*. The whole estimate is, however, invalidated by the assumption of a doubtful, and even improbable, meaning in a Vedic word, which forms the very starting point of the theory."

7. "The history of the Sanskrit literature divides itself into two great ages, Vaidika and Laukika—Sacred and Profane,—Scriptural and Classical. The Mahabharata War is the dividing line between the two: The Vedic Age may again be divided into several distinct periods, each of which for length of years may well compare with that of the entire history of many an ancient nation, 1. Chandas Period, 2. Samhiṭa Period. 3. Brahmaṇa Period, 4. Āraṇyaka Period and 5. Upanisad Period. Each of these periods has a distinct literature of its own, vast in its extent, and varied in its civilisation, each giving rise to the subsequent period under the operation of great social, political and religious causes; and the philosophical historian of human civilisation need not be a Hindu to think that the Ancient Āryas of India, have preserved the fullest, the clearest and the truest materials for his work."

8. "There are four Vedas, Rik (ऋक्), Yajur (यजुस्), Sāma (साम) and Atharvana (अथर्वण) and each Veḍa has Samhitā (manṭra) Brāhmaṇa, Sūṭra and Upaniṣad. The first three Veḍas are called together as *Trayī* and they are called in Brahmanas also by the name ricas, Samani and Yajūmṣi, or Bhahvṛcas, Chanḍogas and Adhvaryus, The Sutras apply the term chanḍas to the Samhitas. Pāṇini uses the terms chanḍas and Bhāṣa to distinguish Vedic and non-Vedic literature. Yajurveḍa has two Samhiṭas called Śukla and Kṛṣṇa; or Vajasaneya and Ṭaiṭṭirīya."

"The Samhita of the Ṛk is purely a lyrical collection, forming the immediate source of the other three. The next two are made up of verses and ritual formulæ, meant to be recited at sacrifices. The Atharva Samhita resembles the Rik in that it forms a store of songs, devoted to sacrifices mostly in connection with incantations and magical charms."

9. The Brahmanic period comprehends "the first establishment of the three-fold ceremonial, the composition of the individual Brahmanas and the formation of the Charanas. They connect the sacrificial songs and formulas with the sacrificial rite by pointing out on the one hand their direct relation, and on the other their symbolical connection with each other. Their general nature is marked by masterly grandiloquence, and antiquarian sincerity. Though in the words of Prof.

Eggeling, these works deserve to be studied as a physician studies the twaddle of idiots or the raving of mad men, they lack not striking thoughts, bold expression and logical reasoning. The Brahmanas of the Rik generally refer to the duties of the Hotr; of the Saman, to those of Udgatr; of the Yajus, to the actual performance of the sacrifice. They are valuable to us as the earliest records of Sanskrit prose."

10. "The Sūṭra literature forms a connecting link between the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit. 'Sutra' means a 'string' and compatibly with this sense, all works of this style are nothing but one uninterrupted chain of short sentences linked together in a most concise form.

Sutras represented a scientific expression of the tradition and discussion recounted in Brāhmaṇas. They systematised the source of the rituals and so far as Kalpasūṭras or Śrauṭasūṭras go, they relate strictly to śruṭi or the Veḍas. To these sūṭras have been added Gṛhyasūṭras or those that regulate domestic rites. They are partly based on śruṭis and partly on smṛṭis (unrevealed literature). Sūṭras have been the consequence of a national need for concise guide-books for ceremonial, and represented a 'codification of case-law' in the sphere of sacrifices and ceremonials.[1]

11. Upaniṣads[2] are expressions of philosophical concepts. They embody the beginnings and progrers of esoteric ideas, which had to a large extent been mentioned in Āraṇyakas, writings supplementary to Brāhmaṇas.

12. A. Weber sums up the direct data attesting the posteriority of the Classical Period thus :—

(i) Its opening phases everywhere presuppose the Vedic period as entirely closed; its oldest portions are regularly based on the Vedic literature; the relations of life have now all arrived at a stage of development of which in the first period we can only trace the germs and the beginning.

The distinction between the periods is also by changes in language and subject-matter.

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1. It might be seen that the usefulness of this species of composition was so much appreciated that in every branch of learning suṭras came to be composed and indeed are said to be the most ancient form of the sciences.

2. The authority of compositions like Upanishads has come to be respected to such an extent that in later times, several of that name were brought into being very often sectarian in their tenor. We have '108 Upanishads' and if not more on various topics, for instance, Garbhopaniṣad on embryology and Manmaṭhopaniṣad on erotics.

First, as regards language :—

1. The special characteristics in the second period are so significant, that it appropriately furnishes the name for the period, whereas the Vedic period receives its designation from the works composing it.

2. Among the various dialects of the different Indo-Aryan tribes, a greater unity had been established after their emigration into India, as the natural result of their interminging in their new home. The grammatical study of the Vedas fixed the frame of the language so that the generally recognised *Bhasha* had arisen. The estrangement of the civic language from that of the mass accelerated by the assimilation of the aboriginal races resulted in the formation of the popular dialects, the *prakrits*—proceeding from the original *Bhasha* by the assimilation of consonants and by the curtailment or loss of termination.

3. The phonetic condition of Sanskrit remains almost exactly the same as that of the earliest Vedic. In the matter of grammatical forms, the language shows itself almost stationary. Hardly any new formations or inflexions make their appearance yet. The most notable of these grammatical changes were the disappearance of the subjunctive mood and the reduction of a dozen infinitives to a single one. In declension the change consisted chiefly in the dropping of a number of synonymous forms.

4. The vocabulary of the language has undergone the greatest modifications. It has been extended by derivation and composition according to recognised types. Numerous words though old seem to be new, because they happen by accident not to occur in the Vedic literature. Many new words have come in through continental borrowings from a lower stratum of language, while already existing words have undergone great changes of meaning.

Secondly, as regards the subject-matter :—

1. The Vedic literature handles its various subjects only in their details and almost solely in their relation to sacrifice, whereas the classical discusses them in their general relations.

2. In the former a simple and compact prose had gradually been developed, but in the latter this form is abandoned and a rhythmic one adopted in its stead, which was employed exclusively even for strictly scientific exposition.

"That difference of metre should form a broad line of demarcation between the periods of literature is not at all without analogy in the literary history of other nations, particularly in other times. If once a

new form of metre begins to grow popular by the influence of a poet who succeeds in collecting a school of other poets around him, this new mode of utterance is very apt to supersede the other more ancient forms altogether. People become accustomed to the new rhythm sometimes to such a degree, that they lost entirely the taste for their old poetry on account of its obsolete measure. No poet, therefore, who writes for the people, would think of employing those old fashioned metres; and we find that early popular poems have had to be transfused into modern verse in order to make them generally readable once more.

Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh sloka is a metre unknown during the Vedic age, and every work written in it may at once be put down as post-Vedic. It is no valid objection that this epic sloka occurs also in Vedic hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brahmanas, and that in some of the Sutras the Anushtubh-sloka occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs, and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature.[1]

13. "The languages of the world have been divided into three families, the Aryan or Indo-European, the Semitic and the Turanian. The first comprises the Indian branch, consisting of Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, and the modern vernaculars of Northern India and Ceylon; the Iranic branch consisting of Zend, the sacred language of the Parsis, the Pehlevi and the other cognate dialects; the Hellenic or the Greek branch, comprising the languages of Ancient Greece and its modern representatives; the Italic branch, consisting of the Latin and cognate ancient languages of Italy and the dialects derived from Latin, the Italian, the French and the old Provencal, the Spanish, the Portugese, and the Wallachian; the Keltic or the language of those Kelts or Gauls that so often figure in Romam History, and distinguished into two varieties, the Kymric, now spoken in Wales and in the Province of Brittany in France, and the Gaclic, spoken in the Isle of Man, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland; the Lithunian and Slavonic, comprising the languages of Lithunia, Russia, Bulgaria, and of the Slavonic races generally; and the Teutonic branch, consisting of the Scandinavian group, i. e., the languages of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Denmark, of the High German *i.e.* the old and the present language of Germany, and of the Low German, which comprised the old Anglo-

1. Muir's *Critical History*, III. c. i.

Saxon and the other languages spoken on the coasts of Germany, the modern representatives of which are the English, and the dialects spoken in Holland, Friesland, and the North of Germany. The second family comprises the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Carthaginian, and the cognate and derived languages; and the third, the Turkish and the languages of the Mongolian tribes. To this last family the dialects spoken in Southern India are also to be inferred. The Zend approaches Sanskrit the most, but the affinities of this latter with Greek and Latin are also very striking, and such as to convince even a determined sceptic. Sanskrit has preserved a greater number of ancient forms than any of these languages, hence it is indispensable for purposes of comparative philology." *

14. "India may justly claim to be the original home of scientific philology. In one of the most ancient Sanskrit books, the Samhita of of the Black Yajurveda, there are distinct indications of the dawn of linguistic study.[1] The Brahmaṇas of the Vedas which rank next to the Samhitas, and even the Taittiriya Samhita itself, the composition of which differs in no particular from its Brahmana, are all full of etymological explanations of words, though often they are fanciful.[2] One Acharya followed another, and they all carefully observed the facts of their language, and laid down the laws they could discover. They studied and compared the significations and forms of words, observed what was common to them, separated the constant element from that which was variable, noticed the several changes that words undergo in different circumstances, and by such a process of philological analysis completed a system of grammar and etymology. In the Nirukta, Yaska, whose exact, date we do not know, but who must have flourished several centuries before Christ, lays down correct principles of the derivation of words.

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1. वाग्वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति सोऽब्रवीद्वरं वृणै मह्यं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्याता इति तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुच्यते. Speech was once inarticulate and undistinguished (into its parts). Then the gods said to Indra, 'Distinguish our speech into parts.' He said, 'I will ask a gift of you, let Soma be poured into one cup for me and Vayu together.' Hence Soma is poured into one cup for Indra and Vayu together. Then Indra goicg into its midst distinguished it. Hence distinct speech is now spoken. Tait. Smh , VI. 4, 7.

2. The Ait. Brahm. gives the etymology of प्रैष (III. 9), of मानुष (III. 23), of जाया (VII. 13); the Tait. Samh., of रुद्र (I. 5,1), of वृत्र (II. 4,12 and II. 5, 2 tha Tait. Brahm. of अश्व (I. 1,5), o नक्षत्र (II. 7,18), &c. &c.

The last of the grammarian Acharyas were Paṇini, Katyayana, and Patañjali. The Prakṛit dialects which sprang from Sanskrit were next made the subject of observation and analysis. The laws of phonetic change or decay in accordance with which Sanskrit words became Prakṛit were discovered and laid down. The Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit elements in those languages were distinguished from each other. This branch of philology also was worked up by a number of men, though the writings of one or two only have come down to us.

In this condition Sanskrit philology passed into the hands of Europeans. The discovery of Sanskrit and the Indian grammatical system at the close of the last century led to a total revolution in the philological ideas of Europeans. But several circumstances had about this time prepared Europe for independent thought in philology, and Sanskrit supplied the principles upon which it should be conducted, and determined the current in which it should run. The languages of Europe, ancient and modern, were compared with Sanskrit and with each other. This led to comparative philology and the classification of languages, and a comparison of the words and forms in the different languages led scholars into the secrets of the growth of human speech, and the science of language was added to the test of existing branches of knowledge."[1]

It has been said by eminent writers that at one time sanskrit was the one language spoken all over the world. "Sanskrit is the mother of Greek, Latin and German languages and it has no other relation to them," that "sanskrit is the original source of all the European languages of the present days," and that "in point of fact the Zind is derived from the sanskrit."[2]

15. Tradition traces the beginnings of the sanskrit language to the fourteen aphorisms or Māheśvara sūṭras. They are अ इ उ ण् onwards to ह ल्. These sounds, vowel and consonant, emanated from the sound of Śiva's damaru (drum) at the time of his dance. To these letters and sounds is attached a mystic significance and Nandikeśvara has explained their import with all solemnity. As the Kārikas of Nandikeśvara are rare, they are printed here.[3]

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1. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Development of Language of Sanskrit*, Bombay.

2. *Hindu Superiority*, 172-3; A. Dubois' *Bible in India*; MaxMuller's *Scienc of Language*, I. 225-6 note; Dvijendranath Guha's, *Devabhasha*, *JSSP*, XVIII. 150.

3. They are printed with the commentary of Upamanyu, in the Nirnayasagara Edn. of Mahabhasya, p. 132.

ॐ

श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

1. नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपंचवारं ।
उद्धर्तुकामः सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

2. अत्र सर्वत्र सूत्रेषु अंत्यवर्णचतुर्दशं ।
धात्वर्थं समुपादिष्टं पाणिन्यादीष्टसिद्धये ॥

। अ इ उ ण् ।

3. अकारो ब्रह्मरूपः स्यान्निर्गुणः सर्ववस्तुषु ।
चित्कलामिं समाश्रित्य जगद्रूप उणेश्वरः ॥

4. अकारस्सर्ववर्णाग्र्यः प्रकाशः परमेश्वरः ।
आद्यमंत्येन संयोगादहमित्येव जायते ॥

5. सर्वं परात्मकं पूर्वं ज्ञप्तिमात्रमिदं जगत् ।
ज्ञप्तेर्बभूव पश्यंती मध्यमा वाक् ततः स्मृता ॥

6. वक्त्रे विशुद्धचक्राख्ये वैखरी सा मता ततः ।
सृष्ट्याविर्भावमासाद्य मध्यमा वाक् समा मता ॥

7. अकारं सन्निधीकृत्य जगतां कारणत्वतः ।
इकारः सर्ववर्णानां शक्तित्वात्कारणं गतम् ॥

8. जगत्स्रष्टुमभूदिच्छा यदाह्यासीत्तदाभवत् ।
कामबीजमिति प्राहुर्मुनयो वेदपाठगाः ॥

9. अकारो ज्ञप्तिमात्रं स्यदिकारश्चित्कला मता ।
उकारो विष्णुरित्याहुर्व्यापकत्वान्महेश्वरः ॥

। ऋ ऌ क् ।

10. ऋऌक् सर्वेश्वरो मायां मनोवृत्तिमदर्शयत् ।
तामेव वृत्तिमाश्रित्य जगद्रूपमजीजनत् ॥

11. वृत्तिवृत्तिमतोरत्रभेदावेशो न विद्यते ।
चंद्रचंद्रिकयोः यद्वद्यथावागर्थयोरपि ॥

12. स्वेच्छया स्वस्य चिच्छक्तौ विश्वमुन्मीलयत्यसौ ।
वर्णानां मध्यमं क्लीबमृऌवर्णद्वयं विदुः ॥

। ए ओ ङ् ।

13. एओङ् मायेश्वरात्मैक्यविज्ञानं सर्ववस्तुषु ।
साक्षित्वात्सर्वभूतानां स एक इति निश्चितम् ॥

। ऐ औ च् ।

14. ऐऔच् ब्रह्मस्वरूपः सन् जगत्स्वंतर्गतं ततः ।
इच्छया विस्तरं कर्तुमाविरासीन्महामुनिः ॥

। ह य व र ट् ।

15. भूतपंचकमेतस्माद्धयवरण महेश्वरात् ।
व्योमवाय्वंबुवह्न्याख्यभूतान्यासीत् स एव हि ॥

16. हकारो व्योमसंज्ञं च यकारो वायुरुच्यते ।
रकाराद्वह्निस्तोयं तु वकारादिति सैव वाक् ॥

। ल ण् ।

17. आधारभूतं भूतानामन्नादीनां च कारणम् ।
अन्नाद्रेतस्ततो जीवकारणत्वाल्लणीरितं ॥

। ञ म ङ ण न म् ।

18. शब्दस्पर्शौ रूपरसगंधाश्च ञमङणनम् ।
व्योमादीनां गुणा ह्येते जानीयात्सर्ववस्तुषु ॥

। झ भ ञ् ।

19. वाक्पाणी च झभञासीद्विराड्रूपचिदात्मनः ।
सर्वजंतुषु विज्ञेयं स्थावरादौ न विद्यते ।
वर्गाणां तुर्यवर्णा ये कर्मेंद्रियमया हि ते ॥

। घ ढ ध ष् ।

20. घढधष् सर्वभूतानां पादपायू उपस्थकः ।
कर्मेंद्रियगुणा ह्येते जाता हि परमार्थतः ॥

। ज ब ग ड द श् ।

21. श्रोत्रत्वङ्नयनघ्राणजिह्वाधींद्रियपंचकं ।
सर्वेषामपि जंतूनामीरितं जबगडदश् ॥

। ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त व् ।

22. प्राणादिपंचकं चैव मनोबुद्धिरहंकृतिः ।
बभूव कारणत्वेन खफछठथ चटतव् ॥

23. वर्गद्वितीयवर्णोत्थः प्राणाद्याः पंचवायवः ।
मध्यवर्गत्रयाज्जाता अंतःकरणवृत्तयः ॥

। क प य् ।

24. प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव सर्वेषामेव सम्मतम् ।
संभूतमिति विज्ञेयं कपयुस्यादिति निश्चितम् ॥

। श ष स र् ।

25. सत्वं रजस्तम इति गुणानां त्रितयं पुरा ।
समाश्रित्य महादेवः शषसर् क्रीडति प्रभुः ॥

26. शकाराद्राजसोद्भूतिः षकारात्तामसोद्भवः ।
सकारात्सत्वसंभूतिरिति त्रिगुणसंभवः ॥

। ह ल् ।

27. तत्वातीतः परः साक्षी सर्वानुग्रहविग्रहः ।
अहमात्मापरो हल् स्यामिति शंभुस्तिरोदधे ॥

इति नंदिकेश्वरकृता काशिका समाप्ता ॥

16. "The literature of Sanskrit presents, as ordinarily considered, two varieties of the language; but a third may also, as I shall presently endeavour to show, be clearly distinguished. Of these the most ancient is that found in the hymns of the Ṛigveda Samhitā. These were composed at different times and by different Ṛishis, and were transmitted from father to son in certain families. Thus the third of the ten collections, which make up the Samhitā bears the name of Viśvāmitra, and the hymns contained in it were composed by the great patriarch and his descendants. The seventh is ascribed to Vasishṭha and his family. The composition of these hymns therefore extended over a long period, the language is not the same throughout, and while sometimes they present a variety so close to the later Sanskrit that there is little difficulty in understanding them, the style of others is so antiquated that they defy all efforts at interpretation, and their sense was not understood even by the Ṛishis who flourished in the very next literary period, that of the Brāhmaṇas. Still for our purposes we may neglect these differences and consider the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as one."

17. The history of Sanskrit affords considerable scope for a study of the growth of language. It presents distinct varieties of speech which are linked together exactly as Modern English is with the Anglo-Saxon. The *most ancient form* is that composing the text of the Rig Veda Samhita. Consisting of ten books, it was the work of different *rishis*, preserved by oral tradition in their families. Despite the minute distinctions in the language of the Rik Samhita, we may for all practical purposes treat

the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as a compact dialect. Prominently, this dialect presents some peculiarities of form and usage, which may thus be summed up :

(i) The nominative pulural of noun ending in अ is असस् as well as अस् *as* देवासः or देवाः, the instrumental being देवभिः or देवैः,

(ii) The nominative and the vocative dual and plural of nouns in अ not rarely end in आ *as* येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि.

(iii) The instrumental singular of feminine nouns in इ is occassionally formed by lengthening the vowel *as* धीती and मती.

(iv) The locative singular termination is often elided *as* परमे व्योमन्.

(v) The accusative of nouns in उ are formed by ordinary rules of euphonic combination *as* तन्वम् or तनुवम् ; and the instrumental by affixing आ or या or इया *as* उविया or साधुया,

(vi) The dative of the personal pronouns ends in ए *as* युष्मे or अस्मे.

(vii) The parasmaipaḍa first person plural termination is मसि *as* त्वमस्माकन्तवस्मसि, and of the third person plural is रे or रते *as* दुह्रे or दुह्रते.

(viii) The त of the ātmanepaḍa termination is often dropped *as* दक्षिणतश्शये ; and instead of ध्व there is ध्वात्, *as* वारयध्वात्.

(ix) In the place of the imperative second person plural, there are त, तन, थन and तात् *as* शृणोत, पचतन, यतिष्ठन and कृणुतात्.

(x) Eight different forms of the mood लेट्, signifying condition, are everywhere abundant *os* प्रण आयूंषि तारिषत्.

(xi) Roots are not restricted to particular conjugations and at the caprice of the Rishi the same comes to more than one class.

(xii) The infinitive suffixes are से, ध्ये, अध्यै, तवे and तवै *as* वक्षे, असे, पृणध्यै, सूतवे and मादयतवै ; the accusatives of some nouns are treated as infinitives governed by शक्, *as* विभागं नाशकत्; the terminations तोस् and कस् occur when combined with ईश्वर *as* विचरितोः or विलिखः ; the potential participles are

denoted by the suffixes तवै, ऐ, एण्य and त्व *as* म्लेच्छितवै, अवगाहे, दिदृक्षेण्य and कर्त्वम्; the indeclinable past ends in त्वाय *as* गत्वाय ; some forms *as* पत्वी are also met with.

(xiii) A variety of verbal derivatives as दर्शत (*handsome*), जीवस् (*life*) and जनुस् (*product*) are frequent.

(xiv) A large number of words which have become obsolete or lost their significance in later Sanskrit are everywhere abundant *as* परिपन्थि, वत्नु and अमीवा.

These peculiarities have been noted as the most frequent and the most salient, but many others are mentioned by Pāṇini. The Vedic dialect is the first record of the Sanskrit tongue, from which by processes of phonetic decay and natural elision the later language has been perfected.

Here is a specimen of Vedic Sanskrit :—

१. यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् । मिनीमसि द्यविद्यवि ॥
२. मा नो वधाय हत्नवे जिहीळानस्य रीरधः । मा हृणानस्य मन्यवे ॥
५. कदा क्षत्रश्रियं नरमा वरुणं करामहे । मृळीकायोरुचक्षसम् ॥
७. वेदा यो वीनां पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम् । वेद नावः समुद्रियः ॥
१०. नि षसाद धृतव्रतो वरुणः पस्त्यास्वा । साम्राज्याय सुक्रतुः ॥
११. अतो विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वाँ अभि पश्यति । कृतानि या च कर्त्वा ॥
१२. स नो विश्वाहा सुक्रतुरादित्यः सुपथा करत् । प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषत् ॥
१९. इमं मे वरुण श्रुधी हवमद्या च मृळय । त्वामवस्युरा चके ॥

"These eight verses contain 72 different *padas* or grammatical forms, not counting the prepositions as separate *padas*. Of these, 19 have become altogether obsolete in classical Sanskrit, and 12 have changed their significations."

18. The Brahmanas of the Ṛk and the Yajus present the *second stage* in the development. Many of the peculiar words have become obsolete, and the declensions have mostly approached the classical grammar. The roots have no indiscriminate conjugation. The subjunctive is almost gone out of use. The indeclinable past and the gerundial infinitive end in त्वा and तुम् ; verbal forms of all moods and tenses are seen in abundance. Still there are the touches of the vedic relationship and archaisms are not rare :—

(i) Some feminine nouns have common forms for the dative and the genitive, *as* पृथिव्यै राजास्याः ;

(ii) The न of the third person is often dropped as before, *as* सवतौ वी प्रसवानामीं ;

(iii) Some of the aorist forms do not follow the rules of Pāṇini, *as* अज्ञत वा अस्य दन्ता: ;

(iv) Some atiquated words occur *as* अनीक (*a shaft*) निष्ठाव (*referce*) भगवास् (*prosperous*).

The Aiṭereya Brāhmaṇa quotes some *gāṭhas* which are obviously more archaic than the rest of the work. Notwithstanding these irregularities, the Brāhmaṇas are "the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Panini writes the grammar, though he did not mean these when he spoke of the *bhasha.*" The gradual and perhaps rapid progress in the symmetry and simplicity of the language had still to be accelerated by the work of later authors and their writings furnish an ample illustration of the next stage of linguistic development.

19. YASKA'S NIRUKTA forms the intermediate link between the Vedic and the non-Vedic literature. It is not devoid of archaic expression, for we meet with such phrases as 'उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तः' (*unable to teach*) and शिशिक्ष राज्येन' (*invested with sovereignty*). But we have no clue to the dawn of a change of style from simplicity to complexity. To the same period in the history of Sanskrit belongs PANINI. His *Aṣṭāḍhyāyī* is based on the grammar of the *bhāṣa.* No language has survived to us that literally represents Pāṇini's standard of dialect. Perhaps the later Brāhmaṇas are the only best representatives. At any rate there is no portion of the existing Sanskrit literature that accurately represents Pāṇini's Sanskrit, as regards the verbs and the nominal derivatives. Probably his grammar had for its basis the vernacular language of his day. Yāska and Pāṇini stand to us the authorities on record of that form of the language which immediately followed the purely Vedic stage.

20. Times had advanced, and with it the language. Pāṇini's *bhāṣa* could no longer stand stationary. The operation of the concurrent causes of linguistic progress had by the days of KATYAYANA and PATANJALI modified Pāṇini's denotation and introduced new changes in the grammar of the language or in the scope of the aphorisms. *Kāṭyayana's Vārṭikas* and *Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya* are devoted to the proper interpretation of the sūṭras and to the apt introduction of the missing links. If to Kāṭyāyana's eyes 10,000 inaccuracies are discernible in Pāṇini, the only explanation must be that to Pāṇini they were not

inaccuracies, but by Kāṭyāyana's time the language had progressed and necessitated a fresh appendix or erratum in Pāṇini's grammatical treatise. The period of intervention must have been sufficiently long to allow old grammatical forms to become obsolete and even incorrect and words and their meanings to become antiquated and even ununderstandable.

21. Paṭanjali discusses the change and progress of the language, in the sāsṭraic form of a dialogue between an objector and a mover thus:

अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः

संति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ताः तद्यथा-- ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेचेति ।

किमतो यत्संत्यप्रयुक्ताः ?

प्रयोगाद्धि भवान् शब्दानां साधुत्वमध्यवस्यति य इदानीमप्रयुक्ता नाऽमी साधवस्स्युः ।

इदं तावत् विप्रतिषिद्धं--यदुच्यते-- संति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ताः इति, यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ताः, अथाप्रयुक्ताः न संति, सति चाप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धं । प्रयुंजान एव खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुस्स्यात् ? नैतत् विप्रतिषिद्धम् । सन्तीति तावत् ब्रूमः यदेतान् शास्त्रविदः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते । अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूमः, यल्लोकेऽप्रयुक्ता इति । यदप्युच्यते—कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यादिति । न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

किं तर्हि ?

लोकेऽप्रयुक्ता इति ।

ननु च भवानप्यभ्यंतरो लोके ।
अभ्यंतरोऽहं लोके, नत्वहं लोकः ।

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् ।

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत् तन्न किं कारणम् ?
अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् । अर्थे शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते ।
संति चैषां शब्दानामर्था येष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते ॥

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात् ।

अप्रयोगः खल्वप्येषां शब्दानां न्याय्यः । कुतः ? प्रयोगान्यत्वात् । यदेषा शब्दानामर्थेऽन्यान् शब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते । तद्यथा—उषेत्यस्य शब्दस्यार्थे, क्व यूयमुषिताः ; तेरेत्यस्यार्थे, क्व यूयं तीर्णाः ; चक्रेत्यस्यार्थे, क्व यूयं कृतवन्तः ; पेचेत्यस्यार्थे, क्व यूयं पक्तवन्त इति ।

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत् ।

यद्यप्यप्रयुक्तः अवश्यं दीर्घसत्रवल्लक्षणेनानुविधेयाः । तद्यथा दीर्घसत्राणि वार्षशतिकानि वार्षसहस्रकाणि च न चाद्यत्वे कश्चिदप्याहरति । केवलं ऋषिसंप्रदायो धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकाः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते ।

सर्वे देशांतरे ।

सर्वे खल्वेते शब्दाः देशांतरेऽपि प्रयुज्यंते ।

न चैवोपलभ्यंते ?

उपलब्धौ यत्नः क्रियतां ।

महान् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः ।

सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती, त्रयो लोकाः, चत्वारो वेदाः सांगाः सरहस्याः बहुधा भिन्नाः, एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः, एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं, नवधाऽथर्वणो वेदः, वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावान् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः । एतावन्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयमननुनिशम्य सन्त्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचनं केवलं साहसमात्रमेव ।

एतस्मिंश्चातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये एते शब्दाः तत्र तत्र नियतविषयाः दृश्यंते । तद्यथा । शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कंभोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति विकारः येनमार्या भाषंते शव इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु गमिमेवत्वार्याः प्रयुंजते । दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु ।

ये चाप्येते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ताः अभिमताः शब्दाः ये तेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । क्व? वेदे । तद्यथा "सप्तास्येरेवतीरेवदूषा, यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष, यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र, यत्रा नश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम्" इति ।[1]

Purv. अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः । There exist (some) words which are not used; for instance, ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेच. (These are forms of the second person plural of the Perfect.)

The *Siddhantin*, or the principal teacher, who advocates the doctrine that is finally laid down asks:—

Sid. What if they are not used?

Purv. You determine the grammatical correctness of words from their being used. Those then that are not now used are not grammatically correct.

Sid. What you say is, in the first place, inconsistent, viz., that words exist which are not used. If they exist they cannot be not used; if not used, they cannot exist. To say that they exist and are not used

1. Mahābhāṣya, (Nirnayasagara Edition), Vol. I, pages 62-65.

is inconsistent. You yourself use them (utter them) and say (in the very breath) there are words which are not used. What other worthy like yourself would you have to use them in order that they might be considered correct? (lit. What other person like yourself is correct or is an authority in the use of words).

Purv. This is not inconsistent. I say they exist, since those who know the Śastra teach their formation by [laying down] rules, and I say they are not used, because they are not used by people. Now with regard to [your remark] What other worthy, &c." [when I say they are not used] I do not mean that they are not used by me.

Sid. What then?

Purv. Not used by people.

Sid. Verily, you also are one amongst the people.

Purv. Yes, I am *one*, but am not *the people.*

Sid. (Vart. अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्). If you object that they are not used, it will not do (the objection is not valid).

Purv. Why not?

Sid. Because words are used to designate things. The things do exist which these words are used to designate. (Therefore the words must be used by somebody. If the things exist, the words that denote them must exist).

Purv. (Vart. अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्). (It does not follow.) Their non-use is what one can reasonably infer.

Sid. Why?

Purv. Because they (people) use other words to designate the things expresed by these words; for instance, क यूयमुषिताः in the sense of ऊष; क यूयं तीर्णाः in the sense of तेर; क यूयं कृतवन्तः in the sense of चक्र; क यूयं पक्वन्तः in the sense of पेच. (We here see participles had come to be used for verbs of the Perfect Tense).

Sid. (Vart. अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत्). Even if these words are not used, they should be essentially taught by rules just as long sacrificial sessions are. It is in this way. Long sacrificial sessions are such as last for a hundred years and for a thousand years. In modern times none whatever holds them, but the writers on sacrifices teach them by rules, simply because [to learn] what has been handed down by tradition from the Ṛishis is religiously meritorious. And moreover (Vart. सर्वे देशान्तरे), all these words are used in other places.

Purv.—They are not found used.

Sid.—An endeavour should be made to find them. Wide indeed is the range over which words are used ; the earth with its seven continents, the three worlds, the four Vedas with their angas or dependent treatises and the mystic portions, in their various recensions, the one hundred branches of the Adhvaryu (Yajur-Veda), the Sama-Veda with its thousand modes, the Bahvṛichya with its twenty-one varieties, and the Atharvaṇa Veda with nine, Vakovakya, Epics, the Puraṇas, and Medicine. This is the extent over which words are used. Without scarching this extent of the use of words, to say that words are not used is simple rashness. In this wide extent of the use of words, certain words appear restricted to certain senses in certain places. Thus, शवति is used in the sence of motion among the Kambojas ; the Aryas use it in the derived from of शव ; हम्मति is used among the Surashṭras, रंहति among the eastern and central people, but the Aryas use only गम् ; दाति is used in the sense of 'cutting' among the easterns दात्र among the northerners. And those words which you think are not used are also seen used.

Purv.--Where ?

Sid.--In the Veda. Thus, सप्तास्ये रेवती रेवदूष । यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष ॥ यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र । यत्रानश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम् ।

[" We here see that the objector says that certain words or forms are not used by people, and therefore they should not be taught or learnt. The instances that he gives are forms of the perfect to some roots and observes that the sense of these forms is expressed by using other words which are perfect participles of these roots. These statements are not denied by the Siddhanti, but he does not allow that the forms should not be taught on that account. Though not used, they should be taught and learnt for the sake of the religious merit consequent thereon, just as the ceremonial of long sacrificial sessions, which are never held, is. Then the objector is told that though not used by people, the words may be current in some other country, continent, or word, or they must have been used somewhere in the vast literature of the language. As regards the particular instances, two of them are shown to be used in the Vedas. It thus follows that in the time of Kātyayana and Patanjali, such verbal forms had become obsolete, and participles were used in their place. But it must have been far otherwise in the time of Paṇini. He gives minute rules for constructinng the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit verb."]

22. A few of those prominent changes are given below :—

(i) Pāṇini in a special rule says that इतर has इतरम् for its neuter in the Veḍas. Obviously he intended to exhaust the list. Kāṭyāyana has to add एकतर to it.

(ii) Pāṇini, when he says विष्किर: शकुनिर्विकिरो वा, would imply that each form has no other sense than that of a bird; but Kāṭyayāna adds that both the forms are optional in the sense of 'birds,' while in any other sense they represent separate words;

(iii) The vocative singular of neuter nouns ending in अन् such as ब्रह्मन् is according to Pāṇini ब्रह्मन्, but Kāṭyāyana would add an optional ब्रह्म;

(iv) Some feminine formations are not noticed by Pāṇini, which Kāṭyāyana is forced to allow, *as* आर्याणी and उपाध्यायी.

(v) The word आश्चर्य is rendered as अनित्य by Pāṇini; Kāṭyāyana substitutes for it अद्भुत

(vi) The words and meanings of words employed by Kāṭyāyana are such as we meet with in the classical period and his expressions would not invite any special attention. This cannot be said of Pāṇini. Many of his words are antiquated in the later language *as* मति (*desire*,) उपसंवाद (*bargain*), होतृ (*priest*).

"In Paṇini's time a good many words and expressions were current which afterwards became obsolete; verbal forms were commonly used which ceased to be used in Kaṭyāyana's time, and some grammatical forms were developed in the time of the latter which did not exist in Paṇini's. Paṇini's Sanskrit must, therefore, be identified with that which preceded the Epics, and he must be referred to the literary period between the Brahmaṇas and Yaska. Hence it is that the Brahmaṇas, as observed before, are the best existing representatives of the language of which Paṇini writes the grammar. Katyayana on other hand wrote when the language arrived at that stage which we have called classical. Thus, then, we have been able to trace three distinct periods in the development of Sanskrit. First, we have the Vedic period, to which the Ṛigveda Saṁhita, the Mantra portion of the Yajurveda, and the more antiquated part of the Atharva-Saṁhita are to be referred. Then commences another period, at the threshold of which we find the Brahmaṇas, which, so to say, look backwards to the preceding,

that is, present the vedic language in the last stage of its progress towards Paṇini's Bhasha; and, later on, we have Yaska and Paṇini. This may be called the period of Middle Sanskrit. And last af all, there is the classical period to which belong the Epics, earliest specimens of Kavyas and dramatic plays, the metrical Smṛitis, and the grammatical work of Katyayana. Paṇini's work contains the grammar of Middle Sanskrit, while Katyayana's that of classical Sanskrit, though he gives his sanction to the archaic forms on the principle, as he himself has stated, on which the authors of the sacrificial Sutras teach the ritual of long sacrificial sessions, though they had ceased to be held in their time. Patanjali gives but few forms which differ from Katyayana's and in no way do they indicate a different stage in the growth of the language; hence his work is to be referred to the same period. The form which the language assumed at this time became the standard for later writers to follow, and Katyayana and Patanjali are now the generally acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the correctness of Sanskrit speech. We shall hereafter see that the last two stages have left distinct traces on the Prakṛits or the derived languages.

Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vartikas, that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Paṇini, but are taught by Katyayana and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Paṇini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures 'On the Sanskṛit and Prakṛit languages,' and given from the Vartikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, *viz.*, either that Paṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patanjali's Mahabhashya, that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Paṇini as found in the Bhasha or current language, not the Chhandasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Katyayana and Patanjali, and participles had come to be used instead. Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Paṇini in his sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Katyayana and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Paṇini's time but was known to Katyayana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that had elapsed between Paṇini and Katyayana was so great that certain literary words which either did not exist in Paṇini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Katyayana to be as old as

those which were old to Paṇini. Again, according to Paṇini's rules the Aorist expresses (1) past time generally, or the simple completion of an action, (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day and (3) recent past time; and thus resembles in every respect the English Present Perfect. But in the later language the distinction between that tense and the other two past tenses is set aside and the Aorist is used exactly like these. Now, the language of the verses ascribed to Paṇini and generally the language of what Professor Max Muller calls the Renaissance period is grammatically the same as that of Katyayana and Patanjali, and is the language of participles instead of verbs; and even from theirs it differs in making extensive use of compounds and neglecting the distinction between the Aorist and the other past tenses. The Sanskrit of Paṇini's time is more archaic than that of Katyayana's time, and Panini's rules are nowhere more secrupulously observed than in such an ancient work as the Aitareya Brahmana. The many forms and expressions which he teaches, and which must have existed in language are nowhere found in the later literature; while specimens of them are to be seen in that Brahmana and like works. Between therefore the archaic language of the sutras and the language which Panini calls Bhasha and of which he teaches the grammar, on the one hand, and the language of the Renaissance period on the other is such a wide difference that no one will ever think of attributing a work written in the style and language of this period to the Great Grammarian. As Yaska and Panini to the same period of Sanskrit literature the style and manner of a work written by Panini the grammarian, must resemble those of the Nirukta; but in the few verses attributed to Panini there is no such resemblance whatever. Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim on behalf of these artificial verses.[1]"

23. "The earliest Sanskrit Alphabet was possibly made up of five semi-vowels, five nassals, five soft and five hard aspirates, in all twenty consonants. The twenty sounds found in the aphors हयवरट्, लण्, ञमङणनम्, झभञ्, घढधष्, खफछठथव्, are the oldest, the final consonants being of course later additions. As no consonants can be pronounced without a vowel, the sound of *a*, *au* or *o*, according to the idiosyncrasies of the several tribes, came to be unconsciously blended with it. The aphors शषसर् and हल् belong to a subsequent age, the four consonants in them being more or less connected in origin with *jh-z*. In course

1. R. G. Bhandatkar, *Date of Patanjali.*

of time the aspirates produced the unaspirates, and the aphors जबगडदश् and कपय्, were added, the three consonants चटत being placed before व्. The order in which the vowels *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ* are arranged is the same with that of the semi-vowels *h, y, v, r, l,* thus raising a suspicion that the correspondence between the 5 vowels and the 5 semi-vowels was not quite unknown in the age of the composition of the vowel-aphors. There is again a suspicion, that the vowels *e* and *o,* which have a separate aphor एओङ् assigned to them, were originally monophs, *not* diphs ; the only diphs known in this age were *ai* and *au* formed of *a*+*i* and *a*+*u* respectively. These four aphors thus belong to an age, when 9 vowels in all, 7 monophs and 2 diphs, were recognised. Were the seven monophs pronounced short or long? their traditional pronunciation is no doubt short ; but in an age not accustomed to the distinction between short and long, the pronunciation was possibly also long, at least among some of the tribes.

Did Pānini recognise the vowel लृ in the aphor ऋलृक्? or did the aphor in his age contain only ऋ? The aphors लण् and हल् contain only one letter each, and it may be held, that like them the aphor ऋक् also contained only one letter, namely ऋ. There is only one root, viz., क्लृप्, containing the vowel लृ. But Pāṇini does not recognise the root as क्लृप्; according to him (कृपो॰-18, 2. VIII), the root is कृप् and क्लृप् is formed from कृप् by changing the sound of र् in it to ल्. Pāṇini, thus deriving क्लृप् from कृप्, recognises *no* लृ in the aphor ऋलृक् the grammatical tradition is therefore quite correct in *not* ascribing the authorship of the alpha-aphors to him. The *fourteen* aphors are thus the product of a pre-Pāṇini age ; these aphors describe a dialect which possessed only seven short monophs and two diphs, and which had, besides, no lack of words containing the vowel लृ and the semi-vowel ह् in them. The sound of the semi-vowel possibly resembled that of *ayin* in Arab and Hob, and as such must have had a distinct sigh assigned to it, though now irrecoverably lost. The age of Pāṇini is thus conspicuous by the loss of the sign of the semi-vowel *h*, and by the scarcity of the vowel लृ, the former event having led to the confounding of the semi-vowel *h* with the spir *h*, while the latter led to the non-recognition of the vowel लृ. The age of the composition of the Fourteen Alpha-aphors, recognising the seven short monophs, two dipths and the semi-vowel ह्, may be called Pre-Pāṇini Age I.

The age of Pāṇini will be found conspicuous not only by the loss of one short vowel लृ, but of three more short vowels, आ, ए, and ओ.

ऌ may claim at least a few words, while the semi-vowel ॡ has not been ousted from the premier piace, though no words have been preserved for it to claim. But the short vowels अ, ए and ओ, to use a scientific expression, have evaporated *without residue.* Śākaṭāyana knew two *ys* and two *vs*, the one *light* aud the other *heavy*. Pāṇini makes mention of Śākaṭāyana having known them ; but as to whether any distinction was made between them, when he (Pāṇini) lived, absolutely nothing is known. This age of short अ and of the two-fold य् and व् may be called the Pre-Pāṇini Age II."[1]

24. Samskṛta. Here then the Samskrit language had assumed a shape true to its name Samskṛta. The later epics, poems and dramas do not show any progress in the grammar, structure and signification of the language, though as regards style, they class themselves into an isolated species of literary composition. For all practical purposes, the language as perfected by the work of Kāṭyāyana and Paṭanjali has been the standard of later literature, and these are now the acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the grammar or construction of the Sanskrit speech.

अव्याकृता देवभाषा काले व्याकृतिमभजत् । तदानीं "संस्कृतं" आभिहितम् । दाण्डिना तु "संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः" (काव्यादर्शे १।३३), इत्युक्त्वा दैवी वागेव प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागाख्यसंस्काररूपेण संस्कृतभाषेति व्याख्यातम् ।

वाग्भटालङ्कारे च (२।३) स्पष्टतः ध्वनितम्—

"संस्कृतं स्वर्गिणां भाषा शब्दशास्त्रेपु निश्चिता ।" उक्ता संस्कृतभाषा भूमण्डले सर्वैरेव सर्वत्र प्रज्ञाता । तथा च, ऋग्वेदीयकौषीतकिब्राह्मणे ७।६, —"पथ्या स्वस्तिः तस्माद् उदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वाग् उद्यत । यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्त इति ह स्माह एषा हि वाचो दिक् प्रज्ञाता ।" इति

25. "The earliest literature presents a fluent and simple style of composition. The sentences are short and verbal forms are abundant. Attributive and nominal expressions do not find a place therein. This construction is facilitated by a succession of concise ideas, which gives it a sort of simple grace and fine-cut structure. This then is the form of the Brahmana language. It lacks not striking thoughts, bold expression and impressive reasoning. Leaving out of account the unnatural appearance of the sutra style—which was not however a literary composition—we come to Yāska and his Nirukṭa. Scientific as it is, the language of Yaska often reminds us of the earlier writings. The

1. R. R. Bhagwat, *Lectures on Sanskrit's Language*, Bombay.

frequency of verbal forms was current during the time of Panini. It was after the epoch of the Ashtadhyayi that a change had come over literary styles. Attributes attached greater attention and compounds could alone compress long dependent sentences into the needed form. 'In argument the ablative of an abstract noun saves a long periphrasis.' The minute rules of Panini for constructing the innumerable verbal forms facilitated this mania for conciseness of expression. Thus the fluent or simple style came gradually to be displaced by the formative or attributive style. To this was added the richness aud flexibility of the sanskrit language itself, which allowed any sort of twisting and punning of the literary vocabulary. The Puranas and the Itihasas were composed at the transitional stage in the history of literary styles. They present at the same time the simplicity of the earlier language and the complexity of the later composition. So do the earliest specimens of poetic and dramatic literature, Hence the natural and not improbable conclusion is that if an author shows an easy aud elegant style and if the flow of his language is more natural, it must be either his taste is too æsthetic for his age or his work must be assigned to an early period in the history of literature. This artificial style was greatly developed in the field of philosophy and dialectics. Patanjali's language is most simple, lucid and impressive. The sentences if therefore really consists of a series of dialogues, often smart, between one who maintains the *pūrvapaksha,* and another who plays down the *siddhānta.* Hence, the language is plain and simple, and the sentences are short, and such as a man may naturally use in ordinary conversation or oral disputation.

The forms of words are all similar to the earlier dramas or the Puranas. Sabaraswamin has a lively style, though this presents a further stage in the downward progress. Now the philosophical style sets in and continues to a degree of mischief which is now beyond all reformation. Sankara represents the middle stage. His explanations are aided by dialectic terminology. The sentences are much longer than those of the earlier writers, the construction is more involved, there is a freer use of attributive adjuncts, and the form is that of an essay or a lecture, instead of an oral disputation. But his language is fluent and perspicuous, but not petrified as that of later writers. The last stage is reached in the works of the Naiyayikas. These latter hate the use of verbs. The ablative singular and the indeclinable particles play a prominent part in their composition. Nouns are abstract and even participles are rare. The style is one of solidified formulæ, rather of

varying discourse. Thus the end is that the movement which started with the simple sentence and predicative construction has run up to a stage where the original character is entirely modified and the Sanskrit language has become a language of abstract nouns and compound words.

The greater use or attributive or nominal forms of expression gradually drove out a large portion of the Sanskrit verb, and gave a new character to the language, which may be thus described:—Very few verbal forms are used besides those of such tenses as the Present and Future; participles are frequently met with; the verbal forms of some roots, especially of those belonging to the less comprehensive classes, have gone out of use, and in their place we often have a noun expressive of the special action and a verb expressive of action generally; compound words are somewhat freely employed and a good many of the Taddhita forms or nominal derivatives have disappeared, and in their stead we have periphrastic expressions.

26. Spiritual Aspect. "The grammatical dessertations of the Hindus were not confined to a narrow field, nor were the Hindn grammarians content with mere formulation of rules for the formation of words. The spiritual aspect of sound seems to have made a deep impression upon their mind and left its stamp on their whole outlook regarding *sabda*. The sabdikas succeeded in discovering a way of spiritual discipline even through the labyrinthine mass of grammatical speculations. Enquiries into the ultimate nature of *vak* led them to a sublime region of *sadhana*—a region of perfect bliss and pure consciousness. The cultivation of grammar gave rise to a spiritual vision which, to speak, enabled the *vag-yogavid* to visualise Brahman in the wreath of letters (*varnamala*). Letters are denoted in Sanskrit by the same term (*aksara*) as is often applied to Brahman. A glance at the language in which *aksara* has been interpreted by grammarians of old will serve to open our eyes to the supreme importance of *varnas*. To the spiritual insight of Patanjali *varnas* were not only phonetic types but the glowing sparks of Brahman illumining the entire sphere of existence:

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते । Vārṭika.

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पितः फलितश्चन्द्रतारकवत् प्रतिमण्डितो वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः । Mahābhāṣya, I. 2. 3.

The study of grammar has been declared to be the direct means of attaining the Supreme Being who, though one and without a second,

appears to be manifold owing to the operation of maya.[1] Grammar in its religious and mystical speculations is in line with the teachings of the Upanisads, reinterpreting the same doctrines of yoga and upasana as are generally found in the sacred texts of India.[2]

It was left to Patanjali and his followers to unlock the portal of a new kingdom of thought, so as to throw light upon the ultimate end of all enquiries into words. The Mahabhasya portended the birth of a form of sadhana in which sabda or Eternal Verbum should be worshipped with all the reverence shown to a Divinity.[3] In order to attain union with Brahman or to get oneself completely merged in the Absolute, one is directed to take up the mysterious course of Sabda-sadhana.[4] Patanjali seems to have been the first among the Indian grammarians to give a spiritualistic colour to the speculations of grammar. The sabdabrahmopasana, as is formulated in the Upanisads, had undoubtedly influenced his trend of thought.

The mysticism underlying the phenomena of speech was undoubtedly the aspect which seems to have made the deepest impression upon the grammarian. The utterance of sound is with him a vivid materialisation of inner consciousness. To the grammarian sabda is not a lifeless mechanism invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. It is consciousness that splits itself up into the twofold category of sabda and artha; and what we call vak, as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an expression of *caitanya* lying within.[5] Patanjali has taken notice of two kinds of words, namely, *nitya* (eternal) and *karya* (created). By the former he understands the Supreme Reality that transcends all limitations of time and space. The attributes whereby the Vedantin describes Brahman or Absolute

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1. यदेकं प्रक्रियाभेदैर्बहुधा प्रविभज्यते ।
तद्व्याकरणमागम्य परं ब्रह्माधिगम्यते ॥ Vākyapadīya.

2. तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम् ॥ Yoga sutras, 27-28.

3. Patanjali says that one should pursue the study of grammar for the supreme object of attaining equality or sameness with the Great God :

महता देवेन नस्साम्यं यथा स्यादित्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ।

4. While commenting on the Rk (Rgveda, X. 6, 71), Patanjali had laid stress on the necessity of making a thorough study of grammar, because it renders the grammarian capable of attaining union with Brahman (सायुज्यानि जानते)

5. प्रत्यक्चैतन्यस्यान्तरसन्निविष्टस्य परबोधनाय शक्तिरभिष्यन्दति इति ।—Puṇyarāja under Vākyapadīya, I. 1.

have all been used by Patanjali in this interpretation of *nitya sabda.*[1] He has more than once drawn our attention to this eternal character of *sabda*. This will give us some idea of the magnitude in which sabda was understood by the famous grammarian whom tradition makes an incarnation of *Sesa*. His poetical description of varnas, to which we have already referred, best illustrates the spiritual outlook of his mind. From the srutis he has quoted in laudation of *vak* and *vyakarana*, and it is sufficiently clear that he was an ardent and devout worshipper of vak, belonging to that class of mystics who in their spiritual experience make no distinction between *para vak* and *para Brahman*. Patanjali used to look upon sabda as a great divinity (*mahan devah*) that makes its presence felt by every act of utterance. He was a yogin whose inward vision (*pratibha jnana*) permitted him to have a look into that eternal flow of pure consciousness that is undisturbed from outside.[2] He was a true type of Brahmin who visualised the ultimate nature of vak by dispelling the darkness of ignorance through the aid of his illuminating knowledge of sabda-tattva.[3] The worship of vak, which has its origin in the Upanisads[4] and which found so prominent an expression in the Agamas, was earnestly followed up by the sabdikas, particularly by Patanjali and Bhartrhari. Sabdabrahmopasana, as we find in grammatical dissertations, is only a reproduction of the teachings of the Upanisads.[5]

Words are not mere sounds as they ordinarily seem to be. They have a subtle and intellectual form within. The internal source from which they evolve is calm and serene, eternal and imperishable. The real form of vak, as opposed to external sound, lies far beyond the range of ordinary perception. We are told that it requires a good deal of sadhana to have a glimpse of the purest form of speech. The rk to which Patanjali has referred bears strong evidence to this fact. Vak is said ro reveal her divine self only to those who are so trained

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1. नित्येषु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैः भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः ।—Mahābhāṣya, I. 1, 1.

2. अन्या परा प्रकृतिः सत्या सर्वविकारानुयायिनी प्रशान्तकल्लोला चिदेकघना ब्रह्म इत्यागमवादिनः ।—Helarāja under Vākyapadīya, 3. 32.

3. वैयाकरणस्तु शास्त्रबलेन तद्बललब्धयोगेन च गुहान्धकारं विदार्य सर्वं जानातीति भावः ।—Pradīpoddyota.

4. नमो वाचं ब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते ।—Chāndogya, VII. 2.

5. सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र ।—Mahābhāṣya.

as to understand her real nature. Such was the exalted nature of vak upon which the grammarian used to meditate."[1]

27. Writing. IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT ANCIENT INDIA KNEW NO WRITING and that writing was introduced somewhere about 1800 B.C., by traders coming into India from Phœnicia and Mesapotamia. The Vedas were meant for recital and the bards sang the hymns. The idea involved in the name *śruṭi* for the Vedas is recitation and 'hearing,' for it is the sound waves started by the voice regulated by intonations that create the mystic or magnetic effect. Indeed, there is a species of work called Vedaprayoga wherein the use of particular hymns for specific objects is prescribed. Such, for instance, are hymns for getting a sprout of water from barren ground or for driving out evil spirits or for promoting easy delivery.

The various *asṭras* ranging from Brahmāṣṭra, the most infalliable one, are mere manṭras and when Visvāmiṭra initiated Rāma into asṭras, he taught *manṭra-grāma.*[2] From the circumstance that Vedic hymns were used for recitals, it cannot be said that the Vedic age had no script. It is the tradition that Vighneśvara wrote all Mahābhāraṭa to Vyāsa's dictation. The sages who were omniscient and who could foresee and create things supernatural would not have failed to have a means of recording their ideas and expressions for the benefit of posterity.

Ṛg-Veda (I. 164, 94, IX. 13-3) uses the word *akṣara.* The word *sūṭra* found on the Madhukānda of the Brāhmaṇas of White Yajus signifies a metaphorical use of the *sūṭra* proper, meaning 'thread' or band. Goldstucker in his *Study of Panini* distinctly expressed that the words sūṭra and granṭha 'must absolutely be connected with writing.' Pāṇini[3] explained the formation of the word *Yavanānī* and Kāṭyāyana's Vārṭika says that the noun '*lipi*' (writing) must be supplied to signify the writing of the Yavanas.[4]

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1. P. C. Chakravarti, *Spiritual Outlook of Sanskrit Grammar*, (*Jl. of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, 1934).

2. मंत्रग्रामं गृहाण त्वं बलामतिबलां तथा ।
ददौ रामाय सुप्रीतो मंत्रग्राममनुत्तमम् ॥ 1. 22. 12.
* * *
जपतस्तु मुनेस्तस्य विश्वामित्रस्य धीमतः ।
उपतस्थुर्महार्हाणि सर्वाण्यस्त्राणि राघवम् ॥ I. 27. 23-23

3. *Panini*, 26 ; Maxmuller, *ISt.*, V. 20, 24 ; 11. 26 ; Weber, *IL.* 15, 221.
4. *ISt*, V. 5-8, 17¦; IV. 89.

Paṭanjali has a long discussion on Akṣara thus :

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम् ।
न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वाऽक्षरम् ॥

अश्नोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन् प्रत्ययः ।
अश्नुते इत्यक्षरम् ।
वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते ।

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ?

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

Of the Northern Indian scripts descended from the Brāhmī is Nāgari or Ḍevanāgari and the alphabets of that script are the formulæ of Maheśvarasūṭras, making up vowels अच् and consonants हल्.

A study of paleography has come to distinguish the types of early writings Kharoshti and Brāhmi. The former was current in Gānḍhāra (East Afghanistan and North Punjab) and was borrowed from the Aramaic type of Semitic writing in use doing the fifth century B.C. The latter, Brahmi is " the true national writing of India, because all late Indian alphabets are descended from it, however dissimilar they may appear at the present day."[1]

28. History. It has been said that the Hindus possess no national history. Max Muller accepts this proposition as a postulate, builds on it and explains the so-called absence of anything like historical literature among the Hindus to their being a nation of philosophers :

1. For Phililogy, language and paleography generally, see the following :—

Origin of Devanagari Alphabet, (*IA*, XXXV. 253, 270, 311) ; *Dravidian elements in Sanskrit dictionaries* (*IA*, I. 235) ; *Hindu Science of Grammar* (*IA*, XIV. 33) ; *On Kharosthi writing* (*IA*, XXIV. 285, 311 ; XXXIII. 79 ; XXXIV. 1, 25, 45) ; *Progress Report of Linguistic Survey of India* (*IA*, XLI. 179); *Scripts and Signs from Indian Neolithes*, (*IA*, XLVIII. 57); *Phililogical position of Sanskrit in India* (*IA*, XVIII. 124 ; XXIV. 81 ; XIV. 33).

A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* ; Hans Raj, *Vedic Kosa* ; M. S. Ghata, *Lectures on Rig-veda* ; P. D. Gune, *Introduction to Comparative Philology* ; S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* ; W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* ; F. Kielhorn, *Grammar of Sanskrit Language* ; A. Carnoy, *Grammaire* ; A. Weber, *Indeschen Philologie* in *ISt*, III ; E. Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit Philiologie* ; Hornle, *JASB*, LIX. No. 2 ; Waddell, *On the use of Paper*, *JRAS*, (1914) 136 ; Haraprasad Sastri, *Rep.* I. 7 ; Bhandarkar, *POCP*, II. 305 ; Buhler, *Indian Paleography* and *The Origin of Brahmi Alphabet* ; Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*.

"Greece and India are, indeed, the two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan mau. To the Greek, existence is full of life and reality; to the Hindu, it is a dream, a delusion. The Greek is at home where he is born; all his energies belong to his country; he stands or falls with his party, and is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters this world as a stranger; all his thoughts are directed to another world; he takes no part even where he is driven to act; and when he sacrifices his life, it is but to be delivered from it."[1]

But A. Stein in his Introduction to Rājaṭaraṅgiṇī has thus answered it: "It has often been said of the India of the Hindus that it possessed no history. The remark is true if we apply it to history as a science and art, such as classical culture in its noblest prose-works has bequeathed it to us. But it is manifestly wrong if by history is meant either historical development or the materials for studying it. India has never known, amongst its Sastras, the study of history such as Greece and Rome cultivated or as modern Europe understands it. Yet the materials for such study are equally at our disposal in India. They are contained not only in such original sources of information as Inscriptions, Coins and Antiquarian remains, generally; advancing research has also proved that written records of events or of traditions concerning them have by no means been wanting in ancient India.

H. H. Wilson in his admirable Introduction to his translation of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, while dealing with the contents of the Third Book observes that a very large protion of the contents of the Itihāsas and and Purāṇas is genuine and writes :—

"The arrangement of the Vedas and other writings considered by the Hindus—being, in fact, the authorities of their religious rites and beliefs—which is described in the beginning of the Third book, is of much importance to the History of the Hindu Literature and of the Hindu religion. The sage Vyasa is here represented not as the author but the arranger or the compiler of the Vedas, the Itihasas and the Puranas. His name denotes his character meaning the 'arranger' or 'distributor'; and the recurrence of many Vyasas, many indviduals who remodelled the Hindu scriptures, has nothing in it, that is improbable, except the fabulous intervals by which their labours are separated. The re-arranging, the re-fashioning, of old materials is nothing more than the progress of time would be likely to render necessary. The

1. *ASL*, 9.

last recognised compilation is that of Krishna Dvaipayana, assisted by Brahmans, who were already conversant with the subjects respectively assigned to them. They were the members of the college or school supposed by the Hindus to have flourished in a period more remote, no doubt, than the truth, but not at all unlikely to have been instituted at some time prior to the accounts of India which we owe to Greek writers and in which we see enough of the system to justify our inferring that it was then entire. That there have been other Vyasas and other schools since that date, that Brahmans unknown to fame have re-modelled some of the Hindu scriptures, and epecially the Puranas, cannot reasonably be counted, after dispassionately weighing the strong internal evidence, which all of them afford, of their intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively modern ingredients. But the same internal testimony furnishes proof equally decisive, of the anterior existence of ancient meterials; and it is, therefore, as idle as it is irrational, to dispute the antiquity or the authenticity of the contents of the Puranas, in the face of abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines, which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe at least three centuries before the Christian Era. But the origin and development of their doctrines, traditions and institutions were not the work of a day; and the testimony that establishes their existence three centuries before Christianity, carries it back to a much more remote antiquity, to an antiquity, that is, probably, not surpassed by any of the prevailing fictions, institutions or beliefs of the ancient world."

Again, in dealing with the contents of the Fourth Amśa of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Professor remarks :—

"The Fourth Book contains all that the Hindus have of their Ancient History. It is a tolerably comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals; it is a barren record of events. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences. That it is discredited by palpable absurdities in regard to the longevity of the princes of the earlier dynasties, must be granted; and the particulars preserved of some of them are trivial and fabulous. Still there is an artificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, and a possibility and probability in some of the transactions, which give to these traditions the semblance of authenticity, and render it likely that these are not altogether without foundation. At any rate, in the absence of all other sources of information the record, such

as it is, deserves not to be altogether set aside. It is not essential to its celebrity or its usefulness, that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted. Their distribution amongst the several Yugas, undertaken by Sir William Jones, or his Pandits, finds no countenance from the original texts, rather than an identical notice of the age in which a particular monarch ruled or the general fact that the dynasties prior to Krishna precede the time of the Great War and the beginning of the Kali Age, *both which events are placed five thousand years ago* .....This, may, or may not, be too remote ; but it is sufficient, in a subject where precision is impossible, to be satisfied with the general impression, that, in the dynasties of Kings detailed in Puranas, we have a record, which, although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies, amongst the Hindus, from as early an era, and for as continuous a duration, as any in the credible annals of mankind."

And lastly, in discussing the general nature of the Purāṇas and of their values as historical records, he says :—

"After the date of the Great War, the Vishnu Purana, in common with other Puranas, which contain similar lists, specifies Kings and Dynasties with greater precision, and offers political and chronological particulars to which, on the score of probability there is nothing to object. In truth, their general accuracy has been incontrovertibly established. Inscriptions on columns of stone, on rocks, on coins, deciphered only of late years through the extraordinary ingenuity and perseverence of Mr. James Princep, have verified the names of races and titles of princes—the Gupta and the Andhra Rajas mentioned in the Puranas."

29. In his Rajasthan, Col. Tod says :—

"Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculilarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the West. Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture are marked with traits of originality ; and the same may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts enumerated,

took a character from its intimate association with the religion of the people.

In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there are, however, other native works, (they may, indeed, be said to abound) which, in the hands of a skilful and patient investigator, would afford no despicable materials for the history of India. The first of these are the Puranas and geneological legends of the princes which, obscured as they are by the mythological details, allegory, and improbable circumstances, contain, many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of the historian."

30. "Another species of historical records is found in the accounts given by the Brahmins of the endowments of the temples, their dilapidation and repairs, which furnish occasions for the introduction of historical and chronological details. In the legends respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort, profane events are blended with superstitious rites and ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The controversies of the Jains furnish, also, much historical information, especially with reference to Guzerat and Nehrwala during the Chaulac dynasty. From a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science, many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up."

"Every MATHA or religious college of any importance preserves the succession of its heads. Among the Jains, we have the PATTAVALIS or successions of pontiffs, for a full and lucid notice of some of which we are indebted to Dr. Hoernle: they purport to run back to even the death of the last TIRTHAMKARA Vardhamana-Mahavira."

31. "The preservation of pedigrees and successions has evidently been a national characteristic for very many centuries. And we cannot doubt that considerable attention was paid to the matter in connection with the royal families and that Vamsavalis or Rajavalis, lists of the lineal successions of kings, were compiled and kept from very early times. We distinctly recognise the use of such VAMSAVALIS,—giving the relationships and successions of kings, but no chronological details beyond the record of the total duration of each reign with occasionally a coronation-date recorded in an era,—in the copper-plate records. We trace them, for instance, in the introductory passages of the grants of the Eastern Chalukya Series[1] which, from the period A.D. 918 to 925 onwards, name the successive kings beginning with the founder of

1. See *SII*, I 35; *EI*, V. 131.

the line who reigned three centuries before that time, but do not put forward more than the length of the reign of each of them; and, from certain differences in the figures for some of the reigns, we recognise that there were varying recensions of those VAMSAVALIS. We trace the use of the VAMSAVALIS again in the similar records of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, which, from A.D. 1058 onwards,[1] give the same details about the kings of that line with effect from about A.D. 990, and one of which, issued A.D. 1296,[2] includes a coronation-date of A.D. 1141 or 1142. There has been brought to light from Nepal a long VAMSAVALI, which purports to give an unbroken list of the rulers of that country, with the lengths of their reigns and an occasional landmark in the shape of the date of an accession stated in an era, back from A.D. 1768 to even so fabulous an antiquity as six or seven centuries before the commencement of the Kali age in B.C. 3102."

32. In his Rājaṭarangiṇī,[3] KALHANA mentions certain previous writers,—" Suvrata, whose work, he says, was made difficult by misplaced learning; Kshemenḍra, who drew up a list of kings, of which, however, he says, no part is free from mistakes; Nilamuni, who wrote the NILA-MATAPURANA; Helaraja, who composed a list of kings in twelve thousand verses; and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the SRICHCHAVILLA. His own work, he tells us, was based on eleven collections of RAJAKATHAS or stories about kings and on the work of Nilamuni."

" Tamrasasana, or " copper-chapters " consist sometimes of a single plate, but more usually of several plates strung together on a large signet-ring which bears generally the seal of the authority who issued the particular chapter. The stone records usually describe themselves by the name of *Silasasana*, 'Stone-chapters,' *Sila-lekha*, 'Stone-writings,' or *Prasasti*, 'Eulogies,' They are found on rocks, on religious columns such as those which bear some of the edicts of

1. *EI*, IV. 183.
2. *JASB*, LXV. 229,
3. **Kalhana made use of:**

(i) प्रतिष्ठाशासन, edicts—inscriptions regarding the creation of consecration of temples etc.

(ii) वस्तुशासन, edicts—inscription recording grants, chiefly of grants and allowances engrossed on copper plates.

(iii) प्रशस्तिपट्ट, tables containing laudatory inscriptions or places.

(iv) शास्त्र, works on various sciences.

Priyadasi and others which were set up in front of temples as "flag-staffs" of the Gods, on battle-columns or columns of victory such as the two at Mandasor, on the walls and beams and pillars of caves and temples, on the pedestals of images, and on slabs built into the walls of temples or set up in the courtyards of temples or in conspicuous places in village-sites or fields. And they are often accompanied by sculptures which give the seal of the authority issuing the record, or mark its sectarian nature, or illustrate some scene referred to in it."

33. The Chronology of Classical Sanskrit Literature starts with Mahabhārata war and Kaliyuga. Kaliyuga commenced on 18th February 3102 B.C., just on the day on which Śrī Kṛṣṇa departed to his divine abode. The Kuru-Pāndava war was fought 37 years before Kali, that is in 3139 B.C Onwards from the commencement of Kaliyuga, Purāṇas contain accounts of various kingdoms that flourished from time to time and successive dynasties that ruled and fell during the course of about 35 centuries. To an impartial observer the tenor of these accounts warrants their accuracy and to the mind of the Hindus—the Hindus of those bygone ages, when scepticism had not called tradition superstitution—life here is evanescent and life's endeavour must be the attainment of beatitude eternal. Ancient sages (ṛṣis) perceived the divine hymns of the Veḍas and passed them on for the edification of posterity. Since the advent of Kali, a prospective crop of vice and folly was predicated and to wean the erring world from such sin and misery, Vyāsa formulated Purāṇas, with the object of Veḍopabṛhmaṇa वेदोप ब्राह्मण, that is, supplemented the exposition of Vedic teachings, and that in the garb of a language and narrative that would be easily assimilated by the masses. To such philosophical minds, the rise and fall of kings and kingdoms was not worth remembrance, save as another realistic means of illustrating the tenets of philosophy, e.g., the truth of the divine essence, Brahman, the unreality of sensual pleasures, the liberation of individual soul and the attainment of eternity in beatitude or oneness with the Spirit Divine and above all the inevitable occurance of God's mandates shortly termed Destiny or otherwise called Kāla or Niyaṭi.

If this is the object of Puranic literature, it is a sacrilege to charge the author or authors of them, whoever it was, with having fabricated scriptural testimony for attributing an antiquity to Indian literature and Indian civilization, which it did not possess; for even if they had been, as many orientalists have said, made up late after the Christian era,

the authors could not have anticipated this method of study of political history of the 18th and 19th centuries A.D. The Purāṇic lists of dynasties of kings and kingdoms furnish details of dates to an extent that even in days of historical records may be surprising, for they mention even months and days in their computation. Whatever those ancient authors did or wrote, they did it with sincerity and accuracy, 'truth' being the basis of accuracy. Our educational institutions are saturated with the teachings of modern scholars on the untruth of these Purāṇic accounts, but it is still hoped that time will come when truth will triumph and display a real orientation of ancient Indian History.[1]

34. Of the several kingdoms and dynasties of which Purāṇas have recorded political history, there is the kingdom of Magaḍha. For our present purposes of sifting and settling the chronology of India up to the Christian era the history of Magaḍha is particularly relevant, for it is at Magadha, 'Chandṛagupta' and 'Aśoka' ruled and it is on these names that the modern computation of dates has been based for everything relating to India's literary history and it is those two names that make the heroes of the theory of *Anchor Sheet of Indian Chronology.*

35. The Kingdom of Magadha was founded by Bṛhaḍraṭha, son of Uparicara Vasu, the 6th in descent from Kuru, of the Canḍra Vamśa. That happened 161 years before Mahābhāraṭa war. Tenth in descent from Bṛhaḍraṭha was, Jarāsanḍha. Jarāsanḍha perished at the hand of Kamsa and in his place Sahaḍeva was installed on the throne. Sahaḍeva was an ally of Pānḍavas and was killed in the war, that is in 3139 B.C. His son Marjāri (or Somāḍhi or Somaviṭ) was his successor and the first king of Magaḍha after the war. From him 22 kings of this Bārhaḍraṭha dynasty ruled over Magaḍha for 1006 years, or roughly stated, for 1000 years.[2]

For instance, Maṭsya Purāṇa says :—

द्वाविंशतिनृपा ह्येते भवितारो बृहद्रथाः ।
पूर्णं वर्षसहस्रं तु तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥ 169, 30

Ripunjaya was the last king of this dynasty. He was assassinated

1. F. E. Pargiter has given an admirable summary of *Early Indian Traditional History* as recorded in Puranas in *JRAS* (1914) 267 *et seq.*

2. See K. P. Jayasval, *Brhadratha Chronology*, *JBORS*, IV. 1; Sitanath Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta; Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India from the accession of Pariksit to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty*, Calcutta.

by Pulaka and Pulaka succeeded to the throne. His son was Pradyoṭa or Bālaka. Thus came the PRADYOTA OR BALAKA DYNESTY in 2133 B.C.

Thus Maṭsya Purāṇa says :—

बृहद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिषु ।
पुलकः स्वामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रमभिषेक्ष्यति ॥ १ ॥
मिषतां क्षत्रियाणान्तु बालकः पुलकोद्भवः ।
स वै प्रणतसामन्तो भविष्यो नयवर्जितः ॥ २ ॥

"When the Bārhadrathas, the Vitihōtras and the Avanṭins have passed away, Pulaka after killing his master (King Ripuñjaya) will instal his son Bālaka as King. Bālaka, the son of Pulaka, will, in the very sight of the Kshattriyas of his time, subjugate these neighbouring kings by force and will be devoid of royal policy."

36. Instead of crowning himself as king against the wishes of the people, Pulaka got the only daughter of Ripunjaya married to his son Pradyoṭa and installed him on the throne.

There were 5 kings of this dynasty[1] and they ruled for 138 years (1995 B.C.). Viṣṇu Purāṇa says :—

... ...पञ्च प्रद्योतना इमे ।
अष्टत्रिंशोत्तरशतं भोक्ष्यन्ति पृथिवीं नृपाः ॥–XII. ii

37. Śiśunāga got in by conquest or usurpation and founded ŚISUNAGA DYNASTY in 1995 B.C.[2] There were 10 kings of this dynasty and they ruled for 360 or 362 years i.e., 1635 B.C. Thus Vāyu Purāṇa says :—

इत्येते भवितारो वै शैशुनागा नृपा दश ।
शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि द्विषष्ट्यभ्यधिकानि तु ॥

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1. Pradyoṭa (23), Bālaka (24 or 28), Viśākhayupa (50 or 33), Janaka or Suryaka or Rājaka (21 or 31), Nandivardhana (20 or 30).

The periods vary according to the versions of the Purāṇas or their readings. But Maṭsya Purāna makes the period 152 years :

द्विपञ्चाशच्छते भुक्त्वा प्रणष्टा पञ्च ते नृपाः ।

2. Śiśunāga (40), Kākavarṇa (36), Kṣemavarma (26, 20 or 36), Kṣaṭraujas or Kṣemajiṭ (40, 24 or 20), Viḍhisāra or Bimbisāra or Vinḍhyasāra (28 or 33), Ajāṭaśaṭru (27 or 25, or 32 or 52), Darśāka or Darbhaka (24), Uḍayana or Uḍayāśva, or Ajaya or Uḍayabhaḍra (33), Nandivarḍhana (42 or 40), Mahānanḍin (43 or 63). It was Uḍayin that built the city of Kusuma on the Ganges :

उदयी भविता यस्मात् त्रयस्त्रिंशत् समा नृपः ।
स वै पुरवरं राजा पृथिव्यां कुसुमाह्वयम् ।
गङ्गाया दक्षिणे कूले चतुर्थेऽब्दे करिष्यति ॥

Here ended the ŚISUNAGA DYNASTY in 1635 B.C.

38. Mahāpadma known as Nanda was the illegitimate son of Mahānandin, the last king of that dynasty, and came to the throne. He founded the NANDA dynasty in 1635 B.C. He ruled for 88 years and his sons Sumālya and seven others ruled for 12 years until 1635 B.C. This dynasty lasted for 10 years.[1]

Viṣṇu Purāṇa says:

महानन्दिनस्ततः शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धोऽतिबलो महापद्मो नन्दनामा परशुराम इवाऽपरो ऽखिलक्षत्रान्तकारी भविष्यति ॥२०॥ ततः प्रभृति शूद्रा भूपाला भविष्यन्ति ॥२१॥ स चैकच्छत्रमनुल्लंघितशासनो महापद्मः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यति ॥ २२ ॥ तस्याऽप्यष्टौ सुताः सुमाल्याद्या भवितारः ॥ १३ ॥ तस्य महापद्मस्याऽनु पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ २४ ॥ महापद्मस्तत्पुत्राश्च एकं वर्षशतं अवनीपतयो भविष्यन्ति ॥ २५ ॥ ततश्च नवैतान्नन्दान् कौटिल्यो ब्राह्मणः समुद्धरिष्यति ॥ २६ ॥ तेषामभावे मौर्याः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ २७ ॥ कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तमुत्पन्नं (नन्दस्यैव भार्यायां मुरासंज्ञायां सञ्जातम्—इति श्रीधरस्वामी) राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति ॥ २८ ॥—Amśa, IV, Ch. xxiv.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa says:

महानन्दिसुतो राजन् शूद्रीगर्भोद्भवो बली ॥ ८ ॥

महापद्मपतिः कश्चिन्नन्दः क्षत्रविनाशकृत् ।
ततो नृपा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायास्त्वधार्मिकाः ॥ ९ ॥

स एकच्छत्रां पृथिवीमनुल्लंघितशासनः ।
शासिष्यति महापद्मो द्वितीय इव भार्गवः ॥ १० ॥

तस्य चाऽष्टौ भविष्यन्ति सुमाल्यप्रमुखाः सुताः ।
य इमां भोक्ष्यन्ति महीं राजानः स्म शतं समाः ॥ ११ ॥

नव नन्दान् द्विजः कश्चित्प्रपन्नानुद्धरिष्यति ।
तेषामभावे जगतीं मौर्या भोक्ष्यन्ति वै कलौ ॥ १२ ॥

स एव चन्द्रगुप्तं वै द्विजो राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति ।
तत्सुतो वारिसारस्तु ततश्चाऽशोकवर्धनः ॥ ३ ॥

—Skandha XII. Ch. ii.

Vāyu Purāṇa says:

महानन्दिसुतश्चाऽपि शूद्रायां कालसंवृतः ।
उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृपः ॥ ३२६ ॥

1. See K. P. Jayasval, *Saisunaga and Maurya Chronology*, *JBORS*, I. i.

ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः ।
एकराट् स महापद्मो एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥ ३२७ ॥

अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।
सर्वक्षत्रमथोद्धृत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् ॥ ३२८ ॥

संहृत्य तत्सुता ह्यष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपाः ।
महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपाः क्रमात् ॥ ६२९ ॥

उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्यो वै द्विजर्षभः ।
भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं नन्देभ्यः स भविष्यति ॥ ३३० ॥

चन्द्रगुप्तं नृपं राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति ।
चुतुर्विंशत् समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भाविष्यति ॥ ३३१ ॥

—Chapter. XCIX,

Maṭsya Purāṇa Says :—

महानन्दिसुतश्चाऽपि शूद्रायां कलिकांशजः ॥ १८ ॥

उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृपः ।
ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः ॥१९ ॥

एकराट् स महापद्म एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ।
अष्टाशीति स वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ॥ २० ॥

सर्वक्षत्रमथोत्साद्य भाविनाऽर्थेन चोदितः ।
सुमाल्यादिसुता ह्यष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपाः ॥ २१ ॥

महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपाः क्रमात् ।
उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समैर्द्वादशभिस्तु तान् ॥ १२ ॥

कौटिल्यश्चन्द्रगुप्तं स ततो राष्ट्रेऽभिषेक्ष्यति ।
भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति ॥ १३ ॥

—Chapter CCLXX.

Brahmāṇda Purāṇa gives the following account :—

महानन्दिसुतश्चाऽपि शूद्रायां कालसंवृतः ।
उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तकृन्नृपः ॥ १३९ ॥

ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः ।
एकराट् स महापद्म एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥ १४० ॥

अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।
सर्वक्षत्रं समुद्धृत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् ॥ १४२ ॥

तत्पश्चात् तत्सुता ह्यष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपाः ।
महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपाः क्रमात् ॥ १३२ ॥

उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्यो वै द्विजर्षभः ।
भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं नरेन्द्रः स भविष्यति ॥ १४३ ॥

चन्द्रगुप्तं नृपं राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति ।
चतुर्विंशत् समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ॥ १४४ ॥

—Upōḍghāṭa, Ch. LXXIV.

The following is the description of the Nanḍa Dynasty as given in the Kaliyuga Rājavṛṭṭānṭa :—

महानन्देश्च शूद्रायां महिष्यां कलिचोदितः ।
उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मो धननन्द इति श्रुतः ॥

अतिलुब्धोऽप्यतिबलो सर्वक्षत्रान्तकृन्नृपः ।
ऐक्ष्वाकवांश्च पाञ्चालान् कौरव्यांश्चैव हैहयान् ॥

कालकानेकलिङ्गांश्च शूरसेनांश्च मैथिलान् ।
जित्वा चाऽन्यांश्च भूपालान् द्वितीय इव भार्गवः ॥

एकराट् स महापद्म एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ।
स कृत्स्नामेव पृथिवीमनुल्लंघितशासनः ॥

शासिष्यति महापद्मो मध्ये विन्ध्यहिमागयोः ।
ततः परं भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्राया नृपाः कलौ ॥

अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।
स वै प्रणतसामन्तो महापद्मो महाबलः ॥

तस्य चाऽष्टौ भविष्यन्ति सुमाल्यप्रमुखाः सुताः ।
शासिष्यन्ति समाहत्य समा द्वादश ते नृपाः ॥

महापद्मश्च तत्पुत्रा नव नन्दा इति श्रुताः ।
भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं क्षयं यास्यन्ति ते नृपाः ॥

उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् चाणक्याख्यो द्विजोत्तमः ।
चन्द्रगुप्तं स तद्राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति ॥

—Bhāga, III, Ch. ii.

39. "It will be clear from these numerous extracts quoted in full from the various important Purāṇas, which are practically identical with one another, that the Founder of this Dynasty was Mahāpadma well

known otherwise as Dhana Nanda, that he was the son of Mahānandin, the last of the Śaiśunāga Dynasty, that he was born to that king from a Śūdra wife, that he was most avaricious and powerful, that he extirpated the Kshattriya rulers of his time like a second Paraśurāma the destroyer of the Kshattriyas in the olden times, that he subjugated the different lines of Kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties who began to rule in the various parts of Northern India from the time of the Mahābhārata War commencing from the Coronation of Yudhishṭhira in the year 3139 B.C., that he became a paramount King and Emperor of the whole of India between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains by putting an end to the ancient families of Kings, such as Aikshvākus, Pānchālas, Kauravyas, Haihayas, Kālakas, Ekaliṅgas, Śūrasēnas, Maithilas etc., who ceased to rule as separate dynasties ever since that time, that he ruled the kingdom under one umbrella for a period of 88 years, that his 8 sons jointly ruled the kingdom for a short period of 12 years, that these Nine Nandas, including the father and his eight sons ruled Magadha altogether for a total period of 100 years from 1635 to 1535 B. C., that these Nandas were extirpated by the Brāhman Chāṇakya, well known as Kauṭilya, on account of his crooked and Machiavelian policy, and that he replaced his protege Chandragupta, an illegitimate son of Mahāpadma Nanda by his Śūdrā wife Murā on the throne of his father."

But Vincent A. Smith chooses to assign to these nine Nanḍas a total period of only 45 years for their reigns.

40. Candragupta came to the throne as the son of Murā ; so he was a Maurya and the dynasty which he started was Maurya dynasty. Canḍraguptạ's son was Binḍusāra and Binḍusāra's son was Aśoka or Aśokavarḍhana. An old grantha manuscript of Maṭsya Purāṇa gives this account :

चतुस्त्रिंशत् समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ।
अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि भद्रसारस्तु तत्सुतः ॥ २४ ॥

षट्त्रिंशत्तु महाराजो भविताऽशोक एव च ।
तस्य पुत्रः कुनालस्तु वर्षाण्यष्टौ भविष्यति ॥ २५ ॥

कुनालसूनुरष्टौ च भोक्ता दशरथस्ततः ।
सप्तानां दशवर्षाणि तत्सुतश्चेन्द्रपालितः ॥ २६ ॥

भविता चाऽष्टवर्षाणि तत्सुतो हर्षवर्धनः ।
भविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सम्मतिः ॥ २७ ॥

त्रयोदश हि वर्षाणि शालिशूको भविष्यति ।
भविता सप्तवर्षाणि सोमशर्मा नराधिपः ॥ २८ ॥
भविता शतधन्वा तु नव वर्षाणि तत्सुतः ।
बृहद्रथस्तु वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रोऽथ सप्ततिः ॥ २९ ॥
इत्येते दश च द्वे च ये भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुन्धराम् ।
शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि तेभ्यः शुङ्गान् गमिष्यति ॥ ३० ॥

This version of the Matsya Purāṇa tolerably agrees with that given in the Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta :—

चन्द्रगुप्तस्ततो मौर्यश्चाणक्येनाऽभिरक्षितः ।
चतुस्त्रिंशत् समा राज्यं करिष्यति सुधार्मिकः ॥
अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि बिन्दुसारो भविष्यति ।
षट्त्रिंशत्तु ततो राजा भविताऽशोकवर्धनः ॥
सुपार्श्वस्तत्सुतश्चाऽथ वर्षाण्यष्टौ भविष्यति ।
अष्टौ वर्षाणि तत्पुत्रो भोक्ता वै बन्धुपालितः ॥
बन्धुपालितदायादो सप्तति चेन्द्रपालितः ।
भविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सङ्गतः ॥
त्रयोदश समा राज्यं शालिशूकः करिष्याति ।
भविता सप्तवर्षाणि देवधर्मा नरर्षभः ॥
ततः शतधनू राजा भविताऽष्टौ समा भुवि ।
बृहद्रथस्तु तत्पुत्रो जरासन्ध इवाऽपरः ॥
क्षत्रियानखिलान् जित्वा महाराजो भविष्यति ।
अष्टाशीतिं तु वर्षाणि स राष्ट्रं पालयिष्यति ॥
द्वादशैते नृपा मौर्याश्चन्द्रगुप्तादयो महीम् ।
शतानि त्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्ति दश षट् च समाः कलौ ॥

—Bhāga III, Chapter ii

Thus Candragupta reigned from 1535 to 1501 B.C. for 34 years, Bindusāra from 1501 to 1473 for 28 years and Aśoka from 1473 to 1437 B.C. for 36 years. And in all there were twelve Kings of Maurya dynasty, the last of whom was Bṛhadratha.[1]

1. Candragupta, Bindusāra or Bhadrasāra or Nandasāra or Vārisāra (28 or 25); Aśoka or Aśokavardhana (36 or 37); Suyaśas or Supārśva or Kunāla or Kuśala (8); Dasāratha or Bandhupālita (8 or 10); (6) Indrapālita (7 or 10]; Harṣa or Harṣavardhana (8), (8) Sangata or Sammati or Samrati (9); Śaliśuka (13); Somaśarman or Devadharman or Devavarman or Dāsavarman (7); Śatadhanvan or Śatadhara (8 or 9); Bṛhadratha or Bṛhadaśva (37 or 70 or 7).

Regarding this dynasty the readings and versions of the Purāṇas are hopelessly confused and incorrect but the passages quoted, of which the authenticity is doubtless, show that the MAURYA DYNASTY lasted for 316 years from 1535 to 1219 B.C.

41. Pusyamitra was the commander-in-chief of Bṛhadratha. He removed his master and ascended the throne. Thus he started the SUNGA DYNASTY. According to Matsya Purāṇa, there were ten kings of this dynasty who ruled in all for 30 years from 1219 B.C. to 919 B.C. Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta says:

पुष्पमित्रस्य सेनानीर्महाबलपराक्रमः ।
अतीव वृद्धं राजानं समुद्धृत्य बृहद्रथम् ॥

स वै प्रणतसामन्तो युधिष्ठिर इवाऽपरः ।
पालयिष्यति धर्मेण समाः षष्टिं महीमिमाम् ॥

तस्य पुत्रोऽग्निमित्रस्तु भोक्ता पञ्चाशतं समाः ।
तत्सुतो वसुमित्रश्च यवनारिर्महाबलः ॥

षट्त्रिंशत्तु समा राज्यं कारयिष्यति वै कलौ ।
भविता चाऽपि सुज्येष्ठस्तत्सुतो दश सप्त च ॥

तत्सुतो भद्रकश्चाऽपि त्रिंशद्वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ।
पुलिन्दकस्त्रयत्रिंशद्भविता मरुनन्दनः ॥

भ्रातृष्वसेयो भद्रस्य महेष्वासोऽरिमर्दनः ।
ततो घोषवसुश्चाऽपि त्रीणि वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ॥

वज्रमित्रस्तु चैकोनत्रिंशतं भविता समाः ।
द्वात्रिंशद्भविता चापि समा भागवतो नृपः ॥

भविता तु सुतस्तस्य देवहूतिः समा दश ।
योऽयं राजा देवहूतिराबाल्यात् कामतत्परः ।
निवेश्य राज्यभारं स्वामात्यवर्ये द्विजोत्तमे ॥

विहाय पाटलीपुत्रं विदिशायां सुखास्थितः ।
अन्यायेन पुरस्त्रीभिर्विहर्तुमुपचक्रमे ॥

कामिनीमाननीयोऽभूत् व्याघ्रवद्व्यग्रकर्मकृत् ।
तं प्रजा नान्वमोदन्त शुङ्गभूभृद्यशोहरम् ॥

अक्षैर्द्यूतैश्च कितवैर्वृत्तो नर्तकशायनैः ।
सुरामांसाशनो मत्तो वारस्त्रीसङ्गलालसः ॥

स चैकदा विटैः श्रुत्वा वसुदेवस्य मन्त्रिणः ।
सुतां महारूपवतीं पद्मिनीलक्षणान्विताम् ॥

तया रन्तुं मनश्चक्रे ब्राह्मण्या कालचोदितः ।
व्याजेन तां समानीय पत्या सार्धं स्वसन्निधौ ॥

गूढं हत्वा निजैश्चारैः साध्व्यास्तस्याः प्रियं पतिं ।
तद्रूपधृङ्निशि प्राप्य तस्या वासगृहं नृपः ॥

हठात्तां धर्षयामास ब्राह्मणीं वरवर्णिनीम् ।
साऽपि ज्ञात्वाऽस्य दुर्वृत्तं प्राणान् तत्याज तत्क्षणात् ॥

तच्छ्रुत्वा वसुदेवस्तु शोकसन्तप्तमानसः ।
विषदिग्धामलंकृत्य कांचिद्वाराङ्गनां द्विजः ॥

संप्रेष्य सर्वालङ्कारभूषितां तत्समीपतः ।
तयैव घातयामास देवहूतिं नृपाधमम् ॥

ननन्दुश्च प्रजाः सर्वाः श्रुत्वा तस्य वधं तया ।
वव्रिरे वसुदेवं च राजानं परया मुदा ॥

दशैते शुङ्गराजानो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् ॥
शतं पूर्णं शते द्वे च तेभ्यः कण्वान् गमिष्यति ॥

Of these kings,[1] it is noteworthy that Puṣyamiṭra is described by Kāliḍāsa in Mālavikāgnimiṭra as the conqueror of Āryāvarṭa and Agnimiṭra is mentioned by Paṭanjali as having performed Aṣvameḍha sacrifice.

"Devahūti, the last king of the Śunga dynasty, having been addicted to a life of pleasure and sexual enjoyment from his boyhood, entrusted the kingdom to the care of his Brahman minister Vasudeva, and he himself retired to Vidiśa, noted in those days for its dancing girls, where he began to lead a most licentious and immoral life with his voluptuary companions, corrupting the fair maidens of the city to satisfy his lust and becoming an object of hatred to his own subjects. On hearing the extraordinary beauty of the daughter of his Brahman minister Vasudeva, who has been living with her husband, he sent for them to come to Vidiśa and live by his side, and on one day, after

1. The kings are:—Puṣyamiṭra or Puspamiṭra (36 or 30); Agnimiṭra (50 or 78); Vasumiṭra (36); Sujyeṣṭha (17 or 7); Bhaḍraka or Anṭaka or Anḍhraka or Udanka (10 or 30 or 2); Pulinḍaka or Pulinḍa (3 or 33); Ghoṣavasu or Ghoṣa (3); Vajramiṭra (29, 14 or 7); Bhāgavaṭa (32); Devabhuṭi or Devahuṭi or Kṣemabhumi (10).

secretly disposing of her husband, the king seduced her in the disguise of her husband, and the poor girl who was most true and devoted to her husband, coming to know of the treachery practised by the king, at once gave up her life. On hearing the sad news of the fate of his fair daughter and of her innocent husband, Vasudeva contrived to send to the king a dancing woman, fully furnished with poison, dressed as one of the chief queens and had him killed by her hand. People hailed the death of their licentious king with joy, and made Vasudeva his upright minister, to take charge of the kingdom and rule the country henceforth with Pātaliputra as its capital."

42. Vasuḍeva of the race of Kaṇva Maharṣi thus came to the throne of Magaḍha and started the KANVA DYNASTY. There were four kings in all and they ruled for 85 years from 919 to 834 B.C.[1]

Thus Kaliyuga Rājavṛṭṭānṭa says :

एवं स लोकविद्विष्टं देवहूतिं रहो निशि ।
विषकन्यकया हत्वा वसुदेवो द्विजोत्तमः ॥

भविष्यति समास्त्रिंशच्च काण्वायनो नृपः ।
भूमिमित्रस्ततो भोक्ता चतुर्विंशतिवत्सरान् ॥

भविता द्वादश समास्ततो नारायणो नृपः ।
सुशर्मा तत्सुतश्चापि भविष्यति समा दश ॥

चत्वार एते भूपालाः कण्वगोत्रसमुद्भवाः ।
धर्मेण भोक्ष्यन्ति महीं पञ्चाशीतिन्तु वत्सरान् ॥

सेनाध्यक्षस्तु काण्वानां शातवाहनवंशजः ।
सिंहकस्वातिकर्णाख्यः शिपुको वृषलो बली ॥

समानीतैः प्रतिष्ठानादान्ध्रवंश्यैः स्वसैनिकैः ।
काण्वायनं सुशर्माणं निहत्य स्वामिनं निजम् ॥

शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षपयित्वा तदप्यसौ ।
आन्ध्रवंशप्रतिष्ठाता भविष्यति ततो नृपः ॥

43. The last two kings of Kaṇva dynasty were puppets in the hands of the commander-in-chief, Simhaka Svāṭikarṇa. He slew the last king Suśarmā and ascended the throne of Magaḍha. He traced his lineage to King Śāṭavahana of Praṭisthāna and his dynasty was there-

1. Vasuḍeva (39. 9 or 5); Bhumimiṭra or Bhumiṭra (14, 24 or 34); Nārāyaṇa (12); Suśarma (10 or 4).

fore called ANDHRAVAMSA. There were 32 kings of this dynasty who ruled for 506 years from 834 to 328 B.C. The last of the kings was Puloman III.[1] The Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānṭa gives the account.

44. In SRI GUPTA DYNASTY there were seven kings and they ruled for 245 years from 328, to 83 B.C..[2]

The Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānṭa given this account :

शिमुकः शातकर्णिस्तु यमाहुर्बलिनं जनाः ।
भोक्ष्यत्यन्ध्रमहीं राजा त्रयोविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥

कृष्णश्रीशातकर्णिस्तु भ्राता चाऽस्य महायशाः ।
अष्टादश समा राजा कण्वाख्येन भविष्यति ॥

श्रीमल्लशातकर्णिस्तु ततो भावी समा दश ।
पूर्णोत्सङ्गस्तु भविता वर्षाण्यष्टादशैव हि ॥

श्रीशातकर्णिर्भविता समाः पञ्चाशतं च षट् ।
स्कन्धस्तम्भी ततो राजा समा ह्यष्टादशैव तु ॥

दश चाऽष्टौ समा राजा भोक्ता लम्बोदरो महीम् ।
अपीतको दश द्वे च तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यति ॥

मेघस्वातिस्ततो भावि वर्षाण्यष्टादशैव च ।
शातस्वातिस्ततो राजा समा ह्यष्टादशैव हि ॥

श्रीस्कन्दशातकर्णिस्तु सप्तैव भविता समाः ।
मृगेन्द्रशातकर्णिश्च त्रीणि वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ॥

कुन्तलः शातकर्णिस्तु भविताऽष्टौ समा नृपः ।
तथा सौम्यः शातकर्णिर्भविता द्वादशैव तु ॥

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1. Simbaka Śri Śaṭakarṇi or Śomuka (23) ; Kṛṣṇa (18) ; Śrimalla (10, 18 or 56); Purṇoṭsanga (18) ; Śriśāṭakarṇi (56 or 40) ; Skandhasṭambbin (16) , Lambodara (18); Apiṭaka or Apilaka or Vikāla (12); Meghasvāṭi or Sanghasvāti or Sauḍāsa (18) ; Śaṭasvāṭi or Svāṭi (18) ; Skanḍasvāṭikarṇa or Skanḍasaṭakarṇi (7); Mṛgenḍra (3) ; Kunṭala (8); Saumya or Puṣpasena (12) ; Śāṭa or Svāṭikarṇa (1) ; Puloma or Pulomāvi (36 or 24); Megha or Meghasvāṭi (38) ; Ariṣta (25) ; Hāla (8) ; Mandalaka or Bhāvaka or Pulaka or Tulaka (5) ; Purinḍrasena or Purikasena or Pulinḍasena or Pravilla (1) ; Cakora (6 months) ; Mahenḍra (3 months or 3 years); Śiva or Śivasvāṭi (28); Gauṭamipuṭra (21 or 25) ; Puloman II (32 or 28) ; Śivaśri (7) ; Śivaskanḍa (7) ; Yagnaśri (19); Vijayaśri (6) ; Canḍraśri (3) ; Puloman III (7). See para 798 *post*.

2. Canḍraguptа I or Vijayāḍiṭya (7); Samuḍraguptа or Aśokāḍiṭya (51); Canḍragupta II, Vikramāḍiṭya (38 or 36); Kumāragupta (42); Skanḍaguptа (25); Narasimhaguptа (40); Kumāraguptа II (44).

एकं संवत्सरं शातः शातकर्णिर्भविष्यति ।
पुलोमशातकर्णिश्च षट्त्रिंशद्भविता समाः ॥

अष्टत्रिंशत् समा मेघशातकर्णि र्भविष्यति ।
अरिष्टशातकर्णिश्च पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥

यमेवाऽऽहु र्नेमिकृष्णमितिहासविचक्षणाः ।
ततो हालो महाभागः कविकल्पामरद्रुमः ॥

शासिष्यति महीं पञ्च वर्षाणि सुमहायशाः ।
ततो मण्डलको राजा भविता पञ्च वै समाः ॥

पुरीन्द्रसेनो भविता समाः सोऽप्येकविंशतिम् ।
सुन्दरः शातकर्णिस्तु वर्षमेकं भविष्यति ॥

चकोरशातकर्णिश्च षण्मासान् भोक्ष्यते महीम् ।
वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना यः प्रख्यातिं भुवि यास्यति ॥

महेन्द्रशातकर्णिस्तु त्रीन् मासान् भोक्ष्यते ततः ।
अष्टाविंशति वर्षाणि शकसेनो भविष्यति ।
यमाहुर्माढरीपुत्रं शिवख्यातिं महाजनाः ॥

श्रीशातकर्णिर्भविता पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ।
गौतमीपुत्रनाम्ना तु यो वै ख्यातिं गमिष्यति ॥

पुलोमश्रीशातकर्णि र्द्वात्रिंशद्भविता समाः ।
वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना तु शासनेषु य उच्यते ॥

शिवश्रीशातकर्णिश्च तस्य भ्राता महामतिः ।
भविष्यति समा राजा सप्तैव हि कलौ युगे ॥

शिवस्कन्दः शातकर्णिस्त्रिसो भावी ततः समाः ॥

यज्ञश्रीशातकर्णिश्च गौतमीपुत्रनामकः ।
एकोनविंशतिं राजा भविष्यति समा भुवि ॥

विजयश्रीशातकर्णिः षडेव भविता समाः ।
चन्द्रश्रीशातकर्णिस्तु त्रीणि वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ।
वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना तु ख्यातो यश्च भविष्यति ॥

पुलोमाऽपि तथा चाऽन्यः समाः सप्त भविष्यति
घटोत्कचस्य पुत्रेण चन्द्रगुप्तेन पालितः ॥

एते द्वात्रिंशदान्ध्रास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधामिमाम् ।
शतानि पञ्च पूर्णानि तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥

तेषां तु संस्थिते राज्ये भूमिर्गुप्तान् गमिष्यति ।
श्रीपार्वतीयान्ध्रभृत्या इत्याख्यां यान्ति ये नृपाः ॥

अन्ध्राणामेव काले तु बहवो म्लेच्छवंशजाः ।
सिन्धुं तीर्त्वा ऽभिय स्यन्ति भारतश्रीजिघृक्षया ॥

सप्तषष्टिं समा भाव्या दशाऽऽभीरा महौजसः ।
द्विसप्ततिं गर्दभिनः सप्तैवाऽऽसुरयोनयः ॥

शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च शकास्त्वष्टादशैव तु ।
सप्ताशीतिं समा ह्यष्टौ भोक्तारो यवना महीम् ॥

शतानि त्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्तिहूणा श्चैकादशाऽथ वै ।
त्रयोदश भविष्यन्ति मरुण्डा द्वे शते समाः ॥

पञ्चवर्षशतानीह तुषाराख्याश्चतुर्दश ।
पार्थिवैर्वृषलैः सार्धं भविष्यन्ति विदेशजाः ॥

तैरेव साकं गुप्तानां राज्यं सर्वं विनङ्क्ष्यति ।
ततः प्रभृति भूरेषा म्लेच्छाक्रान्ता भविष्यति ॥

Thus, these 32 kings of the Āndhra Dynasty reigned for a total period of 506 years, although in summing up their total period of reigns, it states in round figures that they ruled for full 500 years (instead of 506 years); and their kingdom passed into the hands of Candragupta, son of Ghaṭōtkaca Gupta and grandson of Śrī Gupta, who appears to have come from Śrī Parvata or Nepāl and originally entered the service of Vijayaśrī Śātakarṇi as one of his generals and with whose help he managed to maintain his tottering kingdom.

45. Before proceeding to consider the merits of Purāṇic history as reviewed by orientalists a brief statement of the cosmogonic and political calculations of time adopted in India may be useful.

"According to the Purāṇas, 360 lunar Samvatsaras or human years constitute one divine year, Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali—a cycle of these four Yugas and their Sandhyās and Sandhyāmśas, consisting of 12000 divine years or 4,320,000 human years, constitutes one Mahayuga. 1000 Mahāyugas constitute one Day of Brahmā or one *Kalpa*. An equal period of time (viz., 1000×4,320,000=4,320,000,000 human years) is also reckoned as one Night of Brahmā. 30 such days and nights make a month of Brahmā; and 12 such months his year; and 100 such years make the full period of Brahmā's life. The two halves of Brahmā's age are respectively called Pūrva-Parārdha aad Uttara-Parārdha. The 1st or the Prathama-Parārdha has expired; the second or the Dvitiya-Parārdha has commenced with our present or Varāha-Kalpa. At the *beginning* of the first Parārdha was Brāhma-Kalpa, when Brahmā or the present Kosmos was born. At the *end* of the first Parārdha was Pādma-Kalpa, when the Lōka-Padma (the Lotus of Lōkas) appeared at the navel of Hari. The first Kalpa of the Dvitiya-Parārdha which is the present Kalpa is called Varāha Kalpa, when Hari incarnated as Varaha or the Wonderful Boar. We are now in the 1st day of the fifty-first year of Brahmadeva, called Śveta; and each of the days of the month of Brahmā bore a different name, like (1) Śveta, (2) Nilalohita, (3) Vāmadeva, (4) Rathantara, (5) Raurava, and so on. So the present Kalpa called the "Śveta-Varāha-Kalpa" forms the 18001st Kalpa of the Brahmā, a day and night of Brahma being calculated *here* as one Kalpa.

14 Manus reign during the day of Brahmā, each Manu reigning for 71¾ Mahāyugas. Each Manvantara, therefore, consists of 857, 142$\frac{6}{7}$ divine years or 337, 142, 657½ human or lunar years. With every day and night the age of Brahmā declines. The present Manvantara is the seventh Manvantara of Varāha-Kalpa, the first six Manvantaras having already elapsed. The first six Manvantaras are known after the name of the respective Manus, as (1) Svāyambhuva, (2) Svārōchisha, (3) Auttama, (4) Tāmasa, (5) Raivata and (6) Chākshusha, and the present or the seventh Manvantara is called Vaivasvata Manvantara. The present Kali Yuga is the fourth or the last quarter of the 28th Mahāyuga of this Vaivasvata Manvantara, and 5018 years of this Kali Yuga have expired by the 13th day of April 1917."

Kali-Yuga, begins from the year 3102 B.C.; the year 1, expired or completed, being 3101 B.C. The four Yugas, or Ages, which comprise one Mahāyuga, have the following periods:—

Kṛta-Yuga ...	1,728,000	360	4800 years of Gods.
Ṭreṭā-Yuga ..	1,296,000	360	3600 „
Ḍwāpara-Yuga ...	864,000	360	2400 „
Kali-Yuga ...	432,000	360	1200 „
One Mahā-Yuga...	4,320,000	360	12000 years of Gods.

The Kali Age is said to enbrace Six Śakas. Thus it is said in Pancāuga-Saraṇi :—

अस्मिन् कलियुगे षट्शका वर्तन्ते—

युधिष्ठिरो विक्रम-शालिवाहनौ ततो नृपस्स्याद्विजयाभिनन्दनः !
ततस्तु नागार्जुनभूपतिः कलिः कलौ युगे षट् शककालवर्धकाः ॥

एतेषां प्रमाणाब्दाः—

क्रमेण वेदाब्धिशून्यरामाः (3044)
शराग्निचन्द्राः (135) खखाहिभूमयः (1800)
ततोऽयुतं (10000) लक्षचतुष्टयं च (400000)
शशाङ्कनेत्राष्ट (821) मिताः शकाब्दाः ॥

" In the Kali-age there are six founders of eras. First there was Yudhishthira in Indraprastha, whose era lasted for 3044 years. The second was Vikrama at Ujayani, whose era had run for 135 years. The third was Salivahana at Pratisthana. Here the era of Yudhishthira is made the same as that of the Kaliyuga, which also dates from 3044 years before the era of Vikrama. The Yudhisthira era also is obtained by adding 3179 to the Saka year; (i.e., the Saka begins with the 3180th year of the Yudhishthira era) and " by adding 3044 to the Vikrama Samvat which, in its turn, is got by adding 135 to the Saka date."[2]

46. Vikrama or **Samvat Era** began in 56 B.C. "A Hindu legend tells us that a celebrated king Vikrama or Vikramaditya of Ujjain, in Malwa, began to reign in that year, and founded the era, which, in that view, runs form the commencement of his reign. Another version of it asserts that he died in that year, and that the reckoning runs from his

1. See T. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *The Present Kaliyuga*, *JOR*, III. 225.
2. See S. P. L. Narasimhaswami, *IA*, XL. 162 and R. R. Bhagwat, *JRAS*, XX, 150.

death. It is common to both the Digambaras and the Svetambaras. And the GATHAS or Prakrit verses, upon which the earlier portions of some of the Jain PATTAVALIS or successions of the pontiffs are based, pretend to put forward such details about Vikramaditya as that "for eight years he played as a child for "sixteen he roamed over the country; for fifty-six"—(? fifteen)—"he exercised rule, being given over to false doctrine; for fifty years he was devoted to the religion of the Jina and then obtained heaven," An addition to the legend connects Vikramaditya with some foreign invaders of India who were called Sakas; and this, again, appears in two versions; one version represents him as regaining the kingdom of Ujjain after the Saka kings and dispossessed his father and had reigned there for four years prior to B.C. 57; and the other, as reported by Alberuni in the eleventh century A D.,—brings the Sakas on the scene a hundred and thirty-five years later, and asserts that Vikramaditya marched against the Saka king, and put him to flight and killed him "in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni," and that in celebration of this, there was established the Saka era commencing A.D. 78. And another addition asserts that at the court of Vikramaditya there flourished "the Nine Gems," namely, the poet Kalidasa, the astronomer Varahamihira, the lexicographer Amarasimha, and the various authors Dhanvantari, Ghatakarpara, Kshapanaka, Sanku, Vararuchi and Vetalabhatta."[1]

47. **Salivahana-Saka**, is "the Śaka or era of Śālivāhana," the Śaka or era of the glorious and victorious king Śālivāhana, the year of the Śaka or era established by Śālivāhana. And the popular belief, in that the Śaka era was founded by a king Śālivāhana reigning in A D. 78 at Pratishṭhāna, which is the present Paiṭhan on the Gōdāvari, in the Nizam's territory."[2]

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1. J. F. Fleet, *IA*. XXX. 1; *JRAS*, (1916), 809.

"See Professor Keilhorn's examination of this question in the *Ind. Ant.* vol 20 (1891), p. 404 ff. His earliest instance of the word *vikrama* being used in connection with the era, in a not quite clear sense, namely, in the expression *vikramākhya kāla*, "the time called *vikrama*," is one of the year 898. in A.D. 842, from an inscription at Dholpur (p. 406. No. 10). His earliest instance of the era being plainly attributed to a king Vikrama was a literary one of the year 1050, in A.D. 993 (Ibid. No. 40). An earlier instance is known now from the Eklingji inscription, which is dated in the year 1028 of king Vikramaditya in A.D. 971: *JBRAS*, vol. 22, p. 166."

2. J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* (1916), 809.

"The exact expression Sālivāhana-Saka is mostly confined to dates recorded in prose. In dates in verse, other ways of introducing the name Sālivāhan were follow,

Śakakāla, Śakābda or Śaka era commenced thus in 78 A.D. It is either "the Era of the Śaka king Kanishka, who conquered Kashmir and Western India in the 1st century after Christ" or the era of the defeat of the Śakas by a Hindu king.

"The astronomer, Varahamihira who lived in the sixth century A.D. cited the Saka Era as the Saka Bhupa Kala or Sakendra Kala, i.e., the Era of the Saka king. His commentator explains this as the Era when the barbarians called Sakas "were discomfited by Vikramaditya. Again, the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in the seventh century A.D,, cites the Era as Saka Nripante, i.e., after the Saka king. His commentator explains this as after the reign of Vikramaditya, who slew a people of Barbarians called Sakas."[1]

["Manu says (Ch. X, 144-145) that the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambhojas, Paradas and Pahlavas were originally Kshatriyas, but became outcastes by neglecting their Vedic duties, etc. The Mahabharata (Adiparvan, Ch. 85) speaks of these tribes as descendants of Kshatriyas and as having taken part in the Great War between the Pandavas and Kauravas. The Ramayana of Valmiki (Balakanda, Sarga 55) mentions them among the tribes who fought during the war of Visvamitra with Vasishtha. The Gautama Dharma Sutra (Ch. IV, 21) speaks of the Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as a Pratiloma caste of the Aryas. It is stated in the Padma Purana (Svarga-khanda, Ch. 15) that the Sakas etc., were driven out by king Sagara, a descendant of Ikshvaku, to the countries beyond the borders of India, after getting their heads etc,, shaved under the advice of Vasishtha, although they were Kshatriyas. The Vishnu Purana (Aṁsa II, Ch. 3) describes the Yavanas as living in the west, the Sakas in the north-west, the Kiratas in the east, and the four Indian castes in the middle of India during the time of the Great War. The Matsya Purana also refers to Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as degraded

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ed, and the shorter form Sālivāha was sometimes used, to suit the metre: see e.g., Professor Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India in *Ep. Ind.* vol. 7, appendix, Nos. 465, 475, 503, 519, 1004, 1005. This clipped form is also found occasionally in prose: see, e.g., Ibid., No. 527. Compare Satavāha as the shorter form of Satavāhana."

1. Colebrooke's Algebra, etc., from the Sanscrit, p. xliii, London.

See on this era, Dutt's *Civ.* 1. 21; Fleet, *Traditional Date of Kanishka*, *JRAS*, (1906), 986; J. H. Marshall, *Date of Kanishka*, *JRAS* (1905), 192.

Aryan tribes living on the frontiers of Bharata Varsha: Panini refers in his Ashtadhyayi (II. 2-84) to Sakas and Yavanas and requires शक to be placed before यवन, and Panini even according to Western Orientalists lived long before the time of Alexander the Great. The Sakas, therefore, could under no circumstances, be identified with any foreign tribes that invaded India after Alexander's time."]

48. **Harsa Era** of Nepal began in 457 B.C.,[1] and that is the date that is referred to in Nepālavamśāvali.[2]

Cedi or Kalacuri Era began in 249 A.D.

Hamsa Samvat or Era of Harsavardhana began in 606 A.D.[3]

Valabhi Era began in 319 A.D.[4]

49. **Brhaspaticakra or Jovian cycle of sixty years.** "The Hindu Cycle of 60 years, technically known as the Brihaspati Chakra or Cycle of Jupiter," begins with the year Prabhava and ends with the year Kshaya (60).

"In Northern India a year of the Jovian cycle is omitted once on an average of 85 5/22 years, or 22 in 1875 years; hence it has advanced on the southern system by 11 in about 950 years. The year of the cycle in Northern India is found by multiplying the Saka year by 22 adding 4291 and dividing the sum by 1875, then adding the Saka date to the integral of the quotient, and dividing by 60; the remainder is the year of the cycle. Thus, for Saka 1772 the first operation gives 23 and a remainder of 260, then 1772+23 divided by 60 gives as a remainder the 55th year of the cycle or Durmati current. If the Kaliyuga year is used, the usual rule is to multiply it by 1.0117, and to the integers of the product add 26 and divide the sum by 60 as before."

50. **Kollam** or Malabar Era began in 25th August 825 A.D. on the sun's entry into Kanyā according to the Chronogram,

आ	चा	र्य	वा	ग	भे	द्या
0	6	1	4	3	4	1

1. See Alberuni's India (Sachou's Transl. II, xlix. 7) and Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nepāla-Vamśāvali in *IA*, XIII. 411-28.
2. *IA*, XLII. 207; XVII. 224, XVIII. 265.
3. *IA*, XV. 105, 138,
4. From Senapati Bhattarka. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1923), and *IA*. I. 45, IV. 104, 174, V. 204, 206, XV. 187 *post*. For Gupta-Valabhi Era, see *IA*, XIV. 9.

32.........Danta, Rada.

33.........Deva.

40..........Tana.

The list might be made much more extensive, as it is obvious that any synonyms of any word that can be used to signify a number can be used, e.g., any word signifying 'moon' besides those mentioned as equivalent to 1, may be used for the same purpose, and so with the others. The ordinary numbered words are commonly mixed with the words given above.

In making numbers of this system units are mentioned first and then the higher orders, e g., Rishinagakhendusamvatsara is year 1087 gaganasastrakhenduganite samvatsara is equal to 1063; dahanadrikhenduganitasamvastara is equal to 1073. It appears, however, that occasionally in recent inscriptions the words are put in the same order as the figures are written."

The algebraical formulæ are :—

i. कादिनव ।... क (1) । ख (2) and so on to झ (9)

ii. टादिनव ।... ट (1) । ठ (2) and so on to ढ (9)

iii. पादिपञ्च ।... प (1) । फ (2) and so on to म (5)

iv. याद्यष्टौ ।... य (1) । र (2) and so on to ह (8)

The order of the letters is from right to left, in conjunct letters, the last pronounced consonant only counts value and vowels have no value. Thus विष्णु mean 54 an धर्मोनिष्ठः means 1059.[1]

52. Santracottus. It was Sir William Jones, the Founder and President of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiry into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia, who died on 27th April 1794, that suggested for the first time an *identification* to the notice of scholars. In his 'Tenth Anniversary Discourse' delivered by him on 28th February 1793 on "Asiatic History, Civil and Natural," referred to the so-called *discovery* by him of the identity of Candragupta, the Founder of the Maurya Dynasty of the Kings Magadha, with Sandracottus of the Greek writers of Alexander's adventures, thus :

"The Jurisprudence of the Hindus and Arabs being the field, which I have chosen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect, that I should greatly enlarge your collection of historical knowledge; but I

1. See *IA*, II. 361.

may be able to offer you some occasional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a *discovery* which accident threw in my way; though my proofs must be reserved for an essay, which I have destined for the fourth volume of your Transactions. To fix the situation of that Pālibothra, (for there may have been several of the name) which was visited and described by Megasthenes, had always appeared a very difficult problem; for, though it could not have been *Prayāga* where no ancient metropolis ever stood, nor *Cānyacubja* which has no epithet at all resembling the word used by the Greeks, nor *Gaur*, otherwise called *Lacshmanavati*, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was *Pātalīputra*, though names and most circumstances nearly correspond, because that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the *Sone* and the *Ganges* to the site of Patna, while *Pālibothra* stood at the junction of the *Ganges* and *Erranaboas*, which the accurate M. D'Anville had pronounced to be "Yamunā"; but this only difficulty was removed when I found in a Classical Sanskrit book near two thousand years old, that *Hiraṇyabāhu* or golden-armed, which the Greeks changed to Erranaboas, or the *river with a lovely murmur*, was in fact another name for the *Sona* itself, though Megasthenes from ignorance or inattention, has named them separately.[1] This discovery led to another of greater moment; for Chandragupta, who, from a military adventurer, became like Sandracottus, the sovereign of Upper Hindustan, actually fixed the seat of his empire at Pāṭaliputra, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very Sandracottus who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator; so that we have solved another problem to which we before alluded; and may in round numbers consider the twelve and three hundredth years before Christ as two certain epochs between Rāma who conquered *Silān* a few centuries after the flood, and Vicramāditya who died at Ujjayini fifty-seven years before the beginning of our era."

53. The passage regarding Candragupta's date is found in Justinius, *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, xv. 4 and Mr. McCrindle translated it as follows:[2]

"[Seleucus] carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successor of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing the Bactrians, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into

1. *Asiatic Researches*, IV. 10-11.
2. Mendelsohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), I. 426.

India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed his prefects, thinking that the yoke of slavery had been shaken off from its neck. The author of its freedom had been Sandrocottus; but when victory was gained he had changed the name of freedom to that of bondage. For, after he had ascended the throne, he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. Though of humble birth, he was impelled by innate majesty to assume royal power. When king Nandrus,[1] whom he had offended by his boldness, ordered him to be killed, he had resorted to speedy flight. . . . , Sandrocottus, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonus."

The same transactions are referred to by Appianus:

"[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered tnto relations of marriage with him."

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Chandragupta a tract of land to the west of the Indus and received in exchange five hundred elephants.[2]

The inference drawn is this: Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280), "arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsos]. The march from India to there must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter."[3] We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.[4]

It follows from these statements that Chandragupta ascended the throne between Alexander's death (B.C. 323) and the treaty with Seleucus (B.C. 304)."

54. Earlier in the same discourse Sir William had mentioned his authorities for the statement that Candragupta became sovereign of upper Hindusthan, with his Capital at Pataliputra. "A most beautiful

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1. McCrindle's translation, 114.
2. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 150 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44, 154 ff.
3. Beloch's *Griech, Gesch*, 3, 1. 146, n. 3.
4. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn. 1876), p. 19; C. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii (Paris 1848). p. 398; McCrindle, *IA*, VI. 115.

poem " said he " by Somadeva, comprising a long chain of instructive and agreeable stories, begins with the famed revolution at Pataliputra by the murder of king Nanda with his eight sons, and the usurpation of Chandragupta ; and the same revolution is the subject of a tragedy in Sanskrit entitled ' The Coronation of Chandra.' "[1] Thus he claimed to have identified *Palibothra* with *Pataliputra* and *Sandrokottus* with Canḍraguptạ, and to have determined 300 B.C. " in round numbers " as a certain epoch between two others which he called the conquest of *Silan* by Rāma "1200 B.C." and the death of Vikramāḍiṭya at Ujjain in 57 B.C.

In the Discourse referred to, Sir William barely stated his discovery, adding " that his proofs must be reserved " for a subsequent essay, but he died before that essay could appear.

55. The theme was taken immediately by Col. Wilford in Volume V of the Asistic Researches. Wilford entered into a long and fanciful disquisition on *Palibothra*, and rejected Sir William's identification of it with *Pataliputra*, but he accepted the identification of *Sandracottus* with Candragupta in the following words :—" Sir William Jones from a poem written by Somadeva and a tragedy called the Coronation of Chandra or Chandragupta discovered that he really was the Indian king mentioned by the historians of Alexander under the name of Sandrocottus. These poems I have not been able to procure ; but I have found another dramatic piece entitled Mudra-Rachasa,[1] which is divided into two parts ; the first may be called the Coronation of Chandra."[2]

Wilson further amended the incorrect authorities relied on by Sir William Jones ; and said in his Preface to Mudra-Rakshasa,[3] that by Sir William's " a beautiful poem by Somadeva " was " doubtless meant the large collection of tales by *Somabhatta* the Vrihat-katha."[4]

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1. Ibid. 6.

1. This spelling shows that Wilford saw not the Sanskrit drama but some vernacular visions of it.

2. Asiatic Researches, V. 262. Wilford wrongly names the author of the drama as Amanta (or Ananta).

3. Theatre of the Hindus, Vol. II.

4. Wilson again is not quite correct in his Bibiography. Somaḍeva's large collection of tales is entitled Kathasarit-sagara and is an adaptation into Sanskrit verse of an origingal work in the Paisaci language called Brihaṭ-Kaṭha, composed by on Guṇādhya.

56. Max Muller then elaborated the discovery of this identity in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature. To him this identity was a settled incontrovertible fact. On the path of further research, he examined the chronology of the Buddhists according to the Northern or the Chinese and the Southern or the Ceylonese traditions, and summed this up: "Everything in Indian Chronology depends upon the date of Chandragupta. Chandragupta was the grand-father of Asoka, and the contemporary of Selukus Nikator. Now, according to the Chinese chronology, Asoka would have lived, to waive the minor differences, 850 or 750 B.C., according to Ceylonese Chronology, 315 B.C. Either of these dates is impossible because it does not agree with the chronology of Greece." '*Everything in Indian Chronology depends upon the date of Chandragupta*' is the declaration. How is that date to be fixed? The Puranic accounts were of course beneath notice. The Buddhist chronologies were conflicting, and must be ignored The Greek synchronism comes to his rescue. "There is but one means by which the history of India can be connected with that of Greece, and its chronology must be reduced to its proper limits," that is, by the clue afforded by "the name of Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Chandragupta."

From classical writers—Justin, Arrian, Diadorus Siculus, Strabo Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch—a formidable array all of whom however borrowed their account from practically the same sources—he puts together the various statements concerning Sandrocottus, and tries to show that they all tally with the statements made by Indian writers about the Maurya king Caṇḍraguptạ. "The resemblence of this name" says he "with the name of Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus was first, I believe, pointed out by Sit William Jones. Wilford, Wilson, and Professor Lassen have afterwards added further evidence in confirmation of Sir W. Jones's conjecture; and *although other scholars, and particularly M. Troyer in his edition of the Rajatarangini, have raised objections,* we shall see that the evidence in favour of the identity of Chandragupta and Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus is such as to admit of no reasonable doubt." Max Muller only repeats that the Greek accounts of Sandrocottus and the Indian accounts of Chandragupta agree in the main, both speaking of a usurper who either was base-born himself or else overthrew a base-born predecessor, and that this essential agreement would hold whether the various names used by Greek writers—Xandrames, Andramas, Aggraman, Sandrocottus and Sandrocyptus—should be made to refer to two kings, the overthrown and the overthrower,

or all to one namely the overthrower himself; though personally he is inclined to the view that the first three variations refer to the overthrown, and the last two to the overthrower. He explains away the difficulty in identifying the sites of Palibothra and Pataliputra geographically by "a change in the bed of the river Sone." He passes over the apparent differences in detail between the Greek statements on the one hand and the Hindu and Buddhist versions on the other quite summarily, declaring that Buddhist fables were invented to exalt, and the Brahmanic fables to lower Chandragupta's descent! Lastly with respect to chronology the Brahmanic is altogether ignored, and the Buddhist is "reduced to its proper limits" that is, pulled down to fit in with Greek chronology.

57. Priyadasi. Next came inscriptions of Priyaḍāsi.[1] These edicts published in the tenth and twelfth years of Asoka's reign (253 and 251 B.C.) are found in distinct places in the extreme East and West of India. As revealed in these engraved records, the spoken dialect was essentially the same throughout the wide and fertile religions lying between the Vindhya and Himalayas and between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges. The language appears in three varieties, which may be named the *Punjabi*, the *Ujjaini* and the *Magadhi*. These may point to a transitional stage between Sanskrit and Pali. "The language of the inscriptions," says Princep "although necessarily that of their date and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been the spoken language of the people of Upper India than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although incompatible with their Buddhistic origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from a peculiar form of religious belief."

Asoka's name does not occur in these inscriptions, but that these purport to emanate from a king who gives his formal title in various Prakrit forms of which the Sanskrit would be DEVANAMPRIYAH Priya-

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1. The Edicts are edited in *IA*, 6. 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22. 31, 37, 38. On the Edicts, see *IA*, XIII. 304; XX. 1, 85, 229; XXXV. 220: XXXIV. 246; XXXVIII. 151; XLVII. 48.

Also, D. R, Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, Calcutta; V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, Oxford; F. W. Thomas, *Les Vivasti de Asoka, JA*, (1910); E. Hultzsch, *Date of Asoka, JRAS*, (1914) 943. H. H. Wilson, *Identity of Asoka, JRAS*, (*o. s.*), XXII, 177. 243; (1901) 827-858; V. A. Smith, *Authorship of Piyadasi inscriptions, JRAS*, (1901), 485; Asokavadana, *JRAS*, [1901) 545, Bindusara, *JRAS*, (1901), 334.

darsi raja. It was James Prinsep that first ascribed Asoka's edicts to Ḍevanāmpiya-Ṭissa of Ceylon.[1] The discovery of the Nagajuna Hill cave-inscriptions of Sashalata Ḍevānāmpiya, whom he at once identified with Ḍasāratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka and the fact that Turnour had found Piyadassi or Piyaḍassana used as a surname of Aśoka in the Ḍīpavamśa, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify Devanampriya Priyadarsan with Asoka himself.

In February 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock edict, Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Amtiyako Yonarājā* and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Amtiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria.[2] In March 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict xiii (l. 8), the names of Turamāya, Amtikona,[3] and Magā, whom he most ingeniously identified with Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (?) and Magas of Cyrine. At the same time he modified his earlier theory and now referred the name Antiyoka to Antiochus I or II of Syria, preferably the former.

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king who was mentioned after Magā is lost. The Shāhbāzgaṛhi version calls him Alikasundara. E. Norris recognized that this name corresponds to the Greek 'Αλεξάνδρος, and suggested hesitatingly that Alexander of Epirus, the son of Pyrihus, might be meant by it.[4] This identification was endorsed by Westerguard,[5] Lassen,[6] and Senart.[7] But Professor Beloch thinks that Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus, had a better claim.[8]

" The mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarshi," says E. Hultzsch, " confirms in a general

1. E. Hultzsch, *Date of Asoka*, *JRAS*, (1914), 943.
2. *JASB*, VII. 156.
3. In reality Girnār and Kālsī read *Amtekina*, Shāhbāzgaṛhī *Amtikini*. Buhler (*ZDMG.*, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, though it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in B.C. 316, being then satrap of Suslana.
4. *JRAS*, (*o. s.*), 205.
5. *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.
6. *Ind. Alt.*, 253 ff.
7. *IA*, XX. 242.
8. *Griech. Gesch.*, 3, 2, 105.

way the corrections of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned B.C. 280-261, his son Antiochus II Theos 261-246, Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt 285-247, Antigonus Gonates of Macedonia 276-239, Magas of Cyrene *c.* 300—*c.* 250, Alexander of Epirus 272—*c* 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252—*c.* 244."

58. This identification of Sandrocottus with Canḍragupṭa Maurya furnished a very certain starting point in investigating what appeared to be such a huge field of uncertainties as Indian Chronology. Thus, according to Buddhist traditions, it is said, Buḍḍha died 162 years before Canḍragupṭa. Max Muller supposes that "Chandragupta became king about 315 B.C., and so he places the death of Buddha 162 plus 315 or 477 B.C. Or again 32 years after Chandragupta, Asoka is said to have become king, that is 315—52 or 263 B.C.; and his "inauguration" is said to have taken place in 259 B.C. At the time of Asoka's inauguration 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha's death." Hence Buddha must have also died in 477 B.C.

59. Thus came in the ANCHOR SHEET OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY. It fell to the glorious lot of Vincent E. Smith to sponsor this hypothesis and instal it on a firmer pedestal. Glory is god-made and V. S. Smith was destined for it.[1] He took the chronological identity so premised by the predecessors in this historical heirarchy as the basis of further calculation of the exact dates of the different dynasties that ruled over Magaḍha before and after the Mauryas. He was able to invoke the aid of numismatics in addition to epigraphy. He could interpret the eras, particularly the Gupṭa era of the inscriptions and the legends on the coins, and discover a confirmation of the earlier opinions. He could not however get over, as if by compunction, the need to follow the Purāṇas in the enumeration of the kings and their dynasties; he took the dynasties and the succession of kings as they were, he did not call them fictitious. He had objection to the long

1. The reader may well be reminded of the facicious address of Gopi to Śri Kṛṣṇa :

उर्व्याः कोऽपि महीधरो लघुतरो दोर्भ्यां धृतो लीलया
तेन त्वं दिवि भूतले च सततं गोवर्धनो गीयसे ।
त्वां त्रैलोक्यधरं वहामि कुचयोरग्रे न तद्गण्यते ।
किं वा केशव भाषणेन बहुना पुण्यैर्यशो लभ्यते ॥

periods of years that these Purāṇas sometimes assigned to particular kings or dynasties. They were improbable and fanciful and so on their face unreliable ! So he set out to sift the intervals of time and adjust the dates and periods on a rational basis, a basis that would quite convince the modern mind of a reasonable probability. The device of reduction of time is in short this :

Where the Purāṇas have different readings the shortest number of years is adopted; where the Purāṇas give a long period to any reign, it is reduced to 20 years as the average ascertainable in royal histories elsewhere; where the Purāṇas give only brief terms of a few years or a few months, that is adopted as correct. The result of these reductions will be seen below :—

	PURANAS.	V. SMITH.
Nanḍas	100 (1635-1535 B.C.)	45
Mauryas	316 (1535-1219 B.C.)	137
Sungas	300 (1219—919 B C.)	112
Kaṇvas	85 (919—834 B.C.)	45
Ānḍhras	506 (834—328 B.C.)	289
Gupṭas	245 (328—-83 B.C.)	149

Thus, according to Vincent Smith's Canḍragupṭa became king in 322 B.C., and Buḍḍha died in 487 B.C., this allows 50 years for the *Nanḍas*, before Canḍragupṭa, and 250 years for the *Saisunagas* before the Nandas. And so he begins his *Early History* from about 602 B.C. Likewise, starting from 322 B.C., V. Smith allows 137 years for the Maurya Dynasty and places Sunga kings in 185-73 B.C., and Kaṇva kings in 73 to 28 B.C., and so on bringing the list down to Ānḍhras and Gupṭas. I extract the passage :

"Although the discrepant traditionary materials available do not permit the determination with accuracy of the chronology of the Saisunaga and Nanda dynasties, it is, I venture to think, possible to attain a tolerably close approximation to the truth, and to reconcile some of the traditions. The fixed point from which to reckon backwards is *the year 322 B.C., the date for the succession of Chandragupta Maurya,* which is certainly correct, with a possible error not exceeding three years. The second principal datum is the list of ten kings of the Saisunaga dynasty as given in the oldest historical entries in the Puranas, namely those in the MATSYA and the VAYU, the general correctness of which is confirmed by several lines of evidence; and the third is the probable date of the death of Buddha.

Although the fact that the Saisunaga dynasty consisted of ten kings may be admitted, neither the duration assigned by the Puranas to the dynasty as a whole, nor that allotted to certain reigns, can be accepted. Experience proves that in a long series an average of twenty-five years to a generation is rarely attained, and that this average is still more rarely exceeded in a series of reigns as distinguished from generations.

The English series of ten reigns from Charles II to Victoria, inclusive, 1649-1901 (reckoning the accession of Charles II from the death of his father in 1649), occupied 252 years, and included the two exceptionally long reigns of George III and Victoria, aggregating 124 years. *The resultant average, 25.2 years per reign, may be taken as the maximum possible, and consequently 252 years are the maximum allowable for the ten Saisunaga reigns.* The Puranic figures of 321 (MATSYA) and 332 (VAYU) years, obtained by adding together the durations of the several reigns may be *rejected* without hesitation as being incredible. The MATSYA account concludes with the statement, 'These will be the ten Saisunaga kings. The Saisunagas will endure 360 years, being kings with Kshatriya kinsfolk.' Mr. Pargiter suggests that the figures '360' should be interpreted as '163'. If that interpretation be accepted the average length of reign would be only 16.3, and it would be difficult to make Buddha (died cir. 487) contemporary with Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. It is more probable that the dynasty lasted for more than *two centuries.*

As stated in the text, the traditional periods assigned to the Nanda dynasty of either 100 or 150 years for two generations cannot be accepted. *A more reasonable period of fifty years may be provisionally assumed.* We thus get the 302 (252 plus 50) as the miximum admissible period for the Saisunaga and Nanda dynasties combined; and, reckoning backwards from the fixed point, 322 B.C., The Year 624 B.C., is found to be the earliest possible date for Sisunaga, the first king. But of course the true date may be, and probably is, somewhat later, because it is extremely unlikely that twelve reigns (ten Saisunaga and two Nanda) should have attained an average of 25.16 years.

The reigns of the fifth and sixth kings, Bimbisara or Srenika, and Ajatasatru or Kunika, were well remembered owing to the wars and events in religious history which marked them. We may therefore assume that the lengths of those reigns were known more or less accu-

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rately, and are justified in accepting the concurrent testimony of the VAYU and MATSYA Puranas, that Bimbisara reigned for twenty-eight years.

Ajatasatru is assigned twenty-five or twenty-seven years by different Puranas, and thirty-two years by Tibetan and Ceylonese Buddhist tradition. I assume the correctness of the oldest Puranic list, that of the MATSYA, and take his reign to have been twenty-seven years. The real existence of Darsaka (erroneously called Vamsaka by the MATSYA) having been established by Bhasa's VASAVADATTA, his reign may be assigned twenty-four years, as in the MATSYA. Udaya, who is mentioned in the Buddhist books, and is said to have built Pataliputra, is assigned thirty-three years by the Puranas, which may pass.

The VAYU and MATSYA Puranas respectively assign eighty-five and eighty-three years to the sum of the reigns of kings numbers 9 and 10 together. These figures are improbably high, and it is unlikely that the two reigns actually occupied more than fifty years. *The figure 46 is assumed.*

The evidence as far as it goes, and at best it does not amount to much, indicates that the average length of the later reigns was in excess of the normal figure. We may *assume*, therefore, that the first four reigns, about which nothing is known must have been comparatively short, and did not exceed some seventy or eighty years collectively. An assumption that these reigns were longer would unduly prolong the total duration of the dynasty, the beginning of which *must be dated* about 600 B.C., or a little earlier.

The existence of a great body of detailed traditions, which are not mere mythological legends, sufficiently establishes the facts that both Mahavira, the Jain leader, and Gautama Buddha were contemporary to a considerable extent with one another and with the kings Bimbisara and Ajatasatru.

Tradition also indicates that Mahavira predeceased Buddha. The death of these saints form well-marked epochs in the history of Indian religion, and are constantly referred to by ecclesiastical writers for chronological purposes. It might therefore be expected that the traditional dates of the two events would supply at once the desired clue to the dynastic chronology. But close examination of conflicting

traditions raises difficulties. The year 527 (528-7) B.C., the most commonly quoted date for the death of Mahavira, is merely one of several traditionary dates, and it seems to be impossible to reconcile the Jain traditions either among themselves or with the known approximate date of Chandragupta."

60. This exposition of V. E. Smith has become the unalterable standard for later scholars.[1] Great and sincere as many of these scholars have been, they did not dare or care to go behind Smith's fiats and if any did differ from him, it was over the insignificant question of the particular year in which Canḍragupṭa was crowned, if it was 312, 315, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326 or 327 B.C.[2] Thus Fleet says:—

Now, in all matters of the most ancient Indian chronology, the great "sheet anchor" is, and has been ever since 1798, the date of Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśōka the Maurya, as determined by the information furnished by the Greek writers. In recent years, indeed, there has been a tendency to believe that we have something still more definite in the reference to certain foreign kings in the thirteenth rock-edict of Aśōka. But, as may be shown on some other occasion, there is nothing in that, beyond proof that that edict, framed not earlier than the ninth year after the *abhisheka* or anointment of Asōka to the sovereignty, and most probably in the thirteenth year, was framed not before B.C. 272; and that does not help as much, because the *abhisheka* of Asōka might, so far as that goes, be put back to even as early a year as B.C. 284. In all that we have as yet been able to determine about Aśōka, there is nothing that enables us to improve upon what we could already determine about Chandragupta. From the Greek writers, we know that Chandragupta became king of Northern India at some time between B.C. 326 and 312. Within those limits, different writers, have selected different years; B.C. 325, 321, 316, 315 and 312. The latest selection is, I suppose, that made by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early Hsstory of India*, 173; namely, B.C. 321."[3]

1. V. R. Ramachandra Diksitar, *Matsyapurana*, Madras; R. D. Banerjee, *Age of Imperial Guptas*, Benares, Dinescandra Sircar, *Successors of Sātavāhanas*, *Jl. of Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta, Vol. 26; Dhirendranath Mukhopadhyaya, *True Dates of Buddha and Connected Epochs*, Ibid. Vol. 27.

2. See M. Senart, *IA*, XX. 229; S. Gopala Iyer, *IA*, XXXVII. 341; Buhler, *IA*, VI. 149, *EI*, III, 134; Fleet, *JRAS*, (1904) 1, (1906) 983; V. Smith, *EHI*, 173.

3. Fleet, *JRAS*, (1906) ,984.

61. The deductions and inferences of V. Smith have come to stay. But the traditional reputation has been too staring in its assertion that Mahābhārața War happened at the end of Dvāparayuga, 37 years before the advent of Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C. Later scholars, to whom the tradition was a fraud resorted to the only alternative viz.. to post-date the beginning of Kaliyuga so as to preserve the Purāṇic Synchronism of Mahābharața War with about the end of Ḍvāparayuga. Even there the sayings of V. Smith were adopted as canons of indubitable truth and the dates were worked up on their basis only and this had been done in wholesale disregard of the care and precision with which the Purāṇas recorded the calculations of political history.

62. The Purāṇas uniformly give two methods, which are corroborative of each other, in calculating the dates of these Hindu Dynasties. One starts from the close of the Mahābhārața War and almost co-evally with the commencement of the Kaliyuga, from which time the number of years that each king reigned is given. The other starts from the Sapțarși Era or the Laukikābḍa, whose cycle consisting of 2700 years is accepted by all authorities to have commenced about 4992 years ago corresponding to 3676 B.C. Now the Purāṇas state the First cycle of this Sapțarși Era or Laukikābḍa commenced at the time of Parīkșiț, that the Sapțarșis were in Māghā at his time, that they move in a retrograde motion and take 100 years to pass from one Nakșațra to another, that they were in Purvāșādha (or the 16th Nakșațra from Māgha) at the time of the commencement of the Nanḍa dynasty, that they were in Ciṭrā-Nakșațra (or the 24 Nakșațra from Māgha) at the commencement on the Āndhra Dynasty and that at the beginning of the reign of the 27th king of the Āndhra Dynasty, the cycle repeated itself, the Sapțarșis having come back to Māgha. So there must have elapsed at least 1500 years between Parīkșiț and Mahāpaḍma Nanḍa, 2300 years between Parīkșiț and Āndhra Simuka (Śrī Śātakarṇi) the Founder of the Āndhra Dynasty and 270 years between Parīkșiț and Sivaśrī Śāțakarṇi, the 27th king of the Āndhra Dynasty, and that this king Śivaśrī must have commenced his reign in the year 377 B.C.

63. The Mahābhārața War starts the Purānic chronology, that is, at 3139 B.C. The periods assigned to the eight dynasties that ruled over Magaḍha, Bārhaḍrațha to Āndhra is made up 2811 years thus :—

	Dynasty	No. of Kings		years.
1.	Bārhaḍraṭha (post-Bhāraṭa)	22		1006
2.	Praḍyoṭa	5		138
3.	Śaiśunāga	10		360
4.	Nanḍa	9	(2 generations)	100
5.	Maurya	12		316
6.	Sunga	10		300
7.	Kaṇva	4		85
8.	Anḍhra	32		506
			Total[1] ...	2811

2811 years after the Mahābhāraṭa War or about 328 B.C., the sovereignty of Magaḍha passed into the hands of a line called *Pārvaṭiyā* and *Anḍhrabhṛṭya*, the first king of which was Canḍraguptạ.

64. This Sapṭarṣi Era is fully described in all the Purāṇas in words almost similar to one another and the following passage from the Kaliyuga-Rāja-Vṛṭṭānṭa may suffice as an example :—

सप्तविंशतिपर्यन्ते कृत्स्ने नक्षत्रमण्डले ।
सप्तर्षयस्तु तिष्ठन्ति पर्यायेण शतं शतम् ॥

सप्तर्षीणां युगं ह्येतद् दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम् ।
समा दिव्याः स्मृताः सप्त दिव्या मासाः षडेव हि ॥

ऋक्षादृक्षं शतेनाऽब्दैर्यान्ति चित्रशिखण्डिनः ।
दिव्यः सप्तर्षिकालोऽयं क्रमादेवं प्रवर्तते ॥

सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्यते ह्युदितौ दिवि ।
तयोस्तु मध्ये नक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत् समं निशि ॥

तेन सप्तर्षयो युक्तास्तिष्ठन्त्यब्दशतं नृणाम् ।
नक्षत्राणामृषीणाञ्च योगस्यैतन्निदर्शनम् ॥

यदा देवर्षयः सप्त मघासु विचरन्ति हि ।
तदा प्रवृत्तश्च कलिर्द्वादशाब्दशतात्मकः ॥

1. As summed up in Kaliyuga-Rājavṛṭṭānṭa or 2836 according to Maṭsya ?
Vincent Smith commits an eggregious blunder in making the first 10 or 11 kings of the Anḍhra dynasty contemporaneous with the preceding dynasties and holding that the slayer of the last Kaṇva king " apparently must have been one or other of three Anḍhra kings namely No. 11, 12 or 13 " *Early History* p. 206.

यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव हि वत्सरे ।
प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगमिति प्राहुः पुराविदः ॥

यावत् स भगवान् विष्णुः पस्पर्शेमां वसुन्धराम् ।
तावत् पृथ्वीं पराक्रांतुं समर्थो नाऽभवत् कलिः ॥

यदा मघाभ्यो यास्यन्ति पूर्वाषाढां महर्षयः ।
ततः प्रभृत्येव कलिर्वृद्धिं यास्यति निश्चितम् ॥

यदा युधिष्ठिरो राजा शक्रप्रस्थे प्रतिष्ठितः ।
तदा सप्तर्षयः प्रापुर्मघाः पितृहिते रताः ॥

पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणि प्राक् कलेः सप्त ते द्विजाः ।
मघास्वासन् महाराजे शासत्युर्वीं युधिष्ठिरे ॥

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षेषु गतेष्वथ कलौ युगे ।
समाश्रयिष्यन्त्याश्लेषां मुनयस्ते शतं समाः ॥

तदैव धर्मपुत्रोऽपि महाप्रस्थानमास्थितः ।
भुवं परिभ्रमन्नन्ते स्वर्गमारोक्ष्यति ध्रुवम् ॥

तदैव लौकिकाब्दोऽपि सप्तविंशशतात्मकः ।
धर्मपुत्रज्ञापकार्थं लोके तावत् प्रवर्तितः ॥

सप्तविंशान्ध्रनृपतेः काले भाव्यस्य ते पुनः ।
आश्लेषां सम्प्रयास्यन्ति युगस्यान्ते सुरर्षयः ॥

सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ताः काले यौधिष्ठिरे शतम् ।
श्रवणे ते भविष्यन्ति काले नन्दस्य भूपतेः ॥

चतुर्विंशेऽथ नक्षत्रे भविष्यन्ति शतं समाः ।
आन्ध्रराज्यारम्भकालादारभ्यैते सुरर्षयः ॥

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।
एवमेव सहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

आन्ध्रराज्योपक्रमात्तु यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ प्रमाणज्ञैः समाः स्मृताः ॥

यदा पुनर्वसुं यास्यन्त्येते सप्तर्षयः पुनः ।
तदा श्रीगुप्तवंश्यानां राष्ट्रं दैन्यं गमिष्यति ॥

पूर्वाभाद्रां यदा ते तु प्रवेक्ष्यन्ति पुनर्द्विजाः ।
गुप्तेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं तदा पालान् गमिष्यति ॥

—Bhaga III : Chapter III.

The above passage may be freely translated as follows :

' In the circle of the lunar asterisms (Nakshatras) wherein the great constellation of the Sapta Rishis (constituting the Great Bear or the Ursa Major) revolve, and which contain 27 asterisms (like Aśvinī, Bharaṇi, Kṛittikā, etc.) in its circumference (ecliptic consisting of 360°, each Nakshatra or lunar asterism being equal to 13°-20' of the ecliptic), the Seven Sages remain for 100 years in each asterism in turn (the Rishis taking 2700 years to make a circuit of the heavens).

This is the Cycle of the Seven Seers (consisting of 2700 human years) and is reckoned in the terms of Divine years (360 human years being equal to 1 Divine year). And the total period is equal to 7 Divine years and 6 Divine months (i.e., 7½ times 360 or 2700 human years).

The constellation of the Seven Saints (or the Seven Stars of the Wain, consisting of Marīchi, Vasishṭha accompanied by the Sukshmatārā Arundhatī, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu) takes a period of 100 years to go over each of the 27 asterisms, (and it goes through these 27 asterisms in a retrograde order, as the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac which comprise these 27 asterisms are arranged in a retrograde order around the ecliptic). Thus the Saptarshi-Kala (or the Samvat of the Haft Rikheshar), consisting of a cycle of 2700 years, has come to be constituted.

The two front stars (Pulaha and Kratu) of the great constellation of the Seven Sages which are seen (in the northern region) when risen at night, the lunar asterism or Nakshatra which is seen situated equally between them in the sky is said to govern the same—the constellation of the Sapta Rishis being known as conjoined with that asterism for 100 human years. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar asterisms and the constellation of the Sapta Rishis :

When the constellation of the Seven Sages remained conjoined with the asterism of Maghās, then the Kali Age (the sinful Kaliyuga) comprising 1200 Divine years (or 432,000 common human years) began.

When Lord Kṛishṇa returned to Heaven (i.e., left this mundane world), then in that very same year (on the first day of Chaitra of the year Pramathin according to the Southern school of Astronomers),—say the knowers of the ancient history.—the present Kaliyuga (of the 28th Mahayuga comprising 12,000 Divine years) commenced

As long as the Great Incarnation of the Divine Vishṇu continued to touch the Earth (with His holy feet), so long the Kali Age was unable to approach the Earth.

When the Seven Rishis shall pass from the Maghas and reach the asterism of Purvāshāḍhā, then will, indeed, the Kali Age begin to grow.

When Prince Yudhishṭhira was for the first time crowned as king at Indraprastha (and established himself with his brothers, as master of half of the kingdom belonging to his father Paṇḍu), then the Seven Rishis of the constellation of the Ursa Major entered the lunar asterism of Maghas which were sacred and propitious to the Pitṛis.

The Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) entered the asterism of the Maghas, just 75 years before the beginning of the Kaliyuga (in the year 3177 B.C.) at the commencement of the reign of the great king Yudhishṭhira who ruled the Earth during the said period.

These Seven Sages will enter the asterism of Āślesha on the expiry of 25 years from the commencement of the Kali Age (in the year 3077 B.C.) and they will continue to remain in that asterism for a period of 100 human years (from 3077 B.C. to 2977 C,)

In that very same year (3077 B.C.) will Dharmaputra (Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the five Paṇḍava brothers) ascend to Heaven (Svargarohana) after wandering over the earth for a long time (having abdicated the throne in favour of Parikshit,, the grandson of his brother Arjuna and started on his Mahaprasthana with his brothers and wife on hearing the sad and sudden news of the departure of Śri Kṛishṇa from the world).

Then will the Laukikabda or the Laukika Era consisting of a cycle of 2700 years be started in the world in commemoration of the Ascension of Dharmaputra into Heaven.

These Divine Sages (consisting the constellation of the Ursa Major) will reach (the lunar asterism) Aślesha a second time (in their revolution) at the time of the commencement of the reign of the 27th King of the Andhra Dynasty (Śivaśri Śatakarṇi who began to rule Magadha in the year 2762 A. Y. correspouding to 377 B.C.—one com plete cycle of 2700 years having elapsed since the expiry of the 25th year of ths Kali-Yuga, when they first reached Āślesha after the Mahabharata War).

These Seven Sages were conjoined with the asterism Magha for a period of 100 years during the time of Yudhisṭhira : and at the time of the commencement of the reign of King Nanda (Mahapadma), they will be conjoined with the asterism (Śravaṇa (the 15th Nakshatra from Magha calculated, of course, in a reverse order).

From the commencement of the Āndhra Dynasty (at Magadha) the Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) will be found conjoined with (Chitra) the 24th lunar asterism (calculated from and inclusive of Magha).

The interval of time between the birth of Parikshit (son of Abhimanyu by Uttara, and grandson of Arjuna, who was in the womb of his mother at the time of the Mahabharata War) and the inauguration of Mahapadma Nanda (the Founder of the Nanda Dynasty) is to be known as 1500 yesrs.

According to competent authorities (Pramaṇajnas) the interval of time between the coronation of Mahapadma Nanda (who came to the throne of Magadha in 1504 A. Y.) and the commencement of the Āndhra Dynasty (which began to rule Magadha in 1305 A. Y.) is stated to be fuil 800 years.

When the great constellation of the Seven sages of the Ursa Major shall again reach the asterism Punarvasu (in its second revolution after the Mahabharata War), the Empire of the great Gupta Kings shall begin to decline: and when they shall actually enter the asterism of Purvabhadra thereafter, the kingdom of Magadba will pass from the Guptas to the Pala kings.'

65. According to Vāyu and Maṭsya Purāṇas the interval between the birth of Parīkṣiṭ and coronation of Mahāpaḍma Nanḍa, is 1500 years:

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु जन्म यावत् परीक्षितः ।
एकं वर्षसहस्रन्तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

But some versions of Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa differ and state that interval to be 1115 years. The text reads:

आरभ्य भवतो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चदशोत्तम् ॥

—Skānḍa XII, Ch. II, v. 26.

This will mean "From your birth (Parīkṣit is addressed by Śuka) to the inauguration of Nanḍa 1115 years will elapse." Yet according to the duration of the different intermediate dynasties as enumerated by it in Skānḍa XII, Chapter I, the interval comes to 1498 years viz.,

Bārhaḍraṭha kings	1000 years
Praḍyōta kings	138 „
Śaiśunāga kings	360 „
Total	1498 years

This mistake has struck the celebrated commentators, Śrīḍharasvāmin and Virarāghava and they distinctly suggest tbat the reading should be—

"एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् "

For Śrīḍhara in commenting upon this verse states:

'आरभ्येत्यादिना—वर्षसहस्रं पञ्चदशोत्तरं शतं चेति कयाऽपि विवक्षया अवान्तर संख्येयम् । वस्तुतस्तु परीक्षिन्नन्दयोरन्तरं द्वाभ्यां नूनं वर्षाणां सार्धसहस्रं भवति । यत: परीक्षित्समकालं मागधं मार्जारिमारभ्य रिपुञ्जयान्ता विंशतिराजान: सहस्रसंवत्सरं भोक्ष्यन्तीत्युक्तं नवमस्कन्धे—

' "ये बार्हद्रथभूपाला: भाव्या: साहस्रवत्सरम् ।"—इति । तत: परं पञ्च प्रद्योतना अष्टत्रिंशोत्तरं शतम्' शिशुनागाश्च 'षष्ट्युत्तरशतत्रयं भोक्ष्यन्ति पृथिवीम् इति अत्रैवोक्तत्वात् ॥'

Thus we have the authority of Śrīḍharasvāmin and Vīrarāghava to say that 1500 years is the interval between Parīkṣiṭ and Nanḍa.

66. But having adopted the wrong readings and reduced the period of interval between the birth of Parīkṣiṭ and the coronation of Nanḍa to 1015, 1050 or 1115 years, these Orientalists bring down the date of the commencement of the Kali Yuga itself as low as possible. Assuming the wrong synchronism between Sandracottus of the Greeks and Canḍraguplta Maurya, they place the accession of Canḍraguplta Maurya to the throne of Magadha in 322 B.C.; and calculating backwards and forwards from that date (while accepting the Lists of Kings given in the Purāṇas and the regnal periods given of those kings as correct) fix the date of the accession of Nanḍa to the throne in 422 B.C., just placing him 100 years before the accession of Canḍraguplta to the throne, and conclude that Kali Yuga must have commenced 1015, 1050 or 1115 years before that date; that is in 1437 B.C. or 1537 B.C.

conceding for all practical purposes the commencement of the Kali Yuga to be synchronous with the Birth of Parīkṣiṭ, the Coronation of Yuḍhisṭhira and the Great War of the Mahābhāraṭa. This false synchronism between Sandracottus of the Greeks and Canḍraguptạ Maurya of the Indians has become so much rooted in the bed of Indian Chronology, that scholars Śriśa Chandra Vidyārnava and F. E. Pargiter placed the commencement of Kaliyuga in 1733 B.C.

"The method of calculation", says Srisa Chandra "adopted by the Purāṇas, however, is to take Nanda as the starting point. The last of the Śiśunāga was Mahānandin, who had a son by a Sūdrā woman. He was known as Mahāpadma or the famous Nanda, whose eight sons succeeded him. This Nanda family was brought to an end by the Indian Machiavelli, Kautilya or Chānakya. Chandragupta was placed on the throne of the Nandas by this Kautilya or Chāṇakya. About this event V. Smith says :—

'Mahānandin, the last of the Dynasty, is said to have had, by a Śūdrā or low caste woman, a son, named Mahāpadma Nanda who usurped the throne, and so established the Nanda family or dynasty. This event may be dated in or about 372 B.C. * * *

The Greek or Roman historians * * * ranking as contemporary witnesses throw a light on real history. When Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis, in 326 B.C., he was informed * * * that the king of the Prachei etc. * * * was Xandrames or Agramis.'

The reference to this king is evidently to one of the Nanḍas. The date of the accession of Nanḍa is calculated from that of Chanḍragupṭa Maurya, who ascended the throne in 322 B.C. The Nanḍa Dynasty according to Mr. Vincent Smith, lasted for 50 years, when it was replaced by the Maurya. So adding 50 to 322, the above figure 372 B.C., is arrived at by Mr. V Smith as the date of the accession of Mahāpaḍma Nanḍa. But all the Purāṇas are unanimous in stating that the nine Nanḍas reigned for 100 years, and we have taken that in our calculations. The date of accession of Mahāpaḍma Nanḍa would, therefore, be 422 B.C. instead of 372 B.C.

Thus 422 B.C. is the starting point backwards and forwards in the Purānic calculations.

Chandragupta Maurya displaced the Nanda family. The nine Nandas reigned for 100 years. Before that, there was the Śiśunaga Dynasty, and before that was the Pradyōta Dynasty, and before that

the Brihadrathas. The following table shows the periods of the reigns of these dynasties :—

(1)	Chandragupta's accession	322 B.C.
(2)	Nanda Dynasty	100
(3)	Śiśunāgas	360
(4)	Pradyōtas	152 (?)
(5)	Bārhadrathas from the time of Chaidyōparichara	1000
	Total	1612
	Deduct from Chaidya to Sahadēva	171
	Balance	1441, and
	adding	322
		1763 B.C., the year of the Great War.

The Mahābhārata War took place when Sahadēva of Bārhadratha family, was king. From Vasu Chaidya Uparichara up to Sahadēva there were 13 kings, namely, (1) Vasu Chaidya Uparichara, (2) Bṛihadratha, (3) Kuśāgra, (4) Vṛishabha, (5) Puṇyavan or Pushpavan, (6) Puṇya or Pushya, (7) Satyadhṛiti, (8) Dhanusha, (9) Sarva, (10) Sambhava, (11) Brihadratha, (12) Jarāsandha, and (13) Sahādēva. After Sahādēva there were 19 or 32 kings (or 22 according to Mr. Pargiter) up to Ripunjaya the last. The Great War, therefore, took place, on the above assumption, *one thousand four hundred and forty one years before the accession of Chandragupta in 322 B.C., or in other words that the Great War took place in or about 1763 B.C.*"

67. Mr. Pargiter, however, in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age* arrives at the year 1810 B.C. as the date of the Great War of Mahābhārața. He says that from Sōmādhi to Ripunjaya there were 22 kings in the Bārhadratha Dynasty who reigned for 920 years. The Pradyōtas after Ripunjaya were 5 kings who reigned for 138 years. The Śaiśunāgas who came after the Pradyōtas were 10 kings and reigned for 330 years. Adding up the above mentioned three figures, 920 plus 138 plus 330, he gets the sum 1388 years, which according to his calculation, was the interval between the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda and the birth of Parīkṣit or the Great War. Adding 422 B.C., the year of the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda (which is of course assumed as a

postulate of Indian History). Mr. Pargiter comes to the figure 1810 B.C. as the date of the Mahābhāraṭa War.

The fanciful speculutions involved in these theories regarding the date of the Mahābhārata War will be manifest to any disinterested reader of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas. The conclusions were so uncertain that Śriśa Chandra Vidyārṇava reviewed his own original theory at a later stage and refixed the date of the Great War in 1922 B.C. (still following, the false synchronism between Canḍraguptạa Maurya and Sandracottus).

68. Thus, we see that Vincent Smith is the modern protogonist of this identity, *the Anchor-Sheet of Indian Chronology.* It is he that is quoted and followed without inquiry by our Indian Professors of history and it is that chronology that is and *must be* taught in our schools. By sheer repetition by men in authority and in the works that emanate from them, 'the theory had almost become an axiom and rarely does any thought occur for any fair investigation. Day after day the assumed identity takes a firmer root and it is considered a matter of senility or superstition to express a need for a reconsideration. Hasty generalisations lead to prepossessions and it is rarely human to attempt to demonstrate their reality. It may appear therefore, a futile cry to seek to go behind these established opinions and to ask the reader to forbear and see for himself on the original bases of this theory, if, after all, the narratives of the Purāṇas, so honestly planned, are 'pious frauds.' For the vindication of the morality of our sages and the merit of our traditional lore, a lore adored by the millions of Hindu India, an attempt must be made, be the effect what it may.[1]

69. Max Muller himself was not slow to condemn in others this tendency to generalise. Says he: " Men who possessed the true faculty of an historian like Niebuhr, have abstained from passing sentence on the history of a nation whose literature had only just been recovered, and had not yet passed through the ordeal of philological criticism......... Other historians however thought they could do what Niebuhr had left undone; and after perusing some poems of Kalidasa, some fables of Hitopadesa, some verses of the Ananda-lahari, or the mystic poetry of

1. See also R. K. Mookerji, *Later Gupta History and Chronology, Jl. of Ind. History*, IV. 17; Dineschandra Sarcar, *Dynastic History of Northern India*; Jyotirmoy Sen, *Riddle of Pradyota Dynasty, IHQ*, (1930), 678; H. D. Bhide, *Pradyota Dynasty, JBORS*, (1921); K. P. Jayaswal, *Chandragupta II and his predecessors, JBARS*, XVIII. 17.

the Bhagavad-gita, they gave with the aid of Megasthenes and Appollonius of Tyana a so-called historical account of the Indian nation without being aware that they were using as contemporary witnesses authors as distant as Dante and Virgil. No nation has in this respect been more unjustly treated than the Indian. Not only have general conclusions been drawn from the most scanty materials but the most questionable and spurious authorities have been employed without the least historical investigation." H. H. Wilson, earlier, in the preface to his translation of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, had remarked "Impatience to generalise has availed itself of whatever promised to afford materials for generalisation, and the most erroneous views have often been confidently advocated because the guides to which their authors trusted were ignorant or inefficient."

70. The various accounts given of Canḍraguptạ and Aśoka by Hindu and Buddhist writers, have contributed to a large extent to the manipulation of Indian chronology at the historian's pleasure. In his play Muḍrārākṣasa Viśākhaḍaṭṭa who wrote about 5th century A.D. dramatises the events relating to Canḍraguptạ and his account is mostly in agreement with the Purāṇic tale. He calls Canḍraguptạ a Maurya and does not describe his parentage.

The object of the play, says Wilson, "is to reconcile Rākshasa, the hostile minister of Nanda, the late king of Palibothra (Pāṭalīputra), to the individuals by whom, or on whose behalf, his sovereign was murdered,—the Brāhman Chāṇakya and the Prince Chandragupta. With this view, he is rendered by the contrivances of Chāṇakya, an object of snspicion to the Prince with whom he has taken refuge, and is consequently dismissed by him. In this deserted condition, he learns the imminent danger of a dear friend, whom Chāṇakya is about to put to death; and in order to effect his liberation, surrenders himself to his enemies. They offer him, contrary to his expectations, the rank and power of prime minister; and the parties are finally friends."

71. The Buddhistic accounts such as Mahāvaṁśa and Dīpavaṁśa give a description of the first three kings only of the Dynasty. The accounts given of Canḍraguptạ's origin and parentage are various and contradictory. By one account it is said that Murā, the mother of Canḍraguptạ, was the servant girl of Ḍhana Nanḍa, the last of the Nanḍa Dynasty, and by her influence she had her son placed on the throne of Magaḍha at Pāṭalīpuṭra. Another account makes him a member of an Ānḍhra family, and says that he acquired the sovereign power by his

own skill and exertion. The writer evidently confuses here the accounts of the two Candraguptas, Candragupta of the Maurya Dynasty with Candragupta the Founder of the Gupta Dynasty, and an illegitimate son of the Āndhra family, for the Āndhra family itseif came into existence about 700 years after the accession of Candragupta Maurya.

According to Northern Buddhistic accounts Candragupta was a member of the Śākya family which in consequence of some political intrigues was driven away from its territory. The family repaired to a forest in the Himavanta and there constructed a new town in a delightful and beautiful locality. The streets and houses in the town having been laid after the pattern of a peacock's neck, it was called by the name of Mōriya-nagara, and the family by the name of *Moriya*, and the kingdom founded by it Mōriya Dynasty. The explanation is ingenious and is probably based upon a confusion of the Prākrit forms of the words Maurya (मौर्य) and Mayūra (मयूर).

The Ṭika on this Buddhistic account gives a curious origin of the name of this prince Candragupta. It is stated that while Candragupta was still in the womb, his father's dominions were taken possession of by another powerful neighbouring chief, and his father himself was killed in the contest. "His mother, the queen consort of the monarch of the Mōriya-nagara (मयूरनगर), the city before mentioned, was fully pregnant at the time when that powerful provincial Rāja conquered that kingdom, and put the Mōriyan king to death. In her anxiety to preserve the child in her womb, she departed for the capital of Pupphapura (Pushpapura) under the protection of her elder brothers, and under disguise she dwelt there. At the completion of the ordinary term of pregnancy, she gave birth to a son, and relinquishing him to the protection of the *dēvos*, she placed him in a vase, and deposited him at the door of a cattle-pen. A bull named Chando (चन्द्र) stationed himself by him, to protect him. A herdsman, on observing this prince, moved by affection, like that borne to his own child, took charge of and tenderly reared him; and in giving him a name, in reference to his having been watched by the bull Chando, he called him 'Chandaguttō' (चन्द्रगुप्त:), and brought him up."

But all the Buddhistic works are agreed on one point that Candragupta owed his sovereignty entirely to Cāṇakya alias Kautilya; and not 'called to royalty by the power of the gods and by prodigies' as stated by Justin with reference to his Sandracottus. Nor is there any reference either in the Hindu or the Buddhistic accounts to

Candragupta Maurya's "having traversed India with an army of 600,000 men and conquered the whole" as stated by Plutarch.

72. The Buddhistic accounts of Aśōka, as given by the two great schools of Buddhism—*Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna*—not only differ from each other but also from the accounts given of Aśōka, the grandson of Candragupta Maurya by the Purāṇic accounts of the Hindus. "There is a good deal of confusion in these Buddhistic works as regards the very family and geneology of Aśōka, the Buddhistic king; and one can easily trace that the life and time of Aśōka must have been constructed by the Buddhistic writers who flourished several hundreds of years after him, by jumbling up the lives of three different Indian kings, viz., (1) of Aśōka, (Dharmaśōka) the third in ascent from Kanishka belonging to the First Gōnanda Dynasty of Kaśmīr kings as described in the First Book of Kalhaṇa's Rāja-Taraṅgiṇi who is said to have freed himself from sins by embracing the faith of Gautama Buddha and by constructing numerous *Vihāras* and *Stūpas*, and by building the town of *Śrīnagarī* with its ninenty-six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth; (2) of Aśōkavardhana (Chanḍāśōka) the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, as described in the Purāṇas; and (3) of Samudragupta or Aśōka the Great, (Mahāśōka) the son of Chandragupta the Founder of the Gupta Dynasty, described by Mr. Vincent A. Smith himself as the Indian Napolean, as narrated by his biographer Harishēṇa, and in the Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛittānta, and as corroborated by his numerous coins and inscriptions recently unearthed by European scholars themselves."

The Mahāvaṁśa, (according Wijesinha's revised edition of Turnour translation) says: "One Kālāśōka had ten sons, who after his death ruled the kingdom righteously for 22 years. They were succeeded by other nine brothers, who likewise, in order of seniority, ruled the kingdom for 22 years. A Brahman named Chāṇakya, who had conceived an implacable hatred against Dhana Nanda, the last survivor of the nine brothers, put that king to death, and placed upon the throne Chandragupta, a member of the princely Mōriya clan descended from the line of the Śākyas, who ruled the country for 34 years. He was succeeded by his son Bindusāra, who ruled the land for 28 years. The sons of Bindusāra, the offspring of sixteen mothers, numbered one hundred and one, of whom the eldest was named Sumana, and the youngest Tishya. A third son, Aśōka, uterine brother of Tishya, had been appointed Viceroy of Ujjain by his father. On receiving news of King Bindusāra's mortal illness, Aśōka hastened to Pāṭalīputra, slew his

eldest brother Sumana and his 98 other brothers and ruled the country for 37 years."

The Dīpavaṁśa, on the other hand, substitutes Śuśunāga for Kā-aśoka and makes Aśōka, the son of Śuśunāga himself, and omits all mention of the nine Nanḍa brothers.

The Aśōkāvadāna (according to the prose version in the Divyāvadāna) gives the following account of the lineage and family of Aśōka :—

"(1) King Bimbisāra reigned at Rājagṛiha. His son was (2) Ajātaśatru, whose son was (3) Udayibhadra, whose son was (4) Muṇḍa, whose son was (5) Kākavarṇin, whose son was (6) Sahālin, whose son was (7) Tulakuchi, whose son was (8) Mahāmaṇḍala, whose son was (9) Prasēnajit, whose son was (10) Nanda, whose son was (11) Bindusāra. King Bindusāra reigned at Pāṭalīputra and had a son named Susīma. To him was born of Subhadrāṅgī, the daughter of a Brāhman, two sons, the elder named Aśōka, and the younger named Vigatāśoka. Aśoka secured the throne by putting to death the legitimate prince Susīma by a stratagem devised by Rādhāgupta by which Susīma was inveigled while marching against the capital, so that he fell into a ditch full of burning fuel and there miserably perished."

Here it will be observed that Canḍragupṭa is altogether omitted, and Binḍusāra, the father of Aśōka, is represented as being the son of Nanḍa. The metrical Aśōkavadāna, on the other hand, substitutes Mahīpala for Ajātaśatru, and exhibits numerous other variations, which deprive these Buddhistic accounts of historical worth. The conquests ascribed to Aśōka in the various Buddhistic accounts are no doubt taken from the conquests of Samuḍragupṭa or Aśōka the Great, and the embassy of the Ceylon king is also tracable to the same origin. The story of his having embraced the faith of Buḍḍha, of his having built sṭūpas and Vihāras, of his having reconstructed the city of Paṭalīpuṭra and of his having introduced several reforms in the affairs of the kingdom and in the matter of the appointment of officers of state are all taken from the accounts of Aśōka and his successors as given by Chhavillākara and by Kalhaṇa in his Rājaṭaranginī.

73. Inferences have been drawn in support of this imaginary synchronism by the dates assigned to Buḍḍha-Nirvāṇa. Opinions are various on that event. "The Northern Buddhists give dates ranging from 2422 to 546 B.C., and the Ain-i Akbari of Abul Fazl fixes 1246 B.C., for

the event. The Tamil Manimegalai gives the year 1616 of some unknown era, probably of the Kali, and the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam have uniformly been regulating their calenders on the basis that the Nirvana occured in B.C. 543. The Western scholars are likewise as much divided in their opinion, though their dates range only from 544 to 370 B.C. Professors Rhys Davids and Kern give 412 and 388 B.C. respectively for the Para Nirvāna, whereas Max Muller to the last maintained that 477 B.C., was the correct date. Dr. Fleet considers the event to have taken place in B.C. 482[1] and Professor Oldenberg and M. Barth fix it in 480 B.C. Mr. V. A. Smith has given us three different dates, B.C. 508 in his 'Asoka', 487 in his 'Early India', and 480 to 470 B.C. in a recently published article."[2]

The Maurya dynasty ruled at Magaḍha according to the Purāṇas in 1535-1219 B.C, and Canḍragupṭa ascended the throne in 1538 B.C. But according to modern orientalists the Gupṭa era began somewhere about 325 B.C. There they vary in arranging the date of Canḍragupṭa's coronation between 325 and 312 B.C.,[3] such as 325, 321, 316, 315 and 312. For instance, V. Smith, as we have seen, fixes the coronation of Canḍragupṭa in 321 B.C. But Fleet has a word of condemnation :[4] "Mr. Smith's chronological details are even *inter se* wrong and irreconcilable. The most reliable tradition, adopted by Mr, Smith himself for other ends, gives an interval of 56 years from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta to the *abhisheka* of Aśōka; yet on the same page, Mr. Smith has adopted only 52 years, placing the *abhisheka* of Aśōka in B.C. 269. And further, he has placed only three years earlier, in B.C. 272, that which he has termed the "accession"—(in reality, the usurpation)—of Aśōka ; regardless of the fact that the same tradition makes that interval one of four years.[5] A chronology which includes such inconsistencies and errors as these in some of its radical details cannot in any way be accepted as final."

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1. *JRAS*, (1906) 179 and 669.
2. *Indian Review*, VIII. 561.
3. See M. Senart, *IA*, XX. 229 ; V. Gobala Aiyar, *IA*, XXXVII. 341 ; Buhler, *IA*, VI. 149 ; *EI*, III. 134 ; Fleet, *JRAS*, (1904), 1 ; (1906), 983 ; V. Smith, *EHI*, 173.
4. *JRAS*, (1906), 984.
5. This is easily arrived at, by deduction, from the Dipavamsa, 6, 1. 20, 21. It is expressly stated by the commentary on that work, the Mahavamsa, in the statement about Aśoka (Turnour 21 f.) that :—

   Vemātike bhātare so hantvā ekunakam satam |
   sakale Jambudīpasmim ekarajjam apāpuṇi ||

In a paper read before the First Oriental Conference in Poona in 1919 on the same subject, the epoch of the Early Guptas, Hiralal Amritalal Shah of Bombay again considered the question, and adducing quite different reasons, arrived at about A.D. 200 for the initial date of the early Gupṭa era.

74. In a scholarly examination of the subject R. Shama Sastry thus summarises the results of his research :

"(1) Alberuni's statement that the Gupta Valabhi era A.D. 319-320 was started from the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas is shown to be correct, inasmuch as it is supported by the Prabhāvakacharita.

(2) The initial date of the early Gupta era, as distinguished from the Gupta-Valabhi era of A.D. 319-320, is fixed to lie in A.D. 200-201 on the authority of Jinasena's statement that Guptas ruled for 231 years and preceded the rule of Kalki whose birth date is fixed to be in the Mahāmāgha-samvatsara, A.D. 402 on the authority of Nemichandra's statement made in his Bāhubalicharita that Chāmunḍarāya (A.D. 970-1030) set up the statue of Gomaṭeswara in Belgola on Sunday, the Chaitra sukla panchami of the year Vibhava in Kalki era 600 expired, corresponding to Sunday the 3rd March of A.D. 1028.

(3) With this starting point for the early Gupta era, the date of Silāditya VII or Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhi, Gupta samvatsara 447 comes out to be 200-201+447=A.D. 647, making it possible for the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang to meet him about A.D. 640.

(4) With this initial date of the early Guptas, the last date of Samudragupta's rule will be about A.D. 282 when or a little earlier he could possibly conquer the Shahan Shahis and the last king of the Murunda dynasty of Pataliputra, and when he could receive an embassy from Meghavarnābhaya, king of Ceylon, whose date of accession to the throne is A.D. 254.

(5) This initial date of the Early Guptas plus the inscriptional date

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Jina-nibbānato pachchhā pure tass=ābhisekato |
aṭṭhārasami vassa-satam dvayam evam vijaniyam ||
Patvā chatuhi vassehi ekarajja-mahāyaso |
pure Paṭaliputtasmim attanam abhisechayi ||

"Having slain (*his*) brothers, born of various mothers, to the number of a hundred less by one, he attained sole sovereignty in the whole of Jambudvipa. After the death of the Conqueror (Buddha), (*and*) before the anointment of him (Aśoka), (*there were*) 218 years; thus is it to be understood. Having reached (*a point of time marked*) by four years, he, possessed of the great glory of sole sovereignty, caused himself to be anointed at the town Paṭaliputta.

269 of Mahānāman's construction of a Vihara in Bodhgaya is shown to tally with the Ceylonese date of king Dhatusena (469) whose contemporary was Mahānāman, the priest and founder of the Vihara.

(6) It has also been shown how the last of the Āndhrabhritya kings Sātakarni ḍuṭu-kulananda was contemporary with the first of the Guptas, the successors of the Brihadbāṇas in the north and how Mayurasarman, the first of the Kadambas and conqueror of the Brihadbāṇas in Mysore was contemporary with the same Sātakarni and how Kakutsthavarma living in the 80th year of Kadamba victory was contemporary with Chandragupta II living in the 82nd year of the Gupta era and probably gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta II.

(7) It is also shown how with this starting point for the Gupta era, Thursday coincides with Ashadha Sukla Dvādasi of Budhagupta's inscriptional date, G. S. 165. Here the year taken for verification is A.D. 200-201+G. S. 165 expired=365-366. The twelfth Tithi of Ashadha (June) A.D. 365 is shown to fall on Thursday.

(8) For the assumption that there were two Toramanas and two Mihirakulas, the Chinese accounts of the murder of Simha, the 23rd Buddhist Patriarch, by Mihirakula in about 420 A.D. are to be relied upon. It is however immaterial whether this assumption proves acceptable or not, for the burden of proof for the starting point of the Early Gupta era in A.D. 200-201 does not depend upon it.

(9) As the Early Gupta era of A.D. 200-201 is shown to be quite different from the Gupta-Valabhi era used by the Huns and probably by the Parivrājaka Mahārājas, my scheme does not come into clash with Dr. Fleet's scheme.

(10) This scheme throws a flood of light on what has hitherto been regarded as a dark period between A.D. 200 and 300 in the History of India."[1]

75. Speaking of the Indian sources, Fleet wrotes (*IA*, XXX. 1 :

" We should not be able to deduce the date of Asoka from the Puranas. But we should find that the RAJATARANGINI would place him somewhere about B.C. 1260. We shall find, indeed, that the Nepal VAMSAVALI would place him, roughly, about B.C. 2600. As, however, that list does not mention him as a ruler of Nepal but only as a visitor to the country, we should probably infer a mistake in that account, and prefer to select the date of B.C. 1260. And then we should set about arranging the succession of the kings of India, itself, from the Puranas,

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927).

with B.C. 1260 for the approximate date of the accession of Asoka as our starting-point."

76. In his dissertation on the Chronology of the Hindus, written in 1788 (As. Res. Vol. II, p. iii, reprint of 1799), Sir William Jones took a different starting-point and fixed it in a different way. His paper was based on a work entitled PURANARTHAPRAKASA, which was composed shortly before the time at which he was writing, by Pandit Radhakant Sarman and which seems to have been based, in its turn, chiefly on the BHAGAVATAPURANA. In the first place he brought forward a verse given to him from a book entitled BHAGAVATAMRITA, composed by "a learned GOSWAMI," which purported to fix the Kaliyuga year 1002 expired as the date of the manifestation of Buḍḍha. With this he coupled an 'assertion in the same book that, two years before that date, there occurred the revolution which placed on the throne Praḍyoṭa, the first king in the third dynasty before that of the Mauryas. And he thus exhibited a chronology which, taking the accession of Praḍyoṭa in B.C. 2100 as its starting-point, placed the accession of Sisunaga in B.C. 1962, the accession of Nanda in B.C. 1602, and the accession of Canḍraguptạ (the grandfather of Asoka) in B.C. 1502, and made the dynasty of the Ānḍhrabhṛṭyas run from B.C. 908 to 432. But he considered that the figures put forward by the Puranas were excessive both for generations and for reigns. And adjusting those figures according to his own estimate, and taking, as a starting-point B.C. 1027 for the date of Buddha as fixed by the Chinese authorities as interpreted by De Geignes he submitted a revised scheme, which placed Praḍyoṭa B.C. 1029 Nanda B.C. 699, and the rise of the Anḍhrabhṛṭyas in B.C. 149.

77. Paṭanjali mentions in Mahābhāṣya (I. 1, 68) 'Canḍraguptạ-śabhā' and 'Puṣyamiṭra-sabhā.' It is said that he mentions Mauryas in V. iii. 39 as the vendors of idol images or beggars carrying these idols but does not connect them with any of the ruling races at all. The reading of the word 'Maurya' seems to be wrong. "The old MSS. (of the Mahabhashya) of the South makes the allusion of making and selling idols apply not to Mauryas but to Pouras, a peculiar tribe also mentioned in the Vishnu Purana (IV. xxiv); for example MSS. Nos. 31, 33 of the Adyar Library, which are, on paleographical examination found to be more than 3 and 4 centuries old respectively, may be consulted. If "Pouras" be the right word, so much controversy about the allusion of Patanjali to the Mauryas will vanish at once."

78. Kalhaṇa's Rājaṭaraṅgiṇī is not after all an unreliable record. As a chronicle of Kashmir annals it is a true representation. Its importance in literary history lies in the variety and detail of traditional information it gives of past history over a long period of 3500 years. He wrote the introduction to his work in 1148 A.D. He might have been in error in saying that the Mahābhārața war was fought in 663 of Kali for there were two astronomical views on the movement of Sapțarșis and he chose one of them.[1]

Kalhaṇa says that the 24th year of the Laukika corresponded with the year 1070 of Śakakāla. "The year 1 of the Laukika coincided with 1047 of the Saka, or A.D. 1025; and as the cycle was a century one, the first year of each century must have corresponded with the 25th year of each Christian century."

79. Loka Kala, Laukikābḍa or Sapṭa-Ṛṣi-Kāla is so named after the Sapṭa-Ṛṣis seven Ṛṣis or the seven stars of the constellation of Great Bear. It is supposed that the Ṛṣis move from star to star once in a hundred years, but on the actual reckoning there is a difference of opinion between Vṛḍḍha Garga and Purāṇas on the one side and Varāhamihira and other later astronomers on the other. "By the former it is said the seven rishis were in Māgha between 3177 and 3077 B.C., that is in B.C. 3101 at the beginning of the Kali-yuga; while by the latter they are placed in Māgha just 653 years later, between B.C. 2477 and 2377, that is in B.C. 2448. The reckoning of the Lok-Kal, as now used in Kashmir and the other hill states, is by the common luni-solar years beginning on Chaitrasuddi 1, or the new moon of Chaitra. The cycle consists of 27 centuries, each counting from 1 to 100 years, when a new reckoning is begun. The first year of each century corresponds with the 25th year of each Christian century."[2]

80. Modern historians are again uncertain on the date of Kaniṣka but the opinion prevails among them that he ruled in about 78 A.D. and according to some his name is connected with the Śāka era. If according to Kalhaṇa, the reigns of kings that ruled in Kashmir after Kaniṣka made up a period of 2330 years up to his day, that is, the reign of King Jayasimha, Kalhaṇa would then go up to 78 plus 2330 to 2408 A.D., but we are now in 1937 A.D.[3]

1. See paras 184-188 on Kalhaṇa.
2. See for an elaborate discussion, Cunningham's *Indian Eras*.
3. On Kanishka, see V. Gopala Aiyar, *The Chronology of Ancient India*; V. E. Smith, *EH*, 32, 251; and *IA*, X. 213, XIII. 58, XXXV. 33, XLII. 132, XLVI. 261; *IAlt*, II. 24; *JA*, XXXII. 417.

81. The story of Caṇḍragupṭa as originally given in the **Bṛihaṭ-kaṭhā** in the Paiśācī language by Guṇādhya, the prime minister of King Śāṭavāhana of Praṭiṣṭhāna, and as we now have it in Kaṭhāsariṭ-sāgara, a true translation of the said work in Sanskrit by Sōmadēva, is somewhat different from the accounts given of that prince in the Purāṇas on the one hand, and in Viśākhaḍaṭṭa's Muḍrārākṣasa and its commentary on the other. Here Caṇḍragupṭa is represented as the only son of Nanḍa, the king of Pāṭalīpuṭra and a contemporary of Kāṭyāyana Vararuci, the celebrated author of Vārṭikas and a disciple of Varṣācārya, under whom Pāṇini also first began to study Grammar.[1]

82. The following are the passages of Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara, dealing with King Nanḍa and Caṇḍragupṭa :—

अत्रान्तरे तुषाराद्रौ कृत्वा तीव्रतरं तपः ।
आराधितो मया देवो वरदः पार्वतीपतिः ॥

तदेव तेन शास्त्रं मे पाणिनीयं प्रकाशितम् ।
तदिच्छानुग्रहादेव मया पूर्णीकृतं च तत् ॥

... ...

वर्षोऽथ मन्मुखादैच्छच्छ्रोतुं व्याकरणं नवम् ।
ततः प्रकाशितं स्वामिकुमारेणैव तस्य तत् ॥

ततो व्याडीन्द्रदत्ताभ्यां विज्ञप्तो दक्षिणां प्रति ।
गुरुर्वर्षोऽब्रवीत् स्वर्णकोटिर्मे दीयतामिति ॥

अंगीकृत्य गुरोर्वाक्यं तौ च मामित्यवोचताम् ।
एहि राज्ञः सखे ! नन्दाद्याचितुं गुरुदक्षिणाम् ॥

गच्छामो नाऽन्यतोऽस्माभिरियत् कांचनमाप्यते ।
नवाधिकाया नवतेः कोटीनामधिपो हि सः ॥

वाचा तेनोपकोशा च प्राग्धर्मभगिनीकृता ।
अतः स्यालः स ते किंचित् त्वद्गुणैः समवाप्यते ॥

इति निश्चित्य नन्दस्य भूपतेः कटकं वयम् ।
अयोध्यास्थमगच्छाम त्रयः सब्रह्मचारिणः ॥

प्राप्तमात्रेषु चाऽस्मासु स राजा पंचतां गतः ।
राष्ट्रे कोलाहलं जातं विषादेन सहैव नः ॥

अवोचदिन्द्रदत्तोऽथ तत्क्षणं योगसिद्धिमान् ।
गतासोरस्य भूपस्य शरीरं प्रविशाम्यहम् ॥

1. See paras 4–7 *post*.

अर्थी वररुचिर्मेऽस्तु दास्याम्यस्मै च कांचनम् ।
व्याडी रक्षतु मे देहं ततः प्रत्यागमावधि ॥

इत्युक्त्वा नन्ददेहान्तरिन्द्रदत्तः समाविशत् ।
प्रत्युज्जीवति भूपे च राष्ट्रे तत्रोत्सवोऽभवत् ॥

शून्ये देवगृहे देहमिन्द्रदत्तस्य रक्षितुम् ।
व्याडौ स्थिते गतोऽभूवमहं राजकुलं तदा ॥

प्रविश्य स्वस्तिकारं च विधाय गुरुदक्षिणाम् ।
योगनन्दो मया तत्र हेमकोटिं स याचितः ॥

ततः स सकटालाख्यं सत्यनन्दस्य मन्त्रिणम् ।
सुवर्णकोटिमेतस्मै दापयेति समादिशत् ॥

मृतस्य जीवितं दृष्ट्वा सद्यश्च प्राप्तिमर्थिनः ।
स तत्त्वं ज्ञातवान् मन्त्री किमज्ञेयं हि धीमताम् ॥

देव दीयत इत्युक्त्वा स च मन्त्रीत्यचिन्तयत् ।
नन्दस्य तनयो बालो राज्यं च बहुशत्रुमत् ॥

तत् सम्प्रत्यस्य रक्षामि तस्य देहमपीदृशम् ।
निश्चित्यैतत् स तत्कालं शवान् सर्वानदाहत् ॥

चारैरन्विष्य तन्मध्ये लब्ध्वा देवगृहात्ततः ।
व्याडिं विधूय तद् दग्धमिन्द्रदत्तकलेबरम् ॥

... ...

अथेत्य योगनन्दस्य व्याडिना क्रन्दितं पुरः ।
अब्रह्मण्यमनुत्क्रान्तजीवो योगस्थितो द्विजः ॥

अनाथशव इत्यद्य बलाद्दग्धस्तवोदये ।
तच्छ्रुत्वा योगनन्दस्य काऽप्यवस्थाऽभवच्छुचा ॥

देहदाहात् स्थिरे तस्मिन् जाते निर्गत्य मे ददौ ।
सुवर्णकोटिं स ततः शकटालो महामतिः ॥

योगनन्दोऽथ विजने सशोको व्याडिमब्रवीत् ।
शूद्रीभूतोऽस्मि विप्रोऽपि किं श्रिया स्थिरयापि मे ॥

तच्छ्रुत्वाऽश्वास्य तं व्याडिः कालोचितमभाषत ।
ज्ञातोऽसि शकटालेन तदेनं चिन्तयाऽधुना ॥

महामन्त्रीह्ययं स्वेच्छमचिरात् त्वां विनाशयेत् ।
पूर्वनन्दसुतं कुर्याच्चन्द्रगुप्तं हि भूमिपम् ॥

तस्माद्वररुचिं मन्त्रिमुख्यत्वे कुरु येन ते ।
एतद्बुद्ध्या भवेद्राज्यं स्थिरं दिव्यानुभावया ॥

इत्युक्त्वैव गते व्याडौ दातुं तां गुरुदक्षिणाम् ।
तदैवाऽऽनीय दत्ता मे योगनन्देन मन्त्रिता ॥

इति कथापीठलम्बके, पंचमस्तरंगः ॥

दिवसेष्वथ गच्छत्सु तत् तपोवनमेकदा ।
अयोध्यात उपागच्छत् विप्र एको मयि स्थिते ॥

स मया योगनन्दस्य राज्यवार्तामपृच्छ्यत ।
प्रत्यभिज्ञाय मां सोऽथ सशोकमिद मब्रवीत् ॥

शृणु नन्दस्य यद्वृत्तं तत्सकाशाद्गते त्वयि ।
लब्धावकाशस्तत्राऽभूच्छकटालश्चिरेण सः ॥

स चिन्तयन् वधोपायं योगनन्दस्य युक्तितः ।
क्षितिं खनन्तमद्राक्षीच्चाणक्याख्यं द्विजं पथि ॥

किं भुवं खनसीत्युक्ते तेन विप्रोऽथ सोऽब्रवीत् ।
दर्भमुन्मूलयाम्यत्र पादो ह्येतेन मे क्षतः ॥

तच्छ्रुत्वा सहसा मन्त्री कोपनं क्रूरनिश्चयम् ।
तं विप्रं योगनन्दस्य वधोपायममन्यत ॥

नाम पृष्ट्वाऽब्रवीत् तं च हे ब्रह्मन् ! दापयामि ते ।
अहं त्रयोदशीश्राद्धे गृहे नन्दस्य भूपतेः ॥

दक्षिणातः सुवर्णस्य लक्षं तव भविष्यति ।
भोक्ष्यसे धुरि चाऽन्येषां एहि तावद्गृहं मम ॥

इत्युक्त्वा शकटालस्तं चाणक्यमनयद्गृहम् ।
श्राद्धाहेऽदर्शयत् तं च राज्ञे स श्रद्दधे च तम् ॥

ततः स गत्वा चाणक्यो धुरि श्राद्ध उपाविशत् ।
सुबन्धुनामा विप्रश्च तामैच्छद्धुरमात्मनः ॥

तद् गत्वा शकटालेन विज्ञप्तो नन्दभूपातिः ।
अवादीन्नाऽपरो योग्यः सुबन्धुर्धुरि तिष्ठतु ॥

आगत्यैतां च राजाज्ञां शकटालो भयानतः ।
न मेऽपराध इत्युक्त्वा चाणक्याय न्यवेदयत् ॥

सोऽथ कोपेन चाणक्यो ज्वलन्निव समन्ततः ।
निजां मुक्त्वा शिखां तत्र प्रतिज्ञामकरोदिमाम् ॥

अवश्यं हन्त ! नन्दोऽयं सप्तभिर्दिवसैर्मया ।
विनाश्यो बन्धर्नाया च ततो निर्मन्युना शिखा ॥
इत्युक्तवन्तं कुपिते योगनन्दे पलायितम् ।
अलक्षितं स्वगेहे तं शकटालो न्यवेशयत् ॥
तत्रोपकरणे दत्ते गुप्तं तेनैव मन्त्रिणा ।
स चाणक्यो द्विजः क्वाऽपि गत्वा कृत्यामसाधयत् ॥
तद्वशाद्योगनन्दोऽथ दाहज्वरमवाप्य सः ।
सप्तमे दिवसे प्राप्ते पञ्चत्वं समुपागमत् ॥
हत्वा हिरण्यगुप्तं च शकटालेन तत्सुतम् ।
पूर्वनन्दसुते लक्ष्मीश्चन्द्रगुप्ते निवेशिता ॥
मन्त्रित्वे तस्य चाऽभ्यर्थ्य बृहस्पतिसमं धिया ।
चाणक्यं स्थापयित्वा तं स मन्त्री कृतकृत्यताम् ॥
मन्वानो योगनन्दस्य कृतवैरप्रतिक्रियः ।
पुत्रशोकेन निर्विण्णः प्रविवेश महद्वनम् ॥

इति कथापीठलम्बके षष्ठस्तरंगः

The above passage has been briefly translated by H. H. Wilson as follows :—

" After living for a considerable period in my hermitage, the death of Yogananda was thus related to me by a Brāhman, who was travelling from Ayodhya and had rested at my cell. Śakatāla, brooding on his plan of revenge, observed one day a Brāhman of mean appearance digging in a meadow, and asked him what he was doing there. Chānakya, the Brāhman, replied : "I am rooting out this grass which has hurt my foot." The reply struck the minister as indicative of a character which would contribute to his designs, and he engaged him by the promise of a large reward and high honour, to come and preside at the Śrāddha, which was to be celebrated next new moon at the palace. Chānakya arrived, anticipating the most respectful treatment, but Yogananda had been previously persuaded by Śakaṭāla to assign precedence to another Brāhman, Subandhu, so that when Chānakya came to take this place, he was thrust from it with contumely. Burning with rage, he threatened the king before all the court, and announced his death within seven days. Nanda ordered him to be turned out of the palace. Sakatāla received him into his house and persuading Chānakya that he was wholly innocent of being instrumental to his ignominious treatment, and contributed to encourage and inflame his in-

dignation. Chānakya thus protected, practised a magical rite, in which he was a proficient; and by which, on the seventh day Nanda was deprived of life Śakatāla, on the father's death, effected the destruction of Hiranyagupta, his son, and raised Chandragupta, the son of genuine Nanda to the throne. Chānakya became the prince's minister; and Sakatāla having attained the only object of his existence, retired to end his days in the woods."[1]

83. According to Kaṭhāsariṭ-Sāgara therefore Canḍraguptа was the only son of the genuine-king Nanḍa, and was very young when the genuine Nanḍa passed away and Inḍraḍaṭṭa entered the dead body of the king and began to rule the kingdom; so he was called by the name Yoga Nanḍa. Yogananḍa begot a son on the queen of the late real or Saṭya Nanḍa and he was named Hiraṇyaguptа. Besides the mention of these two persons, there is no reference to "Nanda and his eight sons" anywhere in the said poem. These passages also show that Canḍragupṭa was but a king in name, that he was in no sense a usurper or adventurer, that he took no active part at all in establishing himself on the throne of Nanḍa, that it was Śakatāla, the old minister of the king, and Cāṇakya, a Brahmaṅ sage of great learning and determination that planned the death of Yogananḍa and of his son Hiraṇyagupṭa, and raised the young prince Canḍragupṭa, the legitimate son of the genuine Nanḍa to the throne of Magaḍha. Nowhere is there any reference to this Canḍragupṭa being a conquerer of enemies or of having received ambassadors from foreign princes, either at Patalīpuṭra or Ayōḍhya, the permanent and temporary capitals, and it is at Ayoḍhya the revolution came off on the death of king Nanḍa, leading to the elevation of Canḍragupṭa to the throne.

84. The statements of the early European writers may now be summed up[2]:—(*a*) At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Prasi or eastern kingdom of Magaḍha was ruled over by a king Xandrames; according to the officers of Alexander sent to investigate the country living ahead, and also according to Poros whom Alexander consulted, Xandrames was a powerful king who could bring into the field 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2900 chariots and 4000 or 3000 elephants; he was nevertheless of mean origin; the queen of his predecessor had fallen

1. (Vide Appendix II to the Preface of his Mudrarakshasa, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II. 140-141).

2. McCrindle's collection and translation of all the passages from classical writers in six books are regarded as reliable by Vincent Smith, of which Indika of Megasthanes and Arian are instructive.

in love with him and had helped him to murder her husband; and therefore he was very unpopular with his subjects. (*b*) Sandrokottos or Androcottos as a young prince had met Alexander, and had offended him and incurred his displeasure; but after the retreat of Alexander he put himself at the head of a band of robbers, drove out the prefects of Alexander, and made himself king. (*c*) Seleukus Nikator tried to regain the Indian conquests of Alexander, but found it wiser to contract an alliance with him.[1] (*d*) Megasthenes the ambassadar of Seleucus dwelt at the court of Sandracyptus and wrote an account of those in whose midst he lived (from which account later writers have quoted copiously).

"The Greek writers mention as many as six names or variations, Xandrames, Andrames, Agrammes, Sandrocottus and Sandrocyptus. Whether these apply to one or more than one individual; and Max Muller was not sure but in his obdurate zeal to demonstrate the identity he said "Xandrames.........is the last king of the empire conquered by Sandracotus. If however it should be maintained that those two names were intended for one and the same king, the explanation would still be very easy. For Chandragupta is also called Chandra, and Chandramas in Sanskrit is a synonym for Chandra."[2]

85. What was discovered was simply this—that in the celebrated inscriptions of king Priyadarsin—Rock Edicts III and XIII—Antiochus and Ptolemy are mentioned as Priyadarsin's contemporaries. There is nothing in the inscriptions to show that Priyadarsin was Aśoka Maurya, grandson of Canḍragupṭa Maurya. Strict logic will justily only one inference from the first Greek Synchronism—that Sandrocottus whoever he was was the contemporary of Seleukus Nikator; and only one from the second—that Priyadarsin was the contemporary of a Greek ruler Antiochus. Unless proof is forth coming to show that either Sandrocottus or Priyadarsin was a Maurya King, it is wrong to say as Vincent Smith does say, that by the discovery of these two synchronisms "the chronology of the Maurya dynasty was placed on firm footing, and is no longer open to doubt in its main outlines."

86. Who was Xandarmes? Let us compare the Greek and the Indian versions, understanding Xandramas to be the predecessor of Sandrocottus. First in Indian traditions Nanḍa, or more precisely Sumālya Nanḍa, was the immediate predecessor of Canḍragupṭa Maurya. If therefore by Sandrocottus we are to understand Canḍragupṭa Maurya,

1. V. Smith, *EHI*, 140.
2. *ASL*, 143.

we must identify Xandrames with Naṇḍa. This is exactly what is done by almost all Orientalists like Vincent Smith, with a vague statement "that the king of the Gangaridie and Parsii......was named, as nearly as the Greeks could catch the unfamiliar sounds, Xandrames or Agrammes.........who *must have been* one of the Nandas mentioned in native tradition"[1] and that somehow in order to maintain the hypothesis, Xandrames *muse be* identified with Naṇḍa. Max Muller as a philologist is convinced that Greek Xandrames is Sanskrit 'Chandramas or Chandra.' and rather than ignore grammar he is for identifying Xandrames and Sandrocottus. Secondly the Greek account of Xandrames does not tally either with Hindu or with Buddhist versions of Naṇḍa. According to them Mahāpaḍma, first king of the Naṇḍa dynasty, was the son of the last Śaiśunāga King Mahānanḍin by a Śūḍra wife, and was a powerful, avaricious, wicked king, having Kṣaṭriya wives, but there is no allusion to any of his father's wives having become his paramour. The Purāṇic writers, had no love for Mahāpaḍma and they would certainly have mentioned such an incident in his life, if it really referred to him. His father Mahānanḍin is nowhere stated to have been murdered whether by Mahāpaḍma or his paramour. Thus neither from the name nor from the description, can Xandrames be reasonably identified with Naṇḍa.

87. We have no less difficulty in identifying Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus with Canḍragupṭa Maurya. The description given of the mighty Sandrocottus by the Greeks cannot possibly compare with any Indian account whatsoever of Canḍragupṭa Maurya, who, far from being a great conqueror, owed his elevation and rule entirely to the Brāhmaṇa Caṇākya or Kauṭilya. The Hindu and the Buddhist versions are agreed here. Max Muller's explanation is only this, that because Canḍragupṭa Maurya was grandfather of the great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka, therefore the Brahmanas unduly lowered him, and the Buddhists as excessively exalted him, and that is mere fancy. The part played by Rākṣasa, the devoted minister of the Naṇḍas at first and of Canḍragupṭa at last, and the power exercised throughout by the Brahman Cāṇakya over Canḍragupṭa amply indicate that Canḍragupṭa and his immediate predecessors were in no way considered anti-brahmanical. Even King Priyadarsin of the Edicts was no persecutor of the Brahmans, for in his inscriptions he always enjoins *the highest respect for "brahmanas and sramanas."*

1. *EHI*, 40.

88. The identification of Rāja Priyaḍarśin with Raja Aśoka was based *entirely* upon Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles. Talboys Wheeler wrote in 1874, "The identification of Raja Priyadarsin of the Edicts with Raja Asoka of the Buddhist chronicles was first pointed out by Mr. Turnour who rested it upon a passage in the Dipāvamsa. The late Prof. Wilson objected to this identification."[1] Prof. Rhys David declared "It is not too much to say that without the help of the Ceylon Books, the striking identification of the King Piyadassi of the edicts with the king Asoka of history would never have been made."[2] But the Ceylon chronicles are admitted to be utterly worthless as history and according to Wheeler "the Buddhist chronicles......might be dismissed as a monkish jumble of myths and names,[3] and even Vincent Smith in the preface to his *Asoka* himself said :"I reject absolutely the Ceylonese chronology.........The undeserved credit given to the monks of Ceylon has been a great hindrance to the right understanding of ancient Indian history." And yet it is on such undeserved credit that the identity of Priyaḍarśin with Aśoka Maurya rests to this day.

89. In the literature of India there is no allusion anywhere to an invasion or inroad into India by foreign nations up to the time of the Āndhra kings; and the only person who bore the name of Canḍragupṭa answering to the description of Sandracottus of the Greeks who flourished about the time of Alexander the Great in India, according to the Purāṇas, was Canḍragupṭa of the Gupṭa Dynasty who established the mighty empire of the Gupṭas on the ruins of the already decayed Āndhra Dynasty about 2811 years after the Mahābhāraṭa War, corresponding to 328 B.C., but he is now being placed in the 4th century A.D., on the sole strength of this mistaken Greek Synchronism by our Savants of Indian history. God save us from our friends!

90. Beyond the verbal resemblance of Canḍragupṭa and Sandracottus and Pāṭalīpuṭra and Pālibotra, there is nothing to justify the identification of Canḍragupṭa Maurya and Sandracottus of the Greeks. No attempt has been made to explain the various names Xandrames, Andrames, Andracottus, Sandracottus, Sandrocyptus, and Sandrocuptas as used by the Greek writers to denote *three different persons*, as referring respectively to the last king of the previous dynasty, the usurper who has been actually reigning at Pāṭalīpuṭra at the time when Alexander

1. *History of India*, Hindu, Buddhist and Brahmanical, 230.
2. *Buddhist India*, 273.
3. *EHI*, 171.

invaded India, and the king who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator at the instance of Megasthenes. These facts would equally apply, if not more pointedly, to Caṇdraguptạ of the Guptạ Dynasty who usurped the throne of Caṇdraśrī, the last virtual king of the Āndhra Dynasty, under the pretext of acting as guardian and regent of his minor son Pulōman and who was succeeded by Samuḍraguptạ who established himself on the throne of his father with the aid of vagabonds and banditti at Paṭālīpuṭra, and who is distinctly stated in inscriptions to have received ambassadors from various foreign princes, to have conquered the whole of India, then extending far beyond its present limits, and to have performed even an *Aśvamēḍha* sacrifice in honour of his glorious victories.

91. Kaliyugarājavṛttānṭa, which is a part of Bhaviṣyoṭṭarapurāṇa, describes the last two kings of the Āndhra dynasty and the advent of Guptạ dynasty thus :

चन्द्रश्रीशातकर्णिस्तु त्रीणि वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ।
वासिष्ठपुत्रनाम्नातु ख्यातो यश्च भविष्यति ॥

पुलोमाऽपि तथा चान्यस्समासप्त भविष्यति ।
घटोत्कचस्य पुत्रेण चन्द्रगुप्तेन पालितः ॥

एते द्वात्रिंशदान्ध्रास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ते वसुधामिमाम् ।
शतानि पञ्च पूर्णानि तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥

तेषां तु संस्थिते राज्ये भूमिर्गुप्तान् गमिष्यति ।
श्रीपार्वतीयान्धभृत्या इत्याख्यां यान्ति ये नृपाः ॥

*　　　*　　　*

अथ श्रीचन्द्रगुप्ताख्यः पार्वतीयकुलोद्भवः ।
श्रीपर्वतेन्द्राधिपतेः पौत्रः श्रीगुप्तभूपतेः [1]॥

श्रीघटोत्कचगुप्तस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः ।
कुमारदेवीमुद्वाह्य नेपालाधीशितुः सुताम् ॥

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1. The names underlined like this, श्रीगुप्त, चन्द्र (=इन्दु), स्कन्द, कुमार etc., are mentioned in order slily by Kālidāsa in Raghuvamṣa (I. 11-13) e g.,

i आसीन्महीक्षितामाद्यः प्रणवश्छन्दसामिव
ii इन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव
iii व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः ।

Here the word श्री a single letter, is compared with the word ओं—a single letter of great sanctity. In I. 31, Kalidāsa says that Sudakṣiṇā was a Magadha princess, thus suggesting that Kalidāsa had in mind Magadha kingdom when he wrote this poem.

लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः ।
सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥

लिच्छवीयां समुद्वाह्य देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम् ।
राष्ट्रियस्यालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥

चन्द्रश्रियं घातयित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित् ।
तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्ञ्या चैव नियोजितः ॥

वर्षैस्तु सप्तभिः प्राप्तराज्यो वीराग्रणीरसौ ।
तत्पुत्रं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य नृपार्भकम् ॥

आन्ध्रेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्याऽपहरिष्यति ।
कचेन स्वेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥

विजयादित्यनाम्ना तु सप्त पालयिता समाः ।
स्वनाम्ना च शकं त्वेकं स्थापयिष्यति भूतले ॥

एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती पुत्रस्तस्य महायशाः ।
नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो म्लेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥

त्वत्रकं पितरं हत्वा सहपुत्रं सबान्धवम् ।
अशोकादित्यनाम्ना तु प्रख्यातो जगतीतले ॥

स्वयं विगतशोकश्च मातरं चाऽभिनन्दयन् ।
समुद्रगुप्तो भविता सार्वभौमस्ततः परम् ॥

विजित्य सकलामुर्वीं धर्मपुत्र इवाऽपरः ।
समाहरन्नश्वमेधं यथाशास्त्रं द्विजोत्तमैः ॥

स्वदेशीयैर्विदेशीयैर्नृपैः समभिपूजितः ।
शास्त्रसाहित्यसङ्गीतरासिकः कविभिस्तुतः ॥

समुद्रगुप्तः पृथिवीं चतुःसागरवेष्टिताम् ।
पञ्चाशतं तथा चैकां भोक्ष्यत्येवैकराट् समाः ॥

तस्य पुत्रोऽपरश्चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यो वीरकेसरी ।
यवनांश्च तथा हूणान् देशाद्विद्रावयन् बलात् ॥

विक्रमादित्यवन्नित्यं पण्डितैः परिसेवितः ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासकाव्यविचक्षणः ॥

विक्रमादित्य इत्येव भुवनेषु प्रथां गतः ।
सप्तसिन्धून् समुत्तीर्य वाह्लिकादीन् विजित्य च ॥

सुराष्ट्रदेशपर्यन्तं कीर्तिस्तम्भं समुच्छ्रयन् ॥
षट्त्रिंशद्भोक्ष्यति समास्त्वेकच्छत्रां वसुन्धराम् ॥

कुमारगुप्तस्तत्पुत्रो त्रदेवीसमुद्भवः ।
कुमार इव देवारीन् विजेष्यन्निजविद्विषः ॥

समाहर्ताऽश्वमेधस्य महेन्द्रादित्यनामतः ।
चत्वारिंशत्समा द्वे च पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ॥

स्कन्दगुप्तोऽपि तत्पुत्रः साक्षात् स्कन्द इवाऽपरः ।
हूणदर्पहरश्चण्डः पुष्यसेनानिषूदनः ॥

पराक्रमादित्यनाम्ना विख्यातो धरणीतले ।
शासिष्यति महीं कृत्स्नां पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥

ततो नृसिंहगुप्तश्च बालादित्य इति श्रुतः ।
पुत्रः प्रकाशादित्यस्य स्थिरगुप्तस्य भूपतेः ॥

नियुक्तः स्वपितृव्येन स्कन्दगुप्तेन जीवता ।
पित्रैव साकं भविता चत्वारिंशत् समा नृपः ॥

अन्यः कुमारगुप्तोऽपि पुत्रस्तस्य महायशाः ।
क्रमादित्य इति ख्यातो हूणैर्युद्धं समाचरन् ॥

विजित्येशानवर्मादीन् भट्टार्केणाऽनुसेवितः ।
चतुश्चत्वारिंशदेव समा भोक्ष्यति मेदिनीम् ॥

एते प्रणतसामन्ताः श्रीमद्गुप्तकुलोद्भवाः ।
श्रीपार्वतीयान्ध्रभृत्यनामानश्चक्रवर्तिनः ॥

महाराजाधिराजादिबिरुदावल्यलङ्कृताः ।
भोक्ष्यन्ति द्वे शते पञ्चचत्वारिंशच्च वै समाः ॥

मागधानां महाराज्यं छिन्नं भिन्नं च सर्वशः ।
साकमेतैर्महागुप्तवंश्यैर्यास्यति संस्थितिम् ॥

—Bhāga III, Chapter 3.

To translate a few of these verses :

" Chandrasri Satakarni, known also as the son of Vashishthi will enjoy (the kingdom) for 3 years. After him yet another Puloma, will be king for 7 years under the protection of Chandragupta, son of Ghatotkacha. These thirty-two Andhra kings (already enumerated) will enjoy the earth ; and their reign will cover full 500 years (in round

numbers'. While they are yet on the throne, the country will pass to the Guptas who will be known as the *sriparvatiya andhrabrtya* kings (i.e., those that had come from Sriparvata, and had been in the service of the Andhras)............And so the valiant Chandragupta, the head of the Parvatiya clan, grandson of the ruler of Sriparvata named Srigupta, and son of Ghatotkacha Gupta, will marry Kumaradevi daughter of the king of Nepal. Then with the help of the Lichchhavis he will gain influence in the Government (of Andhras), become the Commander-in-chief, and head of a large army. He will marry a Lichchhavi Princess, the younger sister of the Queen of Chandrasri, and thus will become the King's brother-in-law; And instigated by the Queen he, by some stratagem, will get King Chandrasri killed. He will be appointed Regent in place of her son by the Queen; and in seven years he, undaunted, will become sovereign himself, after killing the young Prince Puloman. And thus by force he will seize the Kingdom from the Andhras, and will rule Magadha along (or jointly) with Kacha, his son by the Lichchhavi wife. He will reign for seven years under the title of *Vijayaditya* and shall establish on earth an era in his own name."

"After that (i.e., after Chandragupta) his son, son likewise of the daughter of the King of Nepal, with the aid of Mlechchha bands, will slay his treacherous father together with his son and other (unfriendly) relations. He will be known on earth under the title of *Asokaditya*; himself freed from all misery, (spiritually?) and causing joy to his mother, Samudragupta will become supreme ruler of earth. He will conquer the whole world like a second Dharmaputra, and with the help of Brahmanas he will perform the horse-sacrifice according to the scriptures. He will be honoured by (subject) Kings both in his own and in foreign countries; and will be praised by poets for his learning and talents in music. Thus Samudragupta will reign supreme over the earth from sea to sea (*lit.* surrounded by the four oceans)."

92. This eulogy should bring to mind at once the Greek picture of Sandrocottus. The sensitiveness of Prince Samuḍra must have been stung by his father's undue favouritism towards Kaca. The statement that Canḍragupṭa ruled along with Kaca not merely indicates the cause of quarrel between Samuḍragupṭa and his father; it explains also the numismatic puzzle as to how Kaca's coins came to be struck. Thus, then, Androkottus of Plutarch who tried to persuade Alexander to invade the Prasii, but whose "insolent behaviour" according to Justin led to a quarrel between him and Alexander, the Androkottus who

afterwards collected bands of robbers and drove out the præfects of Alexander, who was called to royalty by the power of the Gods and by prodigies, who overthrew Xandrames, and humbled Seleucus Nikator, was the same as Samuḍraguptạ who with Mleccha troops overthrew his "treacherous" father, and whose conquests inscribed by Hariṣena on "Asoka's pillar" at Allahabad amply bear out the statement of the Purāṇas that Samuḍraguptạ was supreme ruler of the earth from sea to sea, to whom even Ceylon and Bactria and Assyria paid homage. And this same Samuḍraguptạ "the Indian Napoleon" of Vincent Smith, was the Sandrocottos of Megasthenes; and he reigned for fifty-one years. Samuḍraguptạ like all the Guptas had a title ending in *āḍiṭya*: he was *ASOKADITYA*!

93. Sandrocottos was also Piyadassi.—We have read of "Asoka: the Buddhist Emperor of India" and "The first and most authentic records are the rock and pillar edicts of Raja Priyadasi......the reputed grandson of Sandrocottos.........The second......consist of the Buddhist Chronicles of the Rajah of Megadha."[1] From a careful study of these two classes of records Talboys Wheeler whose "History of India" appeared in 1874, that is, before the traditional conventions of Orientalists took the fatally rigid shape which they have since assumed, drew his picture of Rāja Priyaḍarśi Aśoka and found how like his picture was to that of the Greek Sandrocottus as depicted by Megasthenes. Aśoka, while young,[2] "was at variance with his father and seems to have gone into exile like another Rama. He is said to have been appointed to the Government of the distant province of Ujjain, and subsequently to have repressed a revolt in Taxila in the Panjab ......The main incidents of Asoka's early career thus present a strange similarity to those recorded of Sandrokottos by Greek writers. Sandrokottos was also an exiled prince from Pataliputra; and he ultimately drove the Greeks from Taxila. Again Asoka usurped a throne and founded an empire; so did Sandrokottos. Asoka originally professed the Brahmanical religion, and then embraced the more practical religion of the edicts. Sandrokottos sacrificed to the Gods in Brahmanical fashion; but he also held a great assembly every year in which every discovery was discussed which was likely to prove beneficial to the earth, to mankind and to animals generally......It would be a startling coincidence if the great sovereign whose religion of duty without deity has been engraven for more than twenty centuries on the rocks

1. Talboys Wheeler's History of India, Hindu Buddhist, and Brahmanical p. 209.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 231, 487.

and pillars of India, should prove to be the same prince who met Alexander at Taxila, who offended the Macedonian conqueror by his insolence and assumption, who expelled the Greeks from the Panjab during the wars of Alexander's successors, and ultimately married the daughter of Seleukos Nikator." In fact Talboys Wheeler had little doubt that Sandrokottos of the Greeks and Aśoka of the Buddhists were identical. In one or two places he calls Aśoka " the reputed grandson of Sandrocottus or Chandragupta"[1] and adds in a note "The term 'reputed grandson' is here used advisedly. It will appear hereafter[2] that there is reason to believe that the name Sandrocottos and Aśoka are applied to the same individual."[3] The title *Aśokaḍiṭya* applied to the king in the *Kaliyugarājavṛṭṭānṭa* confirms the conjecture made by Talboys Wheeler from internal evidence.

94. Asoka and Samudragupta :—The correspondence between these two names rests on not mere fancy. Aśoka is said to have resented the ill-treatment accorded to him by his father ; so did Samuḍragupṭa resent. Aśoka in becoming a King became a parricide,[4] or fratricide also ; so did Samuḍragupṭa become too. Both were Hindus at the outset. Special mention is made of the conquest of Kalinga by both. Aśoka was converted to Buddhism by Upagupṭa,[5] who is described as a blood-relation of Aśoka's. Samuḍragupṭa, it is admitted, was a pupil of the celebrated Buddhist teacher Vasubanḍhu. Aśoka of the edicts though an earnest Buddhist enjoined the highest respect for Brāhmaṇas. Samuḍragupṭa, though an 'orthodox Hindu' was a great patron of Buddhism ; and throughout the Gupṭa period " the Buddhist rule of life was observed...Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed by royal grants."[6] Both Aśoka and Samuḍragupṭa had intimate relations with Ceylon, with Bactria and other foreign countries.[7] These correspondences cannot fail to establish the identity of the two Emperors. Vincent Smith claims that modern oriental investigators have unearthed the history of Samuḍragupṭa, and wonders how " this great king, warrior, poet, and musician who conquered nearly all India,

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 209 and 476.
2. *i.e.*, p. 487.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 476.
4. Harişena makes special mention that Samuḍragupṭa was received by his father with open arms. Where was the need for this special mention unless it were intended to contradict current beliefs to the contrary ?
5. Vincent Smith's Early History, p. 159.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 328-334, 297.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon was unknown even by name to the historians of India."[1] The explanation is simple, Aśoka, the title assumed by the emperor, completely replaced his personal name, and became a household word all over India; it was carried to Ceylon in the anecdotes regarding Raja Prāyaḍarśi Aśoka. But Samuḍraguptạ was known to the Greeks as Sandrocottos only, and the name was also inscribed on the coins which lost to mediæval India have now been discovered.

95. Aśoka's pillar at Allahabad may, in one word, be said to link together all the three groups of contemporary evidence. It is the pillar of Samuḍraguptạ Aśoka Priyaḍarśin. The Greeks knew him not as Priyaḍarśin because Megasthenes had left Palibothra before Sandrokottus became a Buddhist. The Ceylonese Buddhists knew not of the Hindu Samuḍraguptạ but only the Buddhist Priyaḍarśin. In India itself, except in popular tales about Aśoka, both the names Samuḍraguptạ and Priyaḍarśin were forgotten; the older Purāṇic accounts all close with the Āndhra line of kings practically. The monuments were all pulled down by the Mahomedan invaders.

Thus we see that *the Guptạ dynasty ruled from 328 B.C. to 83 B.C., and of these kings Canḍraguptạ ruled from 328 to 321 (7 years) and Samuḍraguptạ for 51 years from 321 to 270 B.C.* This would make this Canḍraguptạ and Samuḍraguptạ contemporaries of Alexander, Selekus Nicator and Antiochus. Is THIS THE CORRECT SYNCHRONISM?

96. Here is an inscription on the metal pillar in Buḍḍha Gaya of a king CANDRA:

यस्योद्वर्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्
वङ्गेष्वाहववर्तिनोभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भुजे।
तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्ज्जिता वाल्हिकाः
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्व्वीर्य्यानिलैर्द्दक्षिणः॥

खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्या कर्म्मजितावनिं गतवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ।
शान्तस्येव महावने (हुतभुजो) यस्य प्रतापो महान्
नाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशितरिपोर्य्यत्नस्य शेषः क्षितिम्॥

प्राप्तेन स्वभुजार्ज्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
चन्द्राह्वेन समग्रचन्द्रसदृशीं वक्त्राश्रियं बिभ्रता।

1. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ मतिं
प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः ॥

"He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vanga countries (Bengal), he kneaded (and turned) back with (His) Breast the enemies who uniting together, come against (Him), he, by whom, having crossed in warfare, the seven mouths of the (River) Sindhu, the Vahlikas were conquered, he by the breezes of whose powers the Southern ocean is even still perfumed. He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroys (his) enemies (like the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a turned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though, he, the king, as if wearied has quitted this earth, and gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land of paradise won by (the merits of his) actions, (but) remaining on this earth by (the memory of his) fame; —By him, the King,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for a very long time, (and) who having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full moon having in faith fixed his mind upon the (God), Vishnu, this lofty standard of divine Vishnu was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupada."

97. By this indictment of the present condition of Indian historical studies it is not in the least meant to belittle the labours of those illustrious savants of Sanskrit learning, who had left their countries and devoted their time and means for the understanding and dissimination of India's ancient literature. India owes to them a debt of gratitude, which lapse of time, however long, cannot tend to obliterate, for those scholars, like Max Muller, Jones and Wilson have all left behind them monuments of learning and research in their editions of Sanskrit works and their translations which have gone out to the wide world for appreciation. It is all the same barely consistent with that expression of thankfulness that as time progresses and new material emerges, scholars should exercise their thoughts on questions on which there may be a possibility for review and reconsideration. Among such subjects is this topic of the Greek synchronism. The fancy that dawned in the mind of William Jones, was hatched by Wilford, was reared by Max Muller, was well clothed by Vincent Smith with the garb of reality. The dissent of Taylor expressed in the preface to Rājataraṅgiṇī was lost to view before the modern ideas of A. Stein in his new Edn. of that work, and so too went down the feeble protest of Wilson.

98. To my lamented friend, T. S. Narayana Sastri, High Court Vakil, Madras, with whom I collaborated, was due a categorical investigation of this faulty identification and his *Age of Sankara* and *The kings of Magadha* embodied the results of our research. Then followed a similar exposition of Śrī Kalyāṇananda Sarasvatī of Virūpākṣa Mutt and an address to an Oriental Conference by M. K. Acharya. Now comes my reiteration. It may not be a forelorn hope that, as I said, at some day or in some clime these thoughts may again have a revival and a recognition. Let me repeat the words of Bhavabhūṭi :

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

These prefatory pages will now introduce the reader to the study of Classical Sanskrit Literature.

Abbreviations

AB	...	Abhinava-Bhāraṭī of Abhinavaguptạ.
AG	...	Cunningham's Ancient Geography.
Adyar / *CAL*	...	Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Adyar Library
Annals	...	Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.
ASL	...	Max Muller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
BP	...	Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāraḍāṭanaya.
BRI	...	Mss. in Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.
BOD / *Cat Bod.* / *Oxf*	...	Catalogus Codicum Sanskriticorum Bibliotheca Bodlianæ
Bibl. Ind.	...	Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
BKR / *KR*	...	Buhler's Kashmir Report.
BSS	...	Bombay Sanskrit Series.
B	...	A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts contained in the Private Libraries of Guzarat, Kathiavad, Kachchh, &c. compiled under the superintendence of G. Buhler.
Bik	...	A catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the library of the Mahārāja of Bikneer, compiled Rajendra Lala Mitra, Calcutta.
Bhr / *BR*	...	Report on the search for Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar.
Burnell / *BTC*	...	A classified index to the Sanskrit Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore by A C. Burnell, London.
OC I, II, III.		Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Pts. 1, 2, 3, Leipzig.
CSC	...	Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
COJ	...	Calcutta Oriental Journal.
CUS	...	Columbia University—Indo-Iranian series.
CII	...	Corpus Ins. Indicorum.
CAL / *Adyar*	...	Catalogue of manuscripts in Adyar Library.
CASB	...	Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Cat. CP	...	Hiralal's Catalogue of Manuscripts in Central Provinces.

DR	...	Ḍaśarūpa of Ḍhananjaya.
DC	...	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
EI	...	Epigraphica Indica.
EHI / *EH*	...	V. Smith's Early History of India.
EHD	...	R. G. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan.
EC	...	Epigraphica Carnatica.
Gough	...	A. E. Gough's Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
GOS	...	Gaekwad Oriental series, Baroda.
HOS	..	Harward University Oriental Series.
HR / *HZ*	...	Reports on Sanskrit manuscripts in S. India by E. Hultzsch, Madras 1905.
ISt.	...	Indisch Strahen.
IAlt.	...	Indische Alterthumskunde, Leipsig.
IA	...	Indian Antiquary.
IL	...	Indian Literature.
IO / *IOC*	...	Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the India Office, London by Eggeling.
IW	...	Monier William's Indian Wisdom.
IHQ	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Rev.	...	Indian Review, Madras.
JA	...	Journal Asiatique, Paris.
JAHS	...	Journal of Andhra Historical Society.
JAOS	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASSP	...	Andhara Sahitya Parishat Patrika.
JASB	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBRAS	...	do. (Bombay Branch).
JSSP	...	Journal of Samskrita Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.
JDL	...	Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.
JOR	...	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JRAS	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JMy	...	Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore.
Jess / *Jess. Cat.*	...	Catalogue of Manuscripts in Jessalmere Library. (G. O. Series).
Kcd	...	Kavīndracandrodaya.
Keith's SD	...	A. B. Keith's Sanskrit Drama.
Keith's CSL	...	A. B. Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature.
Keith's SL	...	A. B. Keith's Sanskrit Literature.
Kav. / *Kvs.*	...	F. W. Thomas Edn. of Kavīndravacanasamuccaya.

K ... A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts existing in the Central Provinces—Edited by Keilhorn, Nagpur.

Kh ... Report on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-1 by Keílhorn, Bombay 1881. 8.

l. c. ...
loc. cit. ... (*lico citato*)—'in the passage previously cited.'

L ...
Mitra ... Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rajendralala Mitra.

Mack ... Mackenzie Collection. A descriptive catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts collected by the late Lieut. Col. Colin Mackenzie by H. H. Wilson, Calcutta.

Manj Jl ... Manjūṣa, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta.

MBh Jl ... Manjubhāṣiṇī, Sanskrit Journal, Kancī (Conjeevaram).

MG Jl ... Miṭragosthī, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta.

MM ... A descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in Mithila by K. Jayaswal.

MV Jl ... Maḍhuravāṇī, Sanskrtt Journal, Belgaum.

MI ... C. V. Vaidya's Mediaval India.

Mys. OML ...
Mys ...
Mys Sup ... Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Oriental Library, Mysore and Supplement.

Mitra ... Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

Mod. Rev. ...
MR ... Modern Review, Calcutta.

ND ... Nātyaḍarpaṇa of Rāmacanḍra.

NW ...
NP ... A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces, Benares and Allahabad-

Nepal Cat. ...
Nepal ... Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal.

Oudh ... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh.

Oxf. ...
Bod. ...
Cat. Bod. ... Catalogue Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ by Aufrecht, Oxonii, 1864.

op. cit. ...
o. c. ... (*opere citato*)—'in the work cited.'

Oppert ...
Opp. ... Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in Southern India by Gustav Oppert, 2 Vols. Madras.

OML ... Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Pdym ...
Pmt ... Paḍyāmṛtaṭarangiṇī.

Pady ... Paḍyaveṇi.
PR ... Peterson's Reports of the operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Circle (I to IV).
Raj ... Kalahaṇa's Rājataranginī.
RS ... Rasārṇavasuḍhākara of Singabhūpāla.
Rgh ... Report on search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bombay Presidency by B. G. Bhandarkar.
Rsj ... Rasikajīvana.
Rice ... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg by Lewis Rice, Bangalore.
Radh ... Pustakanam Sucipatram of the library of Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore used by Aufrecht.
SB Jl ... Samskṛta Bhāraṭī, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta.
SC Jl ... Samskṛtacanḍrikā, Sanskrit Journal Kolhapur.
SMM Jl ... Samskṛta-mahā-mandala, Calcutta.
SD ... Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa of Viśvanāṭha.
SK ... Saraswaṭīkanthābharaṇa of Bhoja.
ŚP ... Śṛngāraprakāśa of Bhoja.
SP ... Sanskrit Poetics by S. K. De.
SS ... Sūktisunḍara.
SHar ... Subhāṣiṭahārāvali.
Smt .. Sūkṭimukṭāvali.
Sah ... Sahṛḍaya, Sanskrit Journal, Madras.
Sam ... Samvat Era.
Schuyler, Bibl. A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama by Montgomery Schuyler (Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Series).
SKC ...
KC ... } Catalogue of Manuscripts in Kashmir.
Stein ...
Subh ... Subhāṣiṭāvali of Vallabhaḍeva. Ed. by Peterson.
Śang ... Śārangaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi.
SSG ... Belvalkar's Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.
SR ... Seshagiri Sastri's Reports, 2 Volumes.
SVH ... Sources of Vizianagar History, Madras.
Skm ... Saḍukṭikarṇāmṛta of Śrīḍharaḍāsa.
SPV ... Samscṛta-Pāḍyavāṇī, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta.
SB ... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares, Allahabad.
Sury Jl ... Sūryoḍaya, Sanskrit Journal, Kāsi.

TC ... Triennial Cat. of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Oriental Library, Madras (I to VII).

Tanj ... Catalogue of manuscripts in the Palace Library, Tanjore by P. P. S. Sastri.

TSS ... Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Travancore.

Trav ... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Travancore.

Taylor ... A Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (late) College, Fort Saint George. By the Rev. William Taylor.

TI ... S. Levi's Theatre Indian.

Ulwar ... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Ulwar State.

VOJ ... Vienna Oriental Journal.

VC Jl ... Vijnānacintāmani, Sanskrit Journal, Pattambi.

Wilson's Theatre, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, London.

WZKM (= *VOJ*) Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG ... Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

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TRANSLITERATION

अ	a	क	k	त	ṭ
आ	ā	ख	kh	थ	ṭh
इ	i	ग	g	द	ḍ
ई	ī	घ	gh	ध	ḍh
उ	u	ङ	n	न	n
ऊ	û	च	c	प	p
ऋ	ṛ	छ	ch	फ	ph
ॠ	ṝ	ज	j	ब	b
ऌ	ḷ	झ	jh	भ	bh
ए	ē	ञ	n	म	m
ऐ	ai	ट	t	य	y
ओ	o	ठ	th	र	r
औ	au	ड	d	ल	l
ं	m	ढ	dh	व	v
:	ḥ, f	ण	ṇ	श	ś

ष	स	ह
ṣ	s	h

N.B.—(i) In the case ट and ड and त and द the transliteration till now adopted by many, ṭ and ḍ and t and d has been reversed in this book as more consistent with the natural sounds of the English alphabets.

(ii) In the case of the nasals only the letters n and m have been adopted, without further modifications of these two types, to facilitate printing.

(iii) In the Sanskrit spelling the strict grammatical rule of nasal sanḍhis has not been followed for typographical reasons. For instance, भवन्ति might have been spelt as भवंति.

BOOK I

EPIC POETRY

|| श्रीः ||

ओं नमो नारायणाय.

कूजन्तं रामरामेति मधुरं मधुराक्षरम् ।
आरुह्य कविताशाखां वन्दे वाल्मीकिकोकिलम् ॥
व्यासं वसिष्ठनप्तारं शक्तेः पौत्रमकल्मषम् ।
पराशरात्मजं वन्दे शुकतातं तपोनिधिम् ॥

BOOK I

EPIC POETRY

CHAPTER I

SECTION 1

Vedic Forms of Epics

"In India, says M. Williams," literature like the whole face of nature, is on a gigantic scale. Poetry, born amid the majestic scenery of the Himalayas, and fostered in a climate which inflamed the imaginative powers, developed itself with oriental luxuriance, if not always with true sublimity. Although the Hindus like the Greeks, have only two great epic poems (the Ramayana and Mahabharata) yet to compare these vast compositions with the Iliad and the Odyssey, is to compare the Indus and the Ganges, rising in the snows of the world's most colossal ranges, swollen by numerous tributaries, spreading into vast shallows of branching into deep divergent channels, with the streams of Attica or the mountain torrents of Thessalay. It is, of course, a principal characteristic of epic poetry, as distinguished from lyrical, that it should concern itself more with external action than internal feelings. It is this which makes Epos the natural expression of early national life. When centuries of trial have turned the mind of nations inwards, and men begin to speculate, to reason, to elaborate language and cultivate science, there may be no lack of refined poetry, but the spontaneous production of epic song is, at that stage of national existence, as impossible as for the octogenarian to delight in the giants and giant-killers of his childhood. The Ramayana and Mahabharata then, as reflecting the Hindu character in ancient times, may be expected to abound in stirring incidents of exaggerated heroic action."[1]

1. *Indian Wisdom*, 306.

The beginnings of epic poetry in India are to be found in the early Vedic Literature. The Ṛg Veḍa contained hymns of a narrative character, and short legends in prose and in verse called Gāṭhas, Nārāśamsis, Iṭihāsas etc., occur in the Brāhmaṇa literature.[1] The Nirukṭa contains prose tales and likewise the metrical Bṛhaḍḍevaṭa. The Yamasabhīyas, the Inḍrajananīyas, the Ākhyānas, Caṇaraṭas and probably Granṭhas Śiśukranḍīyas,[2] narrated the course of epic history. In the Vedic literature there was no essential difference between Aṭiṭa, Ākhyāna, Purāṇa and Iṭīhāsa and generally Kaṭhā. They meant ordinarily an old tale, story, legend or incident and they were often interchangeable.[3] Kaṭhā is non-specific and may be a causerie rather than a tale. There may be a Ḍivyakaṭhā, like the legend of Agasṭya,[4] or a Kaṭhamṛṭa or essence of several Upākhyānas,[5] or a Kaṭhāsāra, an abridgment of a story. But their essential characterstic is the narration of stories of great kings or Gods in the past. So we hear of Ḍyumaṭsena solaced by the tales of former kings,[6] such as Rāma and Nala.[7] Purāṇa, literally old and Iṭihāsa (Iṭi-ha-āsa), literally 'so it was' are almost synonymous, and these terms are found associated with each other in the early literature.[8] The word Iṭihāsa may become a saying, a proverb rather than a legend.[9] In this sense the words Gīṭa and Gāṭhā were also used. Gāṭhā need not necessarily be sung and means only a proverbial verse.[10] Vyāsa called his Mahābhāraṭa or "Jaya", Samhiṭā, Purāṇa, Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Kaṭhā, Iṭihāsa, Kāvya etc.[11]

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1. *Brihaḍ*, II, 4-10; IV. 1-2; IV. 5-9; *Saṭapaṭha* XI. 7-1. See also *Aṭharva Samhiṭā*, XV. 6; *ISt.* 133.

2. *Pāṇini*, IV, iii-88; VI. 2-103. Goldstucker's *Pāṇini*, 28; *ISt*, V. 27. Maxmuller, *ASL*, 40.

3. *Mah.* III, 100, 2.

4. *Mah.* XII, 340, 127.

5. *Mah.* XII. 336, 16.

6. *Mah.* I. 140, 74; III. 298-7:

चित्रार्थैः पूर्वराज्ञां कथाश्रयैः

7. The story of Nala is being indifferently called Kirṭana, Iṭihāsa and Purāṇa. *Mah.* III. 79, 10, 11, 16.

8. See *Chan. Up.* VII. 1, 2, 4; VII. 9, 29; III. 45.

9. *Mah.* III. 30-21:

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।

10. *Mah.* III. 29, 35; III. 135, 45, 54:

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमाः गाथादेवैरुदाहृताः ।

We find these Gāṭhās incorporated in legal and philosophical literature also.

11. *Mah.* I. 2, 383, 385, 387, 389. Similarly Rāmāyaṇa is called Ākhyāna and Samhiṭā (*Rām.* VI, 131, 122, 124. This reference as Kāvya modifies Lassen's opinion (*Indian Antiquities*, I. 485) that Kāvya is a distinct title of Rāmāyaṇa.

In thus describing his work Vyāsa must have had in mind some special characteristic of each class and therefore added that his work possessed all these qualities so as to stand forth as an encyclopædia of all learning. In the extant literature, the terms Iṭihāsa and Purāṇa have acquired a distinct use. Iṭihāsa may correspond to an epic and Purāṇa to a series of narrations, without the main porp of a running tale, meant solely to explain cosmological and theological tenets. In this sense a Purāṇa has been thus described as *pancalakṣaṇa*: it treats of five topics, creation, destruction and recreation, geneology of the Gods, periods of Manus, and history of royal races :[1]

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चेति पुराणं पन्चलक्षणम् ॥

Broadly speaking, therefore, epic literature in India consists of Iṭihāsas, and Purāṇas. Of the former we have Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhāraṭa and with these we shall now proceed to deal.

SECTION II

Ramayana

Rāmāyaṇa, literally the history of Rama, is the immortal poem of Vālmīki.[2] Vālmīki, known also as Bhārgava and Prāceṭasa, was a sage with his hermitage on the banks of the Ganges. His original name was Raṭnākara. In the Aḍhyāṭma-Rāmāyaṇa Vālmīki describes his

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1. See *Vāyu Purāna*, IV. 10, and Amarasimha's Nāmalingānuśāsanam.

2. Vālmiki the descendant of Bhṛgu was the 24th Vyāsa in the Vaivasvaṭa-manvanṭara (*Visnu Purāṇa*, III, 3).

श्रीरामजपमहिमप्रकाशको भगवान् वाल्मीकिः श्रीरामायणाख्यप्रबन्धं निबन्धनेन प्रकटयन् तत्कथोपदेशकेन नारदेनात्मनस्संवादमादौ कथयति—तप इति ।

तपस्वी तपश्शाली । वाल्मीकिः वामद्रुप्रभूतमुनिः । तपसि स्वाध्याये च । निरतः नितरामासक्तः । तं वाग्विदां वक्तृणां वरं श्रेष्ठम् । मुनिपुङ्गवमृषिश्रेष्ठं नारदं परिपप्रच्छ पुनः पुनः प्रश्नं कृतवान् । वाल्मीकिरित्यत्र वाल्मीकात्करचरणादिविशिष्टतयोत्पन्नत्वेन वल्मीकस्यापत्यामित्यर्थविवक्षायां अत इञिति इञ्प्रत्ययः । ननु वल्मीकनामकमुनेः स्कन्नं रेतः काचित्सर्पाङ्गना पीत्वा वाल्मीकिं जनयामासेति स्कान्दे वैशाखमाहात्म्ये श्रूयते । कश्चिन्निषादः सस(र्प्युं)पदेशेन रामनाम जपन् वने तस्थौ । तत्किरातशरीरे वल्मीकमभूत् । ततः कतिपयकाले गते सप्तर्षयस्तद्वनमेत्य किराततपस्स्थानमिति तत्रागत्य वल्मीकं दृष्ट्वा किराताह्वानं चक्रुः । स ....रामनामजपमहिमप्राप्तमुनिभावो वाल्मीकिरिति प्रथितोऽभूदिति पाद्मे पुराणे । See Commentary on संक्षेपरामायण [*TC*, IV. 4366-7[.

past history :—By whom or how, O Rama, can the greatness of thy name be rehearsed,—that name by whose power I, O Rama, have attained the rank of a Brahmin saint? In bygone times I was bred among Kiratas, with the children of Kiraṭas. But by birth only was I a Brahmin; for I was perpetually devoted to the practices of Sudras. From Sudra women many children were born to me of unsubdued passions. And at last, having fallen in with robbers, I myself of yore became a brigand,—bearing constantly a bow and arrows and resembling, to men, God of death. In a great forest, on a certain occasion, I saw before me the seven Munis, resplendant, and glorious like fire and the sun. Through curiosity I pursued them, longing to seize their possessions; and I shouted "Stop, stop." Seeing me the Munis asked "Wherefore has thou come, base Brahmin?" "To acquire something, O most excellent of Munis" was my reply to them. "My children, my wife and others—many—are starving. To save them I wander through the mountain forests." Upon this, they, undismayed, said to me, "Go and ask your family one by one, whether they consent or not to participate in the guilt of the numerous sins that are daily committed by thee. We will certainly remain here until you return." Replying "yes" I went home, and put the question propounded by the Munis to my children, wife and others. They replied to me, O noblest of the Raghavas, "All the sin is, we deem, thy own alone: we are willing to be sharers in the immediate fruit of it only. Contrite on hearing this, I went back, thoughtful, to the place where the Munis, with hearts full of compassion, were waiting. At the very sight of them my soul was purified. Flinging away my bow and other weapons I fell prostrate crying, "Save O excellent Munis, me who am on the road to the sea of perdition." Beholding me lying before them, the venerable Munis said to me: "Rise, rise; blessings be upon thee. Communion with the pious is effectual. We will instruct thee somewhat; and so thou shalt be saved." Looking at each other they continued: "This vile Brahmin, as being addicted to evil course deserves only to be shunned by the virtuous. Since, however, he has come for sanctuary, he must be deligently protected by being taught the way of salvation." So saying, O Rama, they enjoined that, with fixed attention, I should unremittingly meditate in that very place, upon thy name, its syllables being transposed namely, *ma ra*. "Meditate" said they "as directed, till we come again." Having thus spoken, the divinely wise Munis departed. At once I did as I had been bidden by them. With concentrated mind I meditated, and lost all consciousness

of thing . external. Above me, rigid in figure, and detached from all commerce with the world, there arose, after a long lapse of time, thus employed, an ant-hill. Subsequently at the close of thousands of cycles, the Rishis returned. "Come out" said they to me; and immediately, on hearing this command, I stood up. And I emerged from the ant-hill, like the sun from the mist of morning. The band of Munis then addressed me, "Great Muni, be thy name Vālmīki; for thy egress from the white-ant-hill (Valmika) has been to thee a second birth. Thus speaking, O most eminent of the race of Raghu, they proceeded on the road to heaven."[1]

Nāraḍa was struck with that devotion and thought that he was the best person to commemorate the story of Rāma. He narrated to him the story of Rāma and blessed that to him the world would be indebted for its publication. Once when out in the forests, Vālmīki was moved by the killing of one of a fond pair of birds by a hunter, leaving the female bird to lament the death of her mate and that feeling of pity manifested itself in the form of a melodious verse :—

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥

When contemplating on this verse with melancholy Brahmā appeared and directed him to compose Rāmāyaṇa. Blessed by Brahmā with a perception of the events of Rāma's history, he wrote his poem and gave it the names, Rāmāyaṇa, Sīṭācariṭa and Paulasṭyavaḍha. He taught it to his pupils Lava and Kuśa, the sons of Rāma, who were born and bred up in his hermitage while Śīṭā was in banishment, and they sung it to lyre for the first time at Rāma's Aśvamēḍha sacrifice.

In the present form Rāmāyaṇa is divided into seven Kāndas or books. Tradition gives the number of verses as 24,000 in 500 chapters or Sargas, each thousand verses beginning with a letter of Gāyaṭrī-manṭra. Interpolations and alterations made in different parts of India and at different times account for the work now being seen in three distinct recensions, the Bombay, Bengal and the West Indian,[2] the

1. This narrative is to be found at I. 64–85 of the Sixth chapter of the Ayoḍhyā-kānda of the Aḍhyāṭma-Rāmāyaṇa.

2. These recensions are so named by Macdonell (*Sans. Lit.* 303). Gorrosio's Edition is the Bengali recension. Regarding the Bombay Edition, see *ISt*, II. 235. For the differences in the Bengali and Bombay versions, see C. V. Vaidya's Riddle of the Ramayana, Appendix ; *JRAS*, XIX. 303-8 ; Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 377-418. Rāma's horoscope is not found in the Bengal recension. On Rāma's horoscope,

earliest being probably that of Bombay. These variations, says Macdonell "are of such a kind that they can for the most part be accounted for only by the fluctuations of oral tradition among the professional reciters of the epic, at the time when three recensions assumed definite shape in different parts of the country, by being committed to writing." The manuscripts of the Berlin library, contain, it is said, a fourth recension.[1]

The following summary of the story is taken by R. C. DUTT'S *Civilization in Ancient India*:

Formerly there ruled over the kingdom of Kosala (capital Ayodhya) a king called Dasaratha. He belonged to the Solar race, and counted among his ancestors such famous names as Manu, Ikshvaku (first king of Ayodhya), Sagara, Bhagiratha (who brought the Ganges down from heaven), Kakutstha, and Raghu. He had three wives: Kausalya, Sumitra, and Kaikeyi; the first was the eldest, the last, the most beloved. Dasaratha ruled long and prosperously but had only one daughter, Santa and no sons, though he was getting old. Following the advice of Vasishtha, his family preceptor, Dasaratha offered a sacrifice in which his son-in-law Rishyasringa, officiated as head-priest. As a consequence, the king got four sons: 1. Rama, the eldest, born of Kausalya; 2. Bharata, born of Kaikeyi; 3. Lakshmana and 4. Satrughna, both born of Sumitra.

The kingdom of Videha (capital Mithila) was to the east of the kingdom of Kosala. It was at this time ruled by the saintly king Janaka, who, as he was once for a holy sacrifice preparing the ground with a plough, came upon an infant, and brought her up as his own daughter. This was Sita thus miraculously sprung from the Earth. The girl grew up in the company of Urmila, another daughter of Janaka, and of Mandavi and Srutakirti, daughters of Janaka's brother Kusadhwaja. As Sita became of an age to be married, Janaka instituted a *Svayamvara*: whoever should succeed in bending a mighty bow (which Janaka had received from God Siva) was to marry the princess' Many attempted, but none succeeded.

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see Weber, *On the Ramayana*, *IA*, I. 120). In his abridgment of Rāmāyaṇa (Saṃkṣipta-Rāmāyaṇa) C. R. Vaidya purports to eliminate all accretions and to give what might have been the Rāmāyaṇa as composed by Vālmīki. The running story has been culled but and edited by P. P. S. Sastri and A. M. Srinivasacarya, Madras. See Karnam Gundurao's essay, *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1916), 216.

1. *Weber's Cat.* 119.

One day there came to the court of Dasaratha the royal sage Visvamitra who, finding the demons frequently molesting his penances, requested the king to send two of his sons, Rama and Lakshmana, with him to his penance-grove. Since a person of Visvamitra's position could not be denied anything, Dasaratha reluctantly agreed to give over his sons, though yet in tender years. Visvamitra resumed his holy rites and when the molestors came, Rama, at Visvamitra's behest, killed the demon Subahu and the terrible she-demon Tataka. Pleased at the prince's valour, Visvamitra thereupon taught him the mystic formulae relating to all the missiles that he knew, and particularly the *Jrimbhaka* missile, which had the power of producing instantaneous stupor or paralysis in the ranks of the assailants. After the conclusion of the sacrifice, Visvamitra took Rama and Lakshmana with him to Mithila, the capital of Janaka. Janaka was very favourably impressed by the princes; and Visvamitra called upon Rama to try his hand at the mighty bow. Young though he was, Rama not only succeeded in bending it, but even breaking it in twain, and thus winning him a wife. Visvamitra now proposed that, along with Sita's marriage to Rama, there be celebrated the marriages of Sita's sister Urmila and her cousins Mandavi and Srutakirti to the three brothers of Rama, Lakshmana and Bharata and Satrughna respectively. The proposal was agreed to. Dasaratha was called from Ayodhya, and the marriages were celebrated with due pomp.

The nuptial joys, however, were interrupted by the arrival of Parasurama, son of Jamadagni. Parasurama was a fiery Brahman, sage and warrior, who had twenty-one times rid the earth of all Kshatriyas. He was a devotee of God Siva, and was incensed to learn that Rama had not only bent but broken the bow of his favourite Divinity. As nothing short of a fight with the young prince would satisfy him, Rama managed to reduce him to terms, and sent him away humbled and abashed. The four princes then returned to Ayodhya with their brides. Here they passed some twelve years. END OF BALAKANDA.

Dasaratha, finding his eldest son Rama now arrived at a proper age, resolves to crown him heir-apparent. Preparations are accordingly set on foot. But Kaikeyi, the youngest queen following the advice of Manthara, her nurse and confidante, calls upon her husband to fulfil immediately the two boons which on an earlier occasion he had granted her. Dasaratha consents, but is sorely grieved to learn that the boons

are: 1. That Bharata, Kaikeyi's son, be appointed heir-apparent, 2. that Rama be forthwith sent away into exile for fourteen years. As the king could not belie his words, Rama had to submit to the wishes of his step-mother, which he cheerfully does. His wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana refuse to be left behind, and they are all three accordingly carried away through the weeping multitudes. The old king was so much afflicted by this great blow that he barely lived to hear the news of the exiles being taken over safe beyond the boundaries of his kingdom.

Bharata, who all this while was in utter ignorance of the happenings at Ayodhya, is now sent for in order to perform the obsequies of his father and assume the sovereignty thus devolved upon him. He returns; but discovering the mean conduct of his mother, he reproves her bitterly, and refuses to take charge of the kingdom and thus give his consent to the base intrigue. He resolves immediately to start in search of Rama, and to implore him to return. On the other side of the Ganges, near the mountain called Chitrakuta, close by the saint Bharadvaja's hermitage, Bharata finds Rama leading a forester's life in the company of his wife and brother. Rama is struck by Bharata's magnanimity, but insists upon the carrying out of his father's command to the letter, and is unwilling to return before the completion of the full term of fourteen years. Bharata thereupon resolves to keep company with Rama; the latter, however, reminds him of the duty they all owed to their subjects, and persuades him to return, which Bharata does, only on the condition that Rama will come back at the appointed time, himself in the meanwhile conducting the affairs of the state only as Rama's agent. END OF AYODHYA-KANDA.

Rama now resolves to withdraw further away from his kingdom and learning that the regions on the other side of the Vindhya mountains were infested with wild demons and cannibals, he set forth in that, direction. At his entrance into the Vindhya forests he meets the demon Viradha, whom he kills. He then meets a number of sages and ascetics, in whose company he is said to have passed no less than ten years. Going further south into the Dandaka forests he reaches the river Godavari, and there, in the part of the country known as Janasthana, comes upon the hermitage of Agastya and his wife Lopamudra. The holy pair heartily welcome the newcomers, and here at the foot of a mountain called Prasravana, and in a region known as Panchavati, Rama resolves to build a small hut and to pass the rest of his exile

peacefully in the company of the saint Agastya and the vulture-king Jatayus.

Peace, however, was not vouchsafed to him long. At this time there ruled in the island of Lanka (identified with modern Ceylon) a demon king, Ravana. He was called ten-headed and was a terror to the world. Having established his power in Lanka proper, Ravana crossed over to the mainland and overran the whole of Southern India, subduing everything that came in his way. Ravana, however, found more than his match in Valin, king of the Monkeys, whose kingdom comprised the part of South India then known as Kishkindha. An agreement was entered into whereby, except for a narrow strip of land along the coast, the bulk of the peninsula came into the possession of Valin. Ravana's territory touched the Janasthana, and here he left a large army of demons under the command of Khara (Ravana's younger brother) and Dushana and Trisiras.

Once Surpanakha, a widowed sister of Ravana, came upon Rama in the Panchavati, and smitten with his graceful form made him frank overtures of love, promising to eat up Sita and thus put her out of the way, if Rama would consent. Rama in jest sent her to Lakshmana, who rewarded her insistence by cutting off her nose and ears. Surpanakha went weeping and bleeding to her brother Khara, who in anger despatched fourteen picked men to capture Rama. As they did not return, Khara marched with his whole army, 14,000 demons strong and engaged Rama in a close fight. Rama stepped back a few paces so as to gain room for working with his bow, and then, one after another, he killed the entire army of demons, as also its three leaders.

Surpanakha vows revenge. She now repairs to Ravana in Lanka and inflames his mind with a passion for Sita, whose charms she praises loudly. Ravana resolves to capture her. He asks Maricha, another demon, to assume the form of a golden deer, and to lure Rama in chase away from his cottage. Maricha does this and is mortally wounded by Rama's arrow. Before he dies, however, imitating the voice of Rama, he calls upon Lakshmana for help. Lakshmana was left behind to guard Sita in the cottage; but upon hearing the cry, which she mistook for her husband's, Sita urges and even commands Lakshmana to go, which he does reluctantly. Utilizing the favourable moment Ravana now pounces upon the forlorn Sita and flies away with her, striking down on his way the vulture-king Jatayus, who from his mountain peak had watched this daring act and attempted to intercept

the abductor. Jatayus falls down to die, surviving just long enough to inform Rama and Lakshmana (already returned from the deer-chase amazed at not finding Sita in the cottage) of what had happened, Rama's grief was unbounded, END OF ARANYA-KANDA.

Wandering further onward, the princes at last reach the lake called Pampa, Here they come upon Sugriva and his trusty friend and minister Hanuman, alias Maruti. Sugriva was the brother of Valin, king of the Monkeys, and had been dispossessed by him both of his kingdom and his wife. Rama and Sugriva enter into an alliance whereby Rama agrees to restore Sugriva to his kingdom, and in return the latter promises to send out search-parties and help Rama to punish the abductor and recover his lost wife. Rama accordingly asks Sugriva to challenge Valin to a duel, and as the two brothers join in combat, Rama wounds Valin mortally with an arrow. For this unprovoked wrong and treachery Valin reproaches Rama severely; the latter simply replies that as an agent of the sovereign king of Ayodhya he took upon himself the duty of inflicting proper punishment upon malefactors who, like Valin had usurped a brother's throne and wife. The death of Valin leaves Sugriva master of the kingdom of Kishkindha; and in gratitude he now sends, under proper leaders, parties of Monkeys in search of Sita. The most important of these was the one sent to the south under the command of Maruti. This party presses forward and southward until it gains the sea-coast, END OF KISHKINDHA-KANDA.

The waters seemed to offer an impassable barrier, as the island of Lanka stood on the other side of the ocean; but Maruti undertakes to clear it by a leap. This he does and enters Lanka. Here he was fortunate enough to meet Sita, sorrowing in Ravana's garden under the shade of an Asoka tree, she-demons of hideous and terrible looks keeping watch over her day and night. In glowing terms they describe to her the glory and the greatness of Ravana, and work alternately upon her hopes and her fears to the end that she may consent to have Ravana. Sita refuses to listen, and Ravana is too proud to stoop to force.

Maruti soon finds opportunity to console Sita and assure her of a speedy deliverance. Having thus achieved the chief object of his journey, Maruti now leaves Lanka, not without meeting sundry adventures, in the course of which he succeeds in killing a few hundred demons and setting the whole city on fire. Once more he leaps over the ocean and returns to Kishkindha with the glad news. END OF SUNDARAKANDA.

Rama immediately resolves to invade Lanka. Sugriva with his army of Monkeys and Jambavant with his army of Bears offer their assistance and the whole army soon gains the Southern Ocean. Here they are joined by Vibhishana, the youngest brother of Ravana. Vibhishana had tried to remonstrate with his eldest brother against the evil course of conduct he was pursuing, and being rewarded with contempt he now came over to Rama's side. Rama receives him well and promises him the kingdom of Lanka after Ravana's death. To make it possible for the army to cross over, Rama now resolves to construct a stone bridge over the ocean, and to this he is helped by the engineering genius of Nala. Having gained the island he next lays siege to the capital. The battle which follows lasts, according to the several inconsistent time-indications, for four or fifteen or thirty-nine or eighty-eight days; Ravana together with his brothers and sons and the entire army of demons is put to death; and Rama, in accordance with his promise, installs Vibhishana as king of Lanka.

Having thus vanquished the enemy and wiped out the insult, Rama now meets Sita. He is, however, unwilling, for fear of public scandal, to take his wife back until she has proved her purity. Pierced to the quick by Rama's suspicion Sita proposes the fire-ordeal. A huge pyre is kindled and with a firm tread she walks towards it and is engulfed by the flames. Immediately, however, she reappears, led forth by the Fire-god himself, who in the hearing of all proclaims her innocence. Rama now accepts her, saying that he never doubted her innocence, but had to do what he did for the sake of the people. The fourteen-year period of exile having now almost expired, Rama, along with his wife, brother, friends, and allies, makes a journey northwards, utilizing for the purpose the aerial car called *Pushpaka* which belonged to Ravana. They reach their home, where they meet Bharata and the Queen-mothers anxiously awaiting the return of the exiles, Rama's coronation is now celebrated with due pomp and there is rejoicing everywhere. END OF YUDDHA-KANDA.

The epic should naturally end here; but there is one more book or kanda dealing with the history of Rama from his coronation to his death. Here we are told how a few months after the coronation rumours regarding Sita began to be circulated amongst the people, who did not like that Rama should have received his wife back after she had been nearly a year in the house of Ravana. Through his spies Rama comes to know of this, and resolves to abandon Sita, although at this

time she was in a state of advanced pregnancy. Rama charges his brother Lakshmana with the carrying out of this plan. Lakshmana obeys, places Sita in a chariot, takes her into a forest on the other side of the Ganges, and there leaves her, after communicating to her the actual state of things.

Thereupon Sita sends back to Rama a spirited reply and patiently succumbs to the inevitable. In her forlorn condition she fortunately chances upon the saint Valmiki, whose hermitage was near by. Valmiki receives the exiled queen under his protection. In his hermitage she gives birth to twin sons, Kusa and Lava, whom Valmiki brings up and educates along with his other pupils.

Meanwhile in Ayodhya Rama is not at peace. From a mere sense of duty he discharges his manifold functions as a king, but is always haunted by the image of her whom he had treated so unjustly. Years go by, and at last he resolves to perform a horse-sacrifice. For the festivities attending the completion of the sacrifice there came Valmiki bringing with him the twins, Kusa and Lava, whom he had taught to sing the Ramayana, a panegyric poem on Rama which Valmiki had composed. With great applause the boys recite the poem in the presence of Rama and the whole assembly. Rama inquires about the boys and is pleasantly surprised to learn from Valmiki that they are Rama's own sons. Understanding that Sita is still alive, he sends for her. Sita comes. Rama asks her to give further evidence of her innocence and purity. 'If it is true', exclaims Sita, 'that in mind and deed and word I have never been unfaithful to Rama, may Mother Earth receive me into her bosom!'. Just as she utters these words the Earth gapes open and a divine form stretches forth her hands to Sita, who enters the abyss and there finds eternal rest.

Soon after the disappearance of Sita, Rama feels his own end drawing near. The kingdom is divided amongst the four brothers, who in turn settle it upon their children. In the meantime the aged queen-mothers die. Thereafter Lakshmana whom Rama, for no fault of his own, was compelled to send away from him, gives up the ghost. Finally Rama himself enters the waters of the river Sarayu, and his other brothers, and the whole city of Ayodhya in fact, follow after him to heaven. END OF UTTARA-KANDA.[1]

(1) Similar summaries of the stroy are found in several books, such as Sir William Jones's works, Maurice's *Hindustan*, Moor's *Pantheon* etc.

On the authenticity and signification of the narrative itself, various THEORIES have been advanced:

R. C. Dutt—"The Ramayana is utterly valueless as a narrative of historical events and incidents. The heroes are myths, pure and simple. Sita, the field-furrow, had received divine honors from the time of the Rig Veda and had been worshipped as a goddess. When cultivation gradually spread towards Southern India, it is not difficult to invent a poetical myth that Sita was carried to the south. And when this goddess and woman--the noblest creation of human imagination--had acquired a distinct and lovely individuality, she was naturally described as the daughter of the holiest and most learned King on record, Janaka of the Videhas! "But who is Rama, described as Sita's husband and King of the Kosalas? The later Puranas tell us he was an incarnation of Vishnu--but Vishnu himself had not risen to prominence at the time at which we are speaking! Indra was the chief of the Gods in the Epic period. In the Sutra literature we learn that Sita the furrow goddess is the wife of Indra. Is it then an untenable conjecture that Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, is in his original conception like Arjuna, the hero of Mahabharata, only a new edition of the Indra of the Rig Veda, battling with the demons of drought? The myth of Indra has thus been mixed up with the epic which describes a historic conquest of Southern India."[1]

Jacobi—The foundation of the Ramayana would be a celestial myth of the Veda transformed into a narrative of earthly adventures according to a not uncommon development. Sita can be traced to the Rig Veda, where she appears as the Furrow personified and invoked as a goddess. In some of the Grihya-sutras, she again appears as a genius of the plough-fields, is praised as a being af great beauty and is accounted the wife of Indra or Parjanya the rain-god. There are traces of this origin in the Ramayana itself. For Sita is represented, as having emerged from the earth, when her father Janaka was once ploughing and at last disappears underground in the arms of the goddess Earth. Her husband Rama would be no other than Indra, and his conflict with Ravana would represent the *Indra-Vritra* myth of the Rig Veda. This identification is confirmed by the name of Ravana's son being Indrajit or Indra-Satru, the latter being actually an

1. *Civilization in Ancient India.*

epithet of Vritra in the Rig Veda. Ravana's most notable feat, the rape of Sita, has its prototype in the stealing of the cows recovered by Indra. Hanumat, the chief of the monkeys and Rama's ally in the recovery of Sita is the son of the wind-god with the patronymic Maruti and is described as flying hundreds of leagues through the air to find Sita Hence in his figure perhaps survives reminiscence of Indra's alliance with the Maruts in his conflict with Vritra and the dog Sarama who as Indra's messenger crosses the waters of the Rasa and tracks the cows occurs as the name of the demoness who consoles Sita in her captivity.[1]

Weber.—(1) "In the Ramayana we find ourselves from the very outset in the region of allegory and we only move upon historical ground in so far as the allegory is applied to an historical fact, *viz.*, to the spread of Aryan civilization to the south more especially to Ceylon. (2) The Greeks are mentioned only twice and that under the vague name of Yavanas, which word embraces not only the Greeks but many of those alien races that have from time to time made inroads on N. W. India. The theory of the translation of the Greek poems into the Indian epics has no standing ground. So our epic composition must have preceded the Greek invasions. (3) The city of Pataliputra was built about 400 B.C. under Kalasoka and which about 350 B.C. became the capital of an empire. While the Ramayana refers to cities of Eastern Hindustan, it makes no mention of this important city. The only deduction is that its composition preceded the foundation of the city. (4) The capital of the Kosala Kingdom is called *Ayodhya* in the poem, whereas the name *Saketa* is given to it by the Buddhists and the Jains. It is said that Lava fixed his seat of Government at Sravasti. Our poem must have been composed when the old capital Ayodhya was not yet deserted and by Buddha's time the Kosala capital was under King Prasenajit of Sravasti. (5) The Ramayana speaks of Mithila and Visala as two independent principalities, whereas by Buddha's time they were united into the single city of Vaisali under an oligarchical Government. (6) The characters are not historical figures but merely personifications of certain occurrences and situations. Sita, in the first place, whose abduction by a giant demon and her subsequent recovery by her husband Rama, constitute the plot of the entire poem, is but the field-furrow to whom divine honors were paid in

1. *Das Ramayana*, Bonn, 1893; *ZDMG*, XLVII, 407.

the songs of the Rik and in the Grihya ritual. She accordingly represents Aryan husbandry, which has to be protected by Rama—whom I regard as originally identical with Balarama '*halabrit*' '*the plough-bearer*,' though the two were afterwards separated—against the attacks of the predatory aborigines. These latter appear to be demons and giants; whereas those natives who were well—disposed towards the Aryan civilization are represented as monkeys—a comparison which was doubtless not exactly intended to be flattering and which rests on the striking ugliness of the Indian aborigines as compared with the Aryan race." (7) "It is uncertain how far the story of Rama and Sita, as contained in its earliest form in the Dasaratha-Jataka, may have a historical germ, or whether even that earliest version may not also have had as its ground work, in addition to such a germ, what Valmiki has undoubtediy interwoven into his representation of the story, namely, the adoration of a Demi-God, bearing the name of Rama, and regarded as the guardian of agriculture, but hindered in his beneficient activity by a temporary exile, and also of the field-furrow deified under the name of Sita."[1]

According to *Lassen*,[2] "the development of the story of Rama may be divided into four stages. The first construction of the poem did not carry the narrative beyond the banishment of Rama to the Himalayas and the circumstances which caused his wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana to follow him into exile. The second changed the place of banishment to the Godavari and described the protection afforded to the hermits against the attacks of the aborigines. The third embraced the account of the first attempts to subdue the inhabitants of the Dekkan. The fourth modification which resulted from the knowledge gained by the Hindus of the island of Ceylon included the description of Rama's expedition against Lanka."[3] Lassen commented on the views of Weber and his comments are instructive. It may be regarded as true that the now existing oldest form of the Rama-legend is presented in a Buddhistic narrative, according to which Rama, with his brother, and his sister Sita, is banished to the Himavat. But this narrative appears to me to be a misconception or distortion of the Brahmanical original, due to the Buddhists, who represent the sister as following the banished prince—a duty which elsewhere is only regarded as incumbent on the

1. See '*On the Ramayana*' as translated by BOYD, *IA*, I. 120 ff.
2. *Ind. Alt.* II. 505.
3. *IA*, III. 102-4.

wife. This conjecture would be raised to certainty if it should be discovered that any verses of the *Ramayana* were to be found in the Buddhist narrative. Secondly, in the *Ramayana*, with the exception of one single passage, no allusions to the Buddhist occur. In the passage referred to a Nastika is treated with contempt on account of his reprehensible principles; but this word, moreover, does not necessarily denote a Buddhist, but can just as well refer to a Charvaka, or materialist. But, besides, the passage is interpolated. It is further to be considered that the powerful kingdoms in Southern India were ruled by kings of Brahmanical sentiments, and that consequently an attack on the part of the Buddhists could only proceed from the side of Ceylon, the history of which is correctly handed down to us from the time of the second Asoka, and only relates war of the Singalese kings with the rulers of the opposite coasts. Again, the Brahmans always accurately distinguish second and the third Rama; and there is no ground for regarding the second as a divine presonification of agriculture. As the story of the first Rama is to be found in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, a work which makes no reference whatever to incarnations of Vishnu, it will be impossible to deny the historical character of the Pithoid (?) Rama, although at a later period he was included in the circle of the *avataras*. On the same ground I consider myself bound to accept as an historical personage the Dasarathi Rama. As soon as he was transported into the ranks of the gods, he was naturally followed by Sita, whose name of itself led to her being turned into a daughter of the Earth—into a deified Furrow. Again, the assumption that the flight to Helen and Trojan war were the prototypes of the abduction of Sita, and of the conflict around Lanka, appears very paradoxical. It presupposes, further, an acquaintance with the Homeric poems, of which there is no proof whatever. Among a people one of whose chief weapons was the bow, it was natural that stories of heroes who conquered their foes by superiority in the use of this weapon should be invented. By means of this style of comparison, the account of Arjuna's defeat of the rival suitors for Draupadi's hand through his superior skill in archery might be ascribed to Homeric influence. Besides, a comparison of the circle of tales current among the two nations would not be quite appropriate, as in the *Ramayana* the abduction of Sita forms an important part of the story, while in the Homeric songs the rape of Helen is indeed introduced as the motive of the war, but is nowhere described at length. Finally, although I am still convinced that the

ndians have derived their zodiacal signs, not from the Greek but from the Chaldaean astrologers, the astronomical data occurring in the *Ramayana* have no force as proofs. The reference to the Yavanas and Sakas as powerful nations in the northern region only shows, strictly speaking, that these nations were known to the Indians as such, but not that they had already established their dominion in that quarter. In conformity with my views on the history of Indian epic poetry, I regard as admissible the statement of the historian of Kasmir (*Rajatarangini*, I. 166) that the king of that country, Damodara, caused the *Ramayana*, with all its episodes, to be read to him. How much sooner the existing poem was composed will probably never admit of determination."

According to *M. Williams*, "the first orderly completion, of the two poems in their brahmanized form, may have taken place, in the case of the Ramayana about the beginning of the third century B. C., and in the case of the Mahabharata (the original story of which is possibly more ancient than that of the Ramayana) still later,—perhaps as late as the second century B. C. The posteriority of the brahmanized Mahabharata may be supported by the more frequent allusions it contains to the progress of Buddhistic opinions, and to the intercourse with the Yavanas or Greeks, who had no considerable dealings with the Hindus till two or three centuries after Alexander's invasion.[1]

Talboys Wheeler says that the war between Rama and Ravana is but a poetic version of the conflict between Brahminism and Buddhism in the south.

H. H. Wilson says that the story of the Ramayana seems to be founded on historical fact and the traditions of the South of India uniformly ascribe its civilization to the subjugation or dispersion of its forest tribes of barbarians and the settlement of civilized Hindus to the conquest of Lanka by Rāma.[2]

J. C. Chatterjee refers the incidents and locality of the Rāmāyaṇa to the advance of the Aryans eastwards and to the Caucasia and shores of the Caspian, the Black and Mediterranean seas.[3]

M. V. Kibe discovers, after elaborate literary and geographical research, the real Lankā of the Rāmāyaṇa : " A mysterious peak which

1. *Indian Wisdom*, 31-6. See Gauranganath Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 233-6.

2. *Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III. 317 note.

3. " *Aryan Ancestors, where did they come from?*"—Paper read at the Asiatic Society of Bengal—*Hindu*, Madras, 14th April, 1916.

is visible from the neighbourhood of the Amorakantak, the source of the Nurbudda, and which is surrounded by marshy land may be identified with Lankā."[1] There is much there for appreciation.

Another theory is "that the Ramayana exhibits the progress of Aryan plough husbandry among the mountains and the fastnesses of Central and Southern India and the perils of the agricultural settlers from non-ploughing nomadic hunting tribes."[2]

It is said in the Rājaṭarangiṇī (I. 116) that king Ḍāmoḍara was condemned to wear the form of a serpent "until he should have heard the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa in one day." *Gorressio* therefore infers that inasmuch as king Ḍāmoḍara lived about the beginning of the 14th century B. C., the passage decides in favour of at least the "remota antiquita del poema."[3] But Weber almost derides him by saying that "the Ramayana is brought into connection with the banishment of a king, who is presumed to have reigned 2400 years before the date of Kalhana."[4]

The fantastic differences about dates among orientalists are seen for instance, in the following summary about Rāma in Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*, Volume III: "Rama of the solar line of Hindu chronology is, however, placed by brahmins, 867,102 B. C. between the silver and brazen ages. But he has been variously supposed to have lived, 2022 B. C. Jones, 950 Hamilton, and 1100 Todd, and according to Bently he was one year old in 960, born in 6th April 961; Rama preceded Krishna but as their historians Valmiki and Vyasa, who wrote events they witnessed, were contemporaries, it could not have been many years."

Whatever may have been the fanciful interpretations of western savants and modern theorists, the epic has maintained its unity of plot and action from time immemorial. It is the Ādikāvya, the first poem and Vālmiki was Ādikavi, the first poet in Indian Literature. As a piece of poetic art the Rāmayaṇa stands supreme and Vālmīki's poetic fancy and imagery have been the standard for imitation. There is no ideal, there is no reality, there is no fancy, there is no sentiment which Vālmīki has not depicted and there is no expression which can excel or equal

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1. First Oriental Conference, Poona, *Summaries of Papers*, 128.
2. See Vaidya's *Riddle of the Ramayana*, 64; Narayan Aiyangar's *Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology*; Tilak's *Arctic home in the Vedas*, 348.
3. Vol. I. Introduction, xcvii.
4. *On the Rāmāyaṇa*, *IA*, I. 239.

his in grace or eloquence. Cosmogony and theogony, folk-lore and tradition, mythology and history, have all formed a part "in the weaving of the mighty web and work of magic drapery evolved by Vālmīki." "Notwithstanding the wilderness of exaggeration and hyperbole through which the reader of the Indian Epics has occasionally to wander," says M. Williams[1] "there are in the whole range of the world's literature few more charming poems than the Rāmāyaṇa. The classical purity, clearness and simplicity of its style, the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling with which it abounds, its graphic descriptions of heroic incidents and of nature's grandest scenes, the deep acquaintance it displays with the conflicting working and most refined emotions of the human heart, all entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions that have appeared at any period and in any country. It is like a spacious and delightful garden; here and there allowed to run wild, but teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams and even its most tangled thickets intersected with delightful pathways."

These excellences of thought and expression have gained for Vālmiki the highest place in the pantheon of the world's poetic geniuses. Wherever you roam over the vast continent of India, be it a peasant's hut or a lord's parlour, the story of Rāma is familiar and is listened to with pleasure and devotion. This is the prediction of Brahma,

> Yāvaṭ sṭhāsyanṭi girayas sariṭas ca mahīṭale
> Tāvaṭ Rāmāyaṇa-kaṭhā lokeṣu pracariṣyaṭi—I. 240.

And the name of Rāma and the narration of his heroism will be current in the world "as long as mountains and rivers stand on the surface of the earth." There is not one devout Hindu who does not believe in these words of Vālmīki: "He who reads and repeats this holy life-giving Rāmāyaṇa is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven." Vālmiki reiterated the doctrine of fate and hope and thus expressed the means of solace in distress and when that poet put the old saying in the lips of despairing Siṭa,

> Kalyānī baṭa gāṭheyam laukikī praṭibhāṭi me
> Eṭi jīvanṭam ānanḍo naram varṣaśaṭāḍapi

he had said all that could be said for peace in this mortal world.[2]

1. *Indian Wisdom*, 365.

2. Ed. by V.L.S. Pansikar with Tilaka Commentary (Bombay); Ed. by R.L. Bhattacharya, Benares); Ed. by A. G. V. Schlegal with Latin preface (Bonn); Ed.

Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra is a brief narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa in seven Kāndas, each Kānda in a different metre, by Subbaya Śāstrin, son of Yegnesa Sūrin of Pulyala family and daughter's son of Venkata Śwetamukha Makhin of Kompela family.[1] There are short poetical summaries, Āryā Rāmāyaṇa by Sūryakavi[2] and Sister Balambal.[3]

Tatvasangraharāmāyaṇa of Rāmabrahmānanda in seven adhyayas mentions the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, but adds many incidents not found in Vālmiki's work.[4]

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by Gorresio, Paris; Ed. by Durgaprasad (Nirnaya Sanara Press, Bombay); Ed. by Gopal Narayana (Bombay); Ed. by Vyasacarya (Kumbakonam) with Govindaraja's Commentary. Translated into English verse by Griffith (Benares) and into English Prose, by M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, by Makhan Lal Sen (Calcutta, with a valuable introduction) and by C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar with notes, Madras).

For versions of the story, see Belvalkar's Int. to Uttararamacarita (*HOS*, 21).

For critical remarks on composition and contents, see *IA*, I. 120, 172, 29 III. 102; IV. 247; XXIX. 8. For Bhavabhutis quotation, see *IA*, II. 123. On the author, and different versions, see *IA*, XXXI. 351-2. For an Italian story resembling Rāmāyaṇa, see *IA*, VII. 202, 292.

Was Ramayana copied from Homer? (*IA*, II. 219; XIII. 336, 480; III. 124, 267). As to the quotation of the verse in the Mahabhashya of Patanjali, see *IA*, IV. 247 ff. Weber, *On the Rāmāyana* translated by D. C. Boyd (*IA*, I. 120, 172, 239); *Ramayana and Jatakas* (*Mod. Rev. XVIII* 96); *Valmiki and Kalidasa* by R. V. Krishnamacharya (*Sahridaya*, XVIII); *Life of Valmiki* (*JASB*, *XXIII*. 494); *Eni Beitrag Zur Ramayana Kritik* by Jacobi (*ZDMG, XLI*); *Geography of Rama's exile* by Pargiter (*JRAS*, 1894, 231); *Linguistic Archaisms of the Ramayana* by T. Michelson (*JAOS*, 1904); *Valmiki, as he reveals himself in his poem*, by B. Barna (*ICU*, III. 251-90).

Jacobi, *Das Ramayana* (Bonn); Ludwig, *Uber Das Ramayana* (Prag); Baumgartner, *Das Ramayana* (Freiburg); Hans Wirtz, *Die Westliche Rezension des Ramayana*; H. Luders, *Die sage von Ṛsyaśṛnga.*

The Triumph of Valmiki (in Bengali) by H. P. Shasti and translated in English by R. R. Sen (Luzac & Co., London); *The Riddle of the Ramayana* by C. V. Vaidya, Bombay; *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata*, by the Maharaja of Bobbili (in Telugu).

Vaidya's *Ramayana, Mahababharata* and *Epic India* reviewed in *Ind. Rev.* IX 686; *Sri Ramachandra, the Ideal King* by T. Michelson: (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). For a valuable critique, see the Introduction (Telugu) to Gopinatha Ramayana, (Madras).

1. *DC*, XX. 7909.

2. *TC*, III. 3021. It was composed on Sunday, the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the year Yuva.

3. Printed, Madras.

4. *TC*, I. 955.

Vālmīkibhāvaḍīpam[1] is an interpretation in verse of the spiritual significance of the story of Rāma. The author Ananṭācārya is the son of Kṛṣṇamācārya and the head of the famous Parṭivāḍibhayankara Mutt of Kānci. He was born on 24th March 1874 and is the author of several works in philosophy. By his extensive tours all over India he is spreading knowledge and religion. Among his works is Samsāra-cakram, a sanskrit novel, which will be noticed in a later Chapter.

Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, also called Jnāna Vāsiṣtha, is said to have been composed by Vālmīki himself as an appendage to the Rāmāyaṇa and originally taught by Vasiṣṭha to Rāma. It is in six chapters, Vairāgya, Mumukṣuṭva, Uṭpaṭṭi, Sṭhiṭi, Upāsana and Nirvāṇa and treats mainly of Yoga and Aḍvaiṭa Veḍānṭa by means of illustrative stories, intended to explain the best means of attaining true happiness.[2] There is commentary on it by Ānanḍabodhenḍra Sarasvaṭi[3] and a short compendium of it (anonymous) in 10 Prakaraṇas with a commentary by Mahīḍhara.[4]

Vasisthoṭṭararāmāyaṇa is not fully extant. In the 12th chapter there is the legendary account of the vanquishment of hundred-headed Rāvaṇa by Sītā. It is called Sīṭāvijayam.[5]

Aḍbhuṭa-Rāmāyaṇa or Aḍbhuṭoṭṭararāmāyaṇa, also attributed to Vālmīki, describes in 27 Cantos as a sequel to the Rāmāyaṇa the early story and real nature of Sīṭā. In it Sīṭā is represented as having killed a Rāvaṇa with hundred heads, whom Rāma was unable to vanquish.[6]

Aḍhyāṭma-Rāmāyaṇa is an extract from the Brahmānda Purāṇa. It is divided into seven books, bearing the same name as the Rāmāyaṇa and its object is to show "that Rāma was a manifestation of the supreme spirit and Sita, identified with Lakṣmī, a type of nature." It is in the

1. Printed at Conjeeveram by the author.

2. An abridgment (Laghu) has been translated by K. Narayanaswami Iyer, (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). This work is a standard book of study among the members of the Theosophical society. See further, M. Williams" *Indian Wisdom*, 368.

3. He was the pupil of Gangāḍharenḍra Sarasvaṭi who was the disciple of Rāmacanḍrenḍra Sarasvaṭi, who was the disciple of Sarvajna Sarasvaṭi. See *DC*, IV. 1292—1302.

4. *TC*, II. 2644, IOC, 232, 783.

5. *TC*, I. 881, 882; II. 1303.

6. *IOC*, No, 3331—33, DC. XX. 7689, Ed. Bombay. This edition contains 27 cantos.

form of a dialogue between Umā and va. Two Śichapters are held to be particularly sacred. In the first chapter, Rāmahṛdaya, the inner nature of Rāma is explained and his identification of Rāma with Vishnu as the supreme spirit is asserted. The fifth chapter of the seventh book, the Rāmagīṭa, explains the advantage of giving up all work in order to meditate upon and become united with the supreme spirit.[1]

Mūla Rāmāyaṇa[2] and Ānanḍa Rāmāyaṇa[3] describe the importance of Hanūmaṭ and is read much by the followers of Śri Maḍhwa.

Saṭyopākhyāna narrates the history of Rāma illustrated with a variety of stories not found in the Rāmāyaṇa. It is said to have been originally imparted to Mārkandeya by Vālmiki, and then by him to Vyāsa, by Vyāsa to Sūṭa and lastly recounted by Sūṭa to the Ṛṣis in the forest of Naimīśa. It may have been part of a Purāṇa but it has not been possible to identify the source.[4]

Rāmācariṭra or Rāmāyaṇa is a long work in prose and verse based on the Rāmāyaṇa of Hemācārya. It differs considerably from the work of Vālmīki, and is an extravagant travesty of it. It closes with the narration of the death of Lakṣmaṇa on hearing a false report of the slaying of Rāma and Rāma becoming an ascetic and attaining salvation, after which his sons Lava and Kusa became initiated into the Jain religion. Paḍmavijayagaṇi, the author, was a disciple of Rajavijaya Sūri, a desciple of Vijayasena Suri and composed the work in 1596, during the reign of Emperor Akbar.[5]

COMMENTARIES

The most well-known commentary is the Bhūṣaṇam of Govinḍarājā, of Kauśika-goṭra. He was the son of Varaḍarāja. He was a Śri-vaiṣṇava brahmin, a resident of Kānci or Sholinghur. He calls himself a desciple of Saṭhagopaḍeśika. The latter is probably the 6th Swami of the Ahobilam Mutt, who lived about the beginning of the 16th century.[6] At the end of Yuḍḍhakānda, Govinḍarāja says he was en-

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1. Printed in all provinces. See Monier William's *Indian Wisdom*, 368. Translated into English by Lala Baij Nath, Panini office, Allahabad (See *Ind. Rev.*, XIII. 334).
2. Ed. Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay. Theosophical Publishing House Adyar.
3. Ed. by Jyestaram Mukundjee, Bombay .
4. Ed. Sri Venkateswar Press, Bombay.
5. See *Mitra's Rep.* V.

couraged in his composition by Bhāvanācārya. Bhāvanācārya was the great scion of Kaṇḍāla family of Vaḍhūla gotra and his son Sriranga's desciple, Tenali Annayya (brother of Tenali Ramakrishna) lived in the days of kings Kṛṣṇaḍevarāya and Rāmaḍevarāya of Vizianagar.[1] We may therefore safely assign this commentary to the middle of the 16th century. When once on a visit to Tirupati he was directed in his dream at the entrance of the temple of Venkateśa to compose a commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa. The work is learned, discussive and authoritative and comprehends all that a reader may desire for a proper appreciation of the poem. The commentaries on the Cantos have separate names, Maṇimanjīra, Pīṭāmbara, Ratnamekhala, Muktāhāra, Śṛngāraṭilaka, the Maṇimukuta, and Ratnakirīta.[2]

Vālmikihṛḍayam[3] is a commentary by Ahobala of Aṭreya goṭra. He lived at Conjeeveram. He was the desciple of Parānkusa, the 6th Swami of Ahobila Mutt who was contemporary of Emperor Rāmarāya of Vijianagar of the 16th century. He also translated into Sanskrit the commentary in Tamil of select verses of the Rāmāyaṇa by the commentators on the Dramidopanishad or Tiruvaymuli.[4] In his tours in the north of India, he installed the images of Alwars in the temple of Jagannāḍha.[5] Ahobala's pupil Brahmaviḍyaḍhvarin wrote a critical commentary on stray verses called Viroḍhabhanjani. He was son of Nṛsimha and Bhavānī of the Vāna family.[6]

Ḍharmākūtam is a splendid critique on the Rāmāyaṇa. Its object, as the name indicates, is to demonstrate to the reader how at every step of the poem, the story of the Rāmāyaṇa illustrates the code of morals by reference to the original sources of the Vēḍas and the Ḍharma Sāśṭras.[7] It is a unique work of the kind and was almost an original conception in Sanskrit literature.

Its author is Ṭryambaka Makhin.[8] He was the son of Gangāḍhara, the minister of Ekoji, the founder of the Kingdom of Tanjore (1674-1687) and brother of Nṛsimha. His father's father was Ṭryam-

1. See Veeresalingam's Lives of Telugu poets, Part II. 322.
2. Ed. Madras and elsewhere.
3. *DC*, IV. 1272.
4. *TC*, II. 2305.
5. See Ahobilam Inscriptions.
6. *DC*, IV. 1277. Probably it was this Nṛsimha that also wrote a commentary on the Rāmāyana, TC, III. 3071.
7. The work is thus described: Kṛṭiriyam sakalaśruṭisammaṭā smṛṭipurāṇavacobhiralankṛṭā.
8. His brother Nārāyaṇa wrote the Vikramasenacampū (*IC*, II. 264.)

bakāmāṭya. When Shahaji became king (1687-1711), Ṭryambaka was appointed his minister and continued in that position throughout the reign. After the death of Shahaji and accession of Sarabhoji (1712-1727), Ṭryambaka was in charge of the portfolio of charitable endowments. After receiving a munificent grant of land, he retired for meditation to Swāmimalai (near Kumbakonam) where stands the ancient temple of Skanḍa. Only a few chapters have been printed by the Vanivilas Press, Srirangam and it is still unfinished. Probably the manuscript is in the Tanjore Library.

Rāmāyaṇānvayī is a commentary by Rangācarya, of Kidāmbi family and of Āṭreya goṭra. He was the pupil of Gopāla, a descendant of Vāḍihamsa family. He probably lived at Arasanipalai near Conjeevaram.[1] Rāmāyaṇa-bhūsanam is a commentary by Prabalamukunḍasūri, son of Singayarya.[2] Suboḍhini is a commentary by Abhinava Rāmabhaḍrāśrama, a desciple of Raghūṭṭamāśrama. He was an ascetic, probably a resident of the Circars.[3] Guruvālmīkibhāvaprakāśikā is a commentary by Haripandiṭa, son of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇāmāṭya of the Mudigunda family, and of the Kaundinya gotra.[4] Appayadīkśiṭa wrote Rāmāyaṇaṭāṭparyanirṇaya and Rāmāyaṇasārasangraha.[5]

Rāmāyana-ṭaṭṭva-ḍipikā, familiarly known as Ṭīrṭhīyam is a commentary by Maheśaṭīrtha. He was an ascetic and pupil of Nārāyanaṭirṭha.[6] Rāmāyaṇa-Ḍipikā is a commentary by Vidyanāṭha Ḍikṣiṭa.[7] So is Sarvārṭhasāra by Venkateśvara,[8] Varaḍarāja of Udali family of Malabar has left a fragmentary commentary.[9] Aufrecht gives the names of the following commentators: Iśvaraḍikṣiṭa, Umāmaheśvara, Nāgeśa, Rāmānanḍaṭirṭha, Lokanaṭha, Viśvanāṭha, Śivara Sanyāsin, Hari Panḍiṭa.[10]

Caṭurarṭhī is an anonymous commentary giving four meanings to several important verses. The author displays much learning and

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1. *DC*, IV. 1284. Vāḍihamsāmbuḍācārya was the maternal uncle of Veḍānta Deśika.
2. *TC*, II. 1235, 2057. He refers to a commentator Varadaraja.
3. *TC*, II. 2491, III. 3753.
4. *TC*, II. 2315, 2652.
5. *Op*, II. 4884, 8336.
6. Printed Madras and Bombay and elsewhere.
7. *DC*, IV. 1274. Described in Burnells Tan. Cat. p. 178.
8. *TC*, II. 1373 (1910-13).
9. *TC*, III. 2722.
10. *CC*, I. 522-4.

ingenuity in his interpretations.[1] Amṛtakataka,[2] Rāmāyaṇasāradīpikā,[3] Gurubālaciṭṭaranjanī,[4] and Viḍvanmaṇoranjānī,[5] are anonymous and except the first, are only available in fragments.

Rāmāyaṇāsārasangraha[6] is an exposition of stray verses by Varadaraja of Nodari family and of Āṭreya goṭra, known also as Cholapandita Brahmāḍhirāja. Rāmāyāṇasāracandrika[7] is a commentary on some select verses by Srinivāsarāghavacārya of Srirangam. He calls himself a desciple of the ascetic Ranganāṭha. Rāmāyaṇa Ṭaniśloki[8] Vyākhyā is an elaborate exposition in Tamil by Periavāchāmbillai. It has been rendered into Sanskrit by some unknown author and is very interesting study. Hamsayogin's Ārṣagīṭā composed in Kali 3604 (502 A.D.) explains important passages. There is a commentary on it Khandarahasya.[9]

Rāmāyaṇa-viṣama-padārtha-vyākhyāna by Bhatta Ḍevarāma is a running gloss on difficult portions of the Rāmāyāṇa.[10] Kalpavallikā is a similar exposition of several important verses by Bommakanti Nṛsimhasāsṭrin, an aged living Pandit of Cocanada. He is the son of Peru Sastri. He interprets the Rāmāyana as the manifestation of the will of Ṭripurasunḍarī and Rāma as her incarnation.[11] Rasaniṣyanḍini is a learned original commentary on important verses by Parittiyur Kṛṣna Sāsṭrigal of South Indian Puranic fame.[12]

Rāmāyaṇārṭhaprakāśikā is a running discussion on certain minor incidents of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The author is Venkata, son of Lakṣmaṇa.[13] Rāmāyaṇa-mahimāḍarsa[14] is a discussion of several controversial points in the events and interpretation of the Rāmāyaṇa

1. *DC*, IV. 1274.
2. *DC*, IV. 1286-8.
3. *DC*, IV. 1283.
4. *TC*, I. 233-4.
5. *TC*, III: 3951.
6. *TC*, II. 2457.
7. *TC*, II. 2100. The manuscript ends with 119th canto of Yudhakanda.
8. Printed by Sri Venkateswar Press, Bombay.
9. This is being editted by Pandit Sadagopacharya of the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.
10. *KC*, 198.
11. The work is being printed by the author at Cocanada.
12. The manuscript is with his son Mr. Kalyanarama Sastri. On the author, see Chapter on Sanskrit drama, *post*. He lived between 1842-1911
13. *DC*, IV. 1287.
14. *TC*, II. 2515.

in five Bimbas or chapters. The author was Purāṇam Hayagrīvaśāstrin, the first Sanskrit Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras. He was the first editor of the Mahābhārata in South India in Telugu characters. He lived in the sixties of the last century. Rāmāyaṇakaṭhāvimarśa by Venkatārya is a short narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa giving the time of the occurrence of the leading events.[1] Rāmāyaṇasāraḍīpikā is in fragments.[2] Rāmāyaṇasārasangraha of Venkatācarya, of Kaundinyagoṭra of Muppirālā contains a statement in chronological order of the events of the Rāmāyaṇa and gives a computation of dates.[3] Rāmāyaṇasāra of Agniveśa is a record of the leading events of the Rāmāyaṇa with their dates and intervals, composed in verse in Sārḍula metre and is well-known.[4] Rāmāyaṇakālanirṇaya-sūcikā is a similar work, but anonymous, discussing the date of the birth of Rama and other incidents of his life.[5] There is a similar work called Rāmakālanirṇaya-boḍhini by Kovil Kandadai Venkata Sunḍarācārya of Cocanada.[6] The date of the birth of Rāma is also discussed in Telugu by Nadathur Ananthalwar Aiyangar, the grandson of the famous Mahāmahopaḍhyaya Paravastu Venkata Rangacharya of Vizagapatam and the pamphlet is named Rāmāvaṭarakālanirṇaya.[7]

Saṭyaparākrama is an essay elaborating that aspect of truthfulness in Rāma's character by K. R. Visvanatha Sastri, of Kanadukathan, Ramnad. Śaraṇāgaṭi is an essay treating of that doctrine as expounded in the Rāmāyaṇa by T. Śrīnivāsa Rāghavacārya, B.A. of Conjeeveram.

Rāmāyaṇaṭāṭparyaḍīpika is said to have been an exposition of the real meaning and import of the Rāmāyaṇa by Vyāsa made at the request of Ḍharmaraja.[8] Rāmāyaṇaṭaṭvaḍarpaṇa by Nārāyaṇa Yaiṭ explains the nine truths and significance of the Rāmāyaṇa in long discourses in 15 chapters.[9]

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1. *DC*, IV. 1274.
2. *TC*, II. 1373.
3. *DC*, I. 1288-91.
4. *TC*, II. 2060.
5. *DC*, IV. 1291; *TC*, I. 85.
6. Printed, Scape & Co. Press, Cocanada.
7. Printed at the Arsha Press, Vizagapatam, 1905.
8. *TC*, II. 2079, 2148.
9. *TC*, II. 2217.

SECTION III

Mahābhārata

Veḍa Vyāsa the author of Mahābhāraṭa and the Purāṇas was the son of Parāśara and Saṭyavaṭi. His name was Kṛṣna and he had the appellation Ḍvaipayna, because soon after birth he was abandoned by his unmarried mother in a *ḍvipa* (island). He compiled the Veḍas and was thence known as Vyāsa.[1] Saṭyavatī married King Śanṭanu. Śanṭanu's son Viciṭravīrya had two wives Ambikā and Ambālikā. He died issueless and to perpetuate his progeny, Vyāsa procreated three sons, Ḍhṛṣṭaraṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Viḍura on these childless widows at the behest of his mother Saṭyavaṭī.[2] Then he betook himself to a life of penance, until after this progeny became old and passed away, he "spoke the Bhāraṭa in this human world." He composed the Bhāraṭa of 26,000 verses. The learned say that is the extent of the Bhāraṭa without the Upākhyānas. And he compiled a chapter of 150 verses setting out the contents of the several Books of the poem. This of old Vyāsa taught to his son Śuka and then he gave to others of his pupils whom he found apt and promising. Vyāsa composed another poem of 60 lakhs of verses. Of this work 30 lakhs were published in the world of Gods; 15 lakhs in the region of the Pitru; 14 lakhs were given to the Ganḍharvas; and one lakh was published among men. Nāraḍa recited it to the Gods; Ḍevala to the Piṭṛs; Śuka to the Ganḍharvas and other Demons. In this land of man Vaiśampāyana recited, the pupil of Vyāsa, and the best of those learned in the Veḍa."[3] When Vyāsa was considering how best to transmit it to his disciples, Brahma appeared to him: "Then the great glorious Vyāsa, addressing Brahma Paramesthi said 'O divine Brahma, by me a poem hath been composed which is greatly respected, the [mystery of the Veḍa and what other subjects have been explained by me; the various ritual of Upanishdas with the Angas; the compilation of the Purāṇas formed by me and named after the three divisions of time, past, present, and future; the determination of the nature of decay, death, fear, disease, existence and non-existence; a description of creeds and of the various modes of life; rules for the four castes, and the important of all the Puranas an account of asceticism and of the duties of religious

1. *Mah.* I. 64.
2. *Mah.* I. 112.
3. *Mah.* I. *72 et seq.*

student; the dimensions of the sun and moon, the planets, constellations and stars, together with the duration of the four ages; the Rik, Sama and Yajur Vedas; also the Adhyatma; the sciences cakled Nyaya, Orthoepy and Treatment of disease; charity and Pasupata; birth, celestial and human, for particular purposes; also a description of places of pilgrimage and other holy places, of rivers and mountains forests, the ocean of heavenly cities and the kalpas; the art of war; the different kinds of nations and language; the nature of the manners of the people and the all-pervading spirit-ball, these have been represented. But after all, no writer of this work is to be found on earth."

"Brahma said:—"I esteem thee for thy knowledge of divine mysteries, before the whole body of celebrated Munis distinguished for the sanctity of their lives. I know thou has revealed the divine word, even from its first utterance, in the language of truth. Thou hast called thy present work a poem, wherefore it shall be a poem. There shall be no poets whose works may equal the descriptions of this poem, even as the three other modes called Asrama are ever unequal in merit to the domestic Asrama. Let Ganeśa be thought of, O Muni, for the purpose of writing the poem."

Sauti said, "Brahma having thus spoken to Vyāsa, retired to his own abode. Then Vyāsa began to call to mind to Ganēśa. And Gaṇeśa, obviator of obstacles, ready to fulfil the desires of his votaries, was no sooner thought of, than he repaired to the place where Vyāsa was seated. And when he had been saluted, and was seated, Vyāsa addressed him thus,—'O guide of the Ganas, be thou the writer of the Bhāraṭa which I have formed in my imagination, and which I am about to repeat."

"Gaṇeśa upon hearing his address thus answered:—I will become the writer of thy work, provided my pen do not for a moment cease writing." And Vyāsa said unto that divinity, "wherever there be anything thou does not comprehend, cease to continue writing.' Gaṇesa having signified his assent, by repeating the word 'Om!' proceeded to write; and Vyāsa began; and, by way of diversion, he knit the knots of composition exceeding close, by doing which he dictated this work according to his engagement."

Vaiśampayana repeated it to King Janamejaya at his serpent sacrifice and Sauṭi heard that narration. The Mahābhāraṭa, as we have

it, was given out by Sauṭi, as he heard it from Vaiśampayana, to the assembled sages during Saunata's sacrifice in the forests of Naimiśa.

We have therefore three points at which the Mahābhāraṭa may actually be said to begin. *First*, from the very beginning of the text as we have it, with the invocation of Nara and Nārāyaṇa; following the invocation we have the conversation, when Sauṭi and the sages of Saunakas' hermitage. *Second*, from the description of the *Sarpa Saṭṭra*[1] (serpent sacrifice) of Janamejaya where commences the Āsṭika-parvan. *Third*, from the commencement of the actual narrative of the history of the Bhāraṭa race, where begins the Amśāvaṭaraṇa parvan. In the course of the narrative as repeated Vaiśampāyana, it is observed that on some occasions, King Janamejaya asks Vaiśampāyana for an elaboration of the story or an elucidation of any earlier event alluded with it and Vaiśampāyana answers Janamejaya. These answers could not have been part of Vyasar's narration and must be said to be of Vaisampayana's authorship, just as the earlier Chapters describing the concourse at Saunaka's sacrifice and the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya must be ascribed to Sauṭi, who to us is the publisher of the Mahābhāraṭa. It is however seen that Sauṭi's narrative is read and taken as the Mahābhārata. There was a difference of opinion even when Sauṭi made his narration. So it was said

Manvāḍi Bhāraam ke cit Āstikāḍi ṭaṭhāpare
Ṭaṭhoparicarāḍyanye viprās samyag aḍhīyire.

"Brahmins have studied the Bhārata sedulously, some from the Chapter about Manu, others from the Chapter about Āstika, yet others, from the Chapter about Uparicaravasu."[4] Sri Maḍhva in his *Taṭparyanirṇaya* however gives a traditional explanation of this verse: "The meaning of the Bhārata, in so far as it is a relation of the facts and events of which Srī Kṛiṣna and the Pāṇdavas are connected, is called Āstikaḍi (historical.) That interpretation by which we find lessons on Ḍharma, Bhakti and other ten qualities, Sruta (sacred study) and righteous practices, character and training, on Brahma and the other

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1. *Mah.* I. 1-11.
2. *Mah.* I. 12-58.
3. *Mah.* I. 59.
4. For a critical discussion of the preliminary Chapters, see Notes of a study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahabharata by V. Venkatachela Iyer, High Court Vakil, Nellore.

Gods is called *Manvādi* (religious and moral). Thirdly, the interpretation by which every sentence, word or syllable is shown to be the significant name, or to be the declaration of the glories of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe is called *Auparicara* (transcendental)."

The vast extent of the work was easily the cause of much interpolation. Śri Maḍhva found it deplorable: "In some places we find interpolations; in other cases texts are altogether lost; in some others, they have changed the character of the text either by mistake or on purpose. Even those that might be said to be extant are in a state of utter confusion; mostly they are lost. A millionth part of the real text is not available; what could then be said of their meaning hard to be grasped even by the Gods?" If we would not be hypercritical, we may safely take it that *Vyāsā's text can be fairly distinguished,* if we omit the earlier Chapters related by Sauṭi ending with the Āstikaparvan texts and the special explanations and narrations of Vaiśampāyana, in answer to particular questions of King Janamejaya as the narration progressed in the Court of King Janamejaya.[1]

The name Mahābhāraṭa has been significantly explained in the prefatory Chapter: "The Gods all came together of old and weighed the Bhāraṭa in the balance against the four Veḍas. As the Bhāraṭa outweighed the four Veḍas and all the secrets they contained, from that time forward, it has been known in this world as Mahābhāraṭa; for it being esteemed superior both in substance and gravity of import, is denominated Māhabhāraṭa from such substance and gravity of import."

For the views of a non-Hindu or a sceptic Hindu, we cannot vouchsafe. To the ordinary Hindu in whom the sense of piety has not yet vanished, the Mahābhāraṭa is a fifth Veḍa. As Vyāsa said "By the aid of History and the Purāṇas, Veda may be expounded, but the Veḍa is afraid of one of little information, lest he should injure it. The learned man who recites to others this Veḍa of Vyāsa reapeth advantage. It may without doubt destroy even the sin of killing the embryo and the like. He that readeth this holy Chapter at every change of the moon, readeth the whole of the Bhāraṭa, I ween. The man who with reverence daily listeneth to this sacred work acquireth long life and renown and ascendeth to heaven;" and *may this blessing be true for ever!*

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1. C. V. Vaidya's Mahābhāraṭa (epitome) is an attempt in this direction,

[1]Tradition accepts that Kṛṣhṇaḍvaipāyana or Veḍa Vyāsa is identical with Bāḍarāyaṇa author of the Brahma Suṭras. Skānda Purāṇa expressly says that God incarnate as Vyāsa son of Saṭyavaṭī and Parāśara arranged the Veḍas and composed the aphorisms. Rāmānuja in his Suṭra Bhāsya in Upaṭṭyasambhavāḍhikaraṇa, says Suṭrakareṇa Veḍanṭanyāyābhiḍhāyīni Suṭrāayabhiḍhaya Veḍopabramhaṇāya

1. T. S. NARAYANA SASTRI in his *Age of Sankara* (p. 39 note) expresses a contrary view. Badarayana in his Vedanta Sutras quotes and refutes the doctrines of almost all the other schools of Indian Philosophy including those of the Lokayatikas, Jainas and Baudhas and he cannot, therefore, be identical with Krishna Dvaipayana who was a contemporary of Sri Krishna and the Pandavas and who lived in the interval of time between Dvaparayuga and Kaliyuga, at about 3102 B. C. Further Badarayana quotes from Patanjali, the renowned author of the Mahabhashya on Panini's Vyakarana and he is also accredited as having written the Bhashya on Patanjali's Yoga Sutras. As Patanjali's date is fixed between the 10th and 9th Century B. C.; (Vide 'Age of Patanjali' by the late Pandit N. Bhashyacharya) Badarayana can, under no circumstances, be placed before the 10th Century B. C. Moreover, Bhagavadgita, which forms a portion of the Mahabharata written by Veda Vyasa is quoted as an authority by Badarsyana in his Vedanta Sutras under the name of Smriti, but this could hardly be the case if the author of both these works—the Bhagavadgita and tha Vedanta Sutras—were one and the same. Veda Vyasa's patronymic name is Krishna Dvaipayana and he is said to be the son of the great sage Parasara by Satyavati and his hermitage was near Prayaga (Allahabad) between the Ganges and the Jumna. Whereas, Badarayana, as the name itself clearly shows, was the son of Badari and his hermitage was at Badarikasrama on the Himalayas. It is possible that Badarayana's father and preceptor was called Badari after the name of this sacred hermitage, which soon became a great seat of learning for the Vedanta school of Philosophy. The earliest authentic reference to Badarayana and Veda Vyasa is by Sankara himself, and it is clear from his works that he always made a distinction between Krishna Dvaipayana or Veda Vyasa, the author of the Bhagavadgita, and Badarayana or Vyasa, the author of the Vedanta Sutras. In commenting on Bhagavadgita, Sankara refers to the author in the preface in the following terms:—Ṭam ḍharmam Bhagavatā Yaṭhopaḍistam Veḍavyāsas Sarvagno Bhagavān Gitākhyais sapṭabhis slokasataiḥ upanibabanḍha (It is this Dharma which was taught by the Lord, that the omniscient and adorable Veda Vyasa embodied in the seven hundred verses called Gitas.) But in the only place where he names the author of the Vedanta Sutras, Sankara says as follows:—Nanvevam saṭi, sāṭiśayaṭvāṭ anṭavaṭvam aiśvarsya syāṭ, ṭaṭaścaiṣām āvṛṭṭih prasajyeṭa iṭi aṭa uṭṭaram Bhagavān Bādarāyana Acāhryaḥ pathaṭi." (But from the circumstances of the Lordly power of the released souls not being absolute, it follows that it comes to an end, and then they will have to return from the world of Brahman. To this objection, the reverend Badarayana Acharya replies in the following Sutra. Of them there is non-return according to scripture; non-return according to scripture. (Vide Sankara's preface to Vedanta Sutra, IV. 4-22). It is apparent from these two passages that Sankara makes a

ca Bhāraṭa Samhiṭām śaṭasāhasrikām kurvaṭā Mokṣaḍharme Jnānakānde abhihiṭam. So says the author of Sruṭaprakāśikā in his commentary on the Mangalaśloka referring to śruṭi, Sahovaca Vyāsaḥ Pārāṣaryah. In the traditional invocation adopted by readers of the Bhāṣyas, we have Samyangnyāyakalāpena mahaṭā Bhāraṭena ca; Upabrahmhiṭa Vedaya namo Vyāsāya Viṣṇave. In the benedictory verse commencing the

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clear distinction between the author of the Bhagavadgita and that of the Vedanta Sutras, taking the one as the incarnation of the Omniscient Lord himself, and the other as one of his own respected Acharyas or teachers. Further in Sutra III, 3-32 of his Vedanta Darsana, Badarayana himself refers to Krishna Dvaipayana, as an instance of persons who knew Brahman and yet took on new bodies for the purpose of saving the world. In commenting upon this Sutra, Sankara says:—"Upapanna ṭviyam Cinṭā Brahmaviḍāmapi Kesamcit iṭihāsapurāṇayor dehānṭaroṭpaṭṭiḍarsanaṭ. Ṭaṭhāthi, apānṭarāṭamā nāma Veḍācāryaḥ purāṇarsiḥ Visnuniyogaṭ Kaliḍvāparayos sanḍhau Kṛṣṇa ḍvaipāyanas sambabhuveti smaranṭi. (There is indeed room for the inquiry proposed, as we know from Itihasa and Purana, that some persons although knowing Brahman, yet obtained new bodies. Tradition informs us that Apantaratamas, an ancient Rishi and teacher of the Vedas, was, by the order of Vishnu, born on this earth as Krishna Dvaipayana at the interval of time between the Dvapara Yuga and Kali Yuga). If Krishna Dvaipayana was the author of these Sutras, nothing would have been more natural and easier for Sankara than to refer to the author himself as an instance. Further it is clear from this passage, that Krishna Dvaipayana, according to Sankara, lived before the Kaliyuga and he could not be, therefore, identical with Badarayana, the author of the Vedanta Sutras and the reputed commentator of Patanjali's Yoga Sutras. Moreover, the Vedanta Sutras are widely known as Badarayana Sutras, but no one has yet called them Krishna Dvaipayana Sutras. Sankarananda, one of the successors of Sankara, and one of the greatest of Sanskrit scholars, makes it clear in his preface to his commentary on the Bhagavadgita, that these two persons could never be identical. In that preface, he refers to the various works ascribed to Krishna Dvaipayana, but makes no mention of the Vedanta Sutras, as one of his works. No doubt some of the later Acharyas have made a confusion between these two names, but that is no reason why the authors of the Bhagavadgita but the Vedanta Sutras should be blindly identified and looked upon as one person."

"We are in a position to adduce other passages from the works of Sankaracharya, which strengthen to a greater or less extent, the conclusion derived from the one passage above referred to. The twelfth aphorism of the first Pada of the second Adhyaya of the Brahma Sutras says: "By this those (doctrines) which are not received by the learned have also been answered." And Sankaracharya, commenting upon this ahhorism explains "the learned" to mean "Manu, Vyasa and others."[1] Now is it likely that Sankaracharya would give this explanation, if he thought Vyasa to be the author of the Brahma Sutras? I think it is most unlikely, for otherwise the aphorism, amplified according to Sankara's explanation, would run something like this, "What has been said above furnishes an answer to all those doctrines which such learned men as Manu and

Ḍvaiṭacārya Jayaṭirṭhā's commentary, Vyāsa is described as the author of the Suṭras and Mahābhāraṭa and Purāṇās.[1]

Sir EDWIN ARNOLD in his "Indian Idylls" claims for parts of it "an origin anterior to writing, anterior to Puranic theology, anterior to Homer, perhaps old muses" and accepts it as one of the priceless, treasures of East. Dr. F. A. HASSLER wages eloquent in its praise: "The Mahabharata has opened to me, as it were, a new world, and I have been surprised beyond measure at the wisdom, truth, knowledge and love of the right which I have found displayed in its pages not only so, but I have found many of the truths which my own heart hears taught me in regard to the supreme Being and His creations set forth in beautiful, clear language."

M. WILLIAMS gives the names of the eighteen sections or Books which constitute the poem, with a brief statement of their contents:—

1. Adi-Parvan, 'introductory Book,' describes how the two brothers, Dhritarashtra and Pandu, are brought up by their uncle Bhishma; and how Dhritarashtra, who is blind, has one hundred sons, commonly called the Kuru princes, by his wife Ghandhari; and

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myself have rejected." I confess that this seems to me *reductio ad absurdam.* Again, the forty-seventh aphorism of the third Pada of the second Adhyaya is as follows: "And there are Smritis to the same effect;" on which Sankaracharya has this commentary: "And there are Smritis of Vyasa and others saying that the supreme soul suffers no pain in consequence of any pain suffered by the individual soul." Here we go one step beyond the point at which the previous passage carried us. For if Sankara thought Vyasa to be the author of the Brahma Sutras, the result of the exposition above set out would be that, in Sankara's judgment, Vyasa, in this aphorism was speaking of another work of his own as a Smriti, and citing it as an authority. Is this probable? Still another passage of a somewhat similar description occurs in the commentary of Sankaracharya on the fourteenth aphorism of the first Pada of the third Adhyaya. This aphorism is in words the same as the last, and the comment of Sankara runs thus: "And there are also Smritis of learned persons such as Manu, Vyasa, and others........ ...." Here we have Vyasa, *on* the hypothesis above stated, referring to himself as an author of a Smriti, and quoting himself as an authority, in his own aphorism, and Sankara in his exposition of that aphorism calling him further a learned person."

1. Colebrooke refers to this last quotation. (*Essays* I, 327.) He and Windischman say they are different personages. So says T. K. Telang *a note on Badarayana the author of the Brahma Sutras*). Weber (*IL.* 243) thinks they are identical.

how the two wives, of Pandu, Pritha (Kunti) and Madri, have five sons, called the Pandavas or Pandu princes.

2. Sabha-Parvan describes the great SABHA or 'assembly of princes' at Hastinapura, when Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five Pandavas, is persuaded to pay at dice with Sakuni and loses his kingdom. The five Pandavas and Draupadi, their wife, are required to live for twelve years in the woods.

3. Vana-Parvan narrates the life of the Pandavas in the Kamyaka forest. This is one of the longest books, and full of episodes such as the story of Nala and that of the Kiratarjuniya.

4. Virata-Parvan describes the thirteenth year of exile and the adventures of the Pandavas while living disguised in the service of king Virata.

5. Udyoga-Parvan. In this the preparations for war on the side of both Pandavas and Kauravas are described.

6. Bhishma-Parvan. In this both armies join battle on Kurukshetra, a plain north-west of Delhi. The Kauravas are commanded by Bhishma, who falls transfixed with arrows by Arjuna.

7. Drona-Parvan. In this the Kuru forces are commanded by Drona, and numerous battles take place. Drona falls in a fight with Dhrishtadyumna (son of Drupada).

8. Karna-Parvan. In this the Kurus are led by Karna. Other battles are described. Arjuna kills Karna.

9. Salya-Parvan. In this Salya is made general of the Kuru army. The concluding battles take place, and only three of the Kuru warriors, with Duryodhana, are left alive. Bhima and Duryodhana then fight with clubs. Duryodhana, chief and eldest of the Kurus, is struck down.

10. Sauptika-Parvan. In this three surviving Kurus make a night attack on the Camp of the Pandavas and kill all their army, but not the five Pandavas.

11. Stri-Parvan describes the lamentations of queen Gandhari and the other wives and women over the bodies of the slain heroes.

1. *Ind. Wis.* 373.

12. Santi-Parvan. In this Yudhishthira is crowned in Hastinapura. To calm his spirit, troubled with the slaughter of his kindred, Bhishma, still alive, instructs him at great length in the duties of kings (*Rajadharma* 1995-4778), rules for adversity (*Apad Dharma* 4779-6445), rules for attaining final emancipation (*Moksha Dharma* 6456 to end).

13. Anusasana-Parvan. In this the instruction in continued by Bhishma, who gives precepts aud wise axioms on all subjects, such as the duties of the kings, liberality, fasting, eating &c., mixed up with tales, moral and religious discourses, and metaphysical disquisitions. At the conclusion of his long sermon Bhishma dies.

14. Asvamedhika-Parvan. In this Yudhishthira, having assumed the government, performs an Asvamedha or 'horse sacrifice' in token of his supremacy.

15. Asramavasika-Parvan narrates how the old blind king Dhritarashtra, with his queen Gandhari and with Kunti, mother of the Pandavas, retires to a hermitage in the woods. After two years a forest conflagration takes place, and they immolate themselves in the fire to secure heaven and felicity.

16. Mausala-Parvan narrates the death of Krishna and Balarama, their return to heaven, the submergence of Krishna's city Dvaraka by the sea, and the self-slaughter in a fight with clubs of Krishna's family, the Yadavas, through the curse of some Brahmans.

17. Mahaprasthanika-Parvan describes the renunciation of their kingdom by Yudhishthira and his four brothers, and their departure towards Indra's heaven in Mount Meru.

18. Svargarohanika-Pnrvan narrates the ascent aAd admission to heaven of the five Pandavas, their wife Draupadi, and kindred.

Supplement or Harivamsa-Parvan, a later addition, recounting the genealogy and birth of Krishna and the details of his early life.

The following SUMMARY OF THE STORY is taken from R. C. DUTT'S *Civilisation in Ancient India*.

Santanu, the old kind of Hastinapura, died, leaving two sons, Bhishma, who had taken a vow of celibacy, and a youuger prince who became king. This young prince died in his turn, leaving

two sons, Dhritarashtra, who was blind, and Pandu who ascended the throne. Pandu died, leaving five sons who are the heroes of the epic. Dhritarashtra remained virtually the king during the minority of the five Pandavas and of his own children, while Dhritarashtra's uncle Bhishma, a renowned warrior, remained the chief councillor and friend of the state. Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pandavas, never became much of a warrior, but became versed in the religious learning of the age, and is the most righteous character in the epic. Bhima, the second, learnt to use the club, and was renowned for his gigantic size and giant strength, and is indeed the Ajax of the poem. The third, Arjuna, excelled all other princes in the skill of arms, and aroused the jealousy and hatred of the sons of Dhritarashtra, even in their boyhood. Nakula, the fourth, learned to tame horses, and Sahadeva, the fifth, became proficient in astronomy. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhritarashtra, was proficient in the use of the club, and was a rival to Bhima.

At last the day came for a public exhibition of the proficiency which the princes had acquired in the use of arms. A spacious area was enclosed. Seats were arranged all round for the accommodation of ancient warriors and chieftains, of ladies and courtiers. The whole population of Kuruland flocked to see the skill of their young princes. The blind king Dhritarashtra was led to his seat; and foremost among the ladies were Gandhari, the queen of Dhritarashtra, and Kunti, the mother of the first three Pandavas. The last two were Pandu's sons by another wife. There was shooting of arrows at a butt, and there was fighting with swords and bucklers and clubs. Duryodhana and Bhima soon began to fight in right earnest, and rushed towards each other like mad elephants. Shouts ascended to the sky, and soon the fight threatened to have a tragic end. At last the infuriated young men were parted and peace was restored.

Then the young Arjuna entered the lists in golden mail with his wondrous bow. His splendid archery surprised his most passionate admirers and thrilled the heart of his mother with joy, while shouts of admiration rose from the multitude like the roar of the ocean. He played with his sword, which flashed like lightning, and also with his sharp-edged quoit or chakra, and never missed his mark. Lastly, he brought down horses and deer to the ground by the noose, and concluded by doing obeisance to his worhty preceptor Drona, amidst the ringing cheers of the assembled multitude.

The dark cloud of jealousy lowered on the brow of Dhritarashtra's sons, and soon they brought to the field an unknown warrior, Karna, who was a match for Arjuna in archery. King's sons could only fight with their peers, like the knights of old, and Dhritarashtra therefore knighted the unknown warrior, or rather made him a king on the spot, so that Arjuna might have no excuse for declining the fight. To awkward questions which were put to him the haughty Karna replied that rivers and warriors knew not of their origin and birth, their prowess was their genealogy. But the Pandavas declined the fight, and the haughty Karna retired in silence and in rage. Drona now demanded the reward of his tution. Like doughty warriors of old he held revenge to be the dearest joy of a warrior, and for his reward he asked the help of the Kurus to be revenged on Drupada, king of the Panchalas, who had insulted him. The demand could not be refused. Drona marched against Drupada, conquered him, and wrested half his kingdom. Drupada swore to be avenged.

Dark clouds now arose on the horizon of Kuruland. The time had come for Dhritarashtra to name a Yuvaraja, i.e., or a prince who would reign during his old age. The claim of Yudhisthira to the throne of his father could not be gainsaid, and he was appointed Yuvaraja. But the proud Duryodhana rebelled against the arrangement, and the old monarch had to yield, and sent the five Pandavas in exile to Varanavata, said to be near modern Allahabad, and then the very frontier of Hindu settlements. The vengeance of Duryodhana pursued them there and the house where the Pandavas lived was burnt to ashes. The Pandavas and their mother escaped by an underground passage, and for a long time roamed about disguised as Brahmans.

Heralds now went from country to country, and proclaimed in all lands that the daughter of Drupada, king of the Panchalas, was to choose for herself a husband among the most skilful warriors of the time. As usual on such occasions of Svayamvara, or choice of a husband by a princess, all the great kings and princes and warriors of the land flocked to the court of Drupada, each hoping to win the lovely bride who had already attained her youth, and was renowned for her beauty. She was to give her hand to the most skilful archer, and the trial ordained was a pretty severe one. A heavy bow of great size was to be wielded, and an arrow was to be shot through a whirling chakra or quoit into the eye of a golden fish, set high on the top of a pole. Not only princes and warriors, but multitudes of spectators flocked from all parts of the country to Kampilya, the capital of the

Panchalas. The princes thronged the seats, and Brahmans filled the place with Vedic hymns. Then appeared Draupadi with the garland in her hand which she was to offer to the victor of the day. By her appeared her brother Dhrishtadyumna, who proclaimed the feat which was to be performed. Kings rose and tried to wield the bow, one after another, but in vain. The skilful and proud Karna stepped for to do the feat, But was prevented. A Brahman suddenly rose and drew the bow, and shot the arrow through the whirling chakra into the eye of the golden fish. A shout of acclamation arose. And Draupadi the Kshatriya princess, threw the garland round the neck of the brave Brahman, who led her away as bride. But murmurs of discontent arose like the sound of troubled waters from the Kshatriya ranks at this victory cf a Brahman, and the humiliation of the warriors; and they gathered round the bride's father and threatened violence. The Pandavas now threw off their disguise, and the victor of the day proclaimed himself to be Arjuna, a true-born Kshatriya.

Then follows the strange myth that the Pandavas went back to their mother and said, a great prize had been won. Their mother, not knowing what the prize was, told her sons to share it among them. And as a mother's mandate cannot be disregarded, the five brothers wedded Draupadi as their wife. The Pandavas now formed an alliance with the powerful king of the Panchalas, and forced the blind king Dhritarashtra to divide the Kuru country between his sons and the Pandavas. The division, however, was unequal; the fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna was retained by the sons of Dhritarashtra, while the uncleared jungle in the west was given to the Pandavas. The jungle Khandava Prastha was soon cleared by fire, and a new capital called Indraprastha was built, the supposed ruins of which are shown to every modern visitor to Delhi.[1]

Military expeditions were now undertaken by the Pandavas on all sides, but these need not detain us, especially as the accounts of these distant expeditions are modern interpolations. When we find in the Mahabharata accounts of expeditions to Ceylon, or to Bengal, we may unhesitatingly put them down as later interpolations. And now

1. Yuḍhisṭhira entered Hasṭināpura when he was 16. He was with Duryoḍhana for 13 years. He was confined in the lac house for 6 months, spent 6 months at Ekacakra, one year in the Pancāla house and 5 years with Duryoḍhana. There it was that Delhi was built. Yuḍhisthira lived 108 years (*Mah.* I, 134). If he passed away in the beginning of Kali, he must have been born in 3210 B. C. and *Delhi must have been first built in 3174 B. C.*

Yudhishthira was to celebrate the Rajasuya or coronation ceremony, and all the princes of the land, including his kinsmen of Hastinapura, were invited. The place of honour was given to Krishna, chief of the Yadavas of Gujrat. Sisupala of Chedi violently protested, and Krishna killed him on the spot. Krishna is only a great chief, and not a deity, in the older portions of the Mahabharata, and his story shows the Gujrat was colonised from the banks of the Jumna in the Epic Age. The tumult having subsided, the consecrated water was sprinkled on the newly-created monarch, and Brahmans went away loaded with presents.

But the newly-created king was not long to enjoy his kingdom. With all his righteousness, Yudhishthira had a weakness for gambling like the other chiefs of the time, and the unforgiving and jealous Duryodhana challenged him to a game. Kingdom, wealth, himself and his brothers, and even his wife were staked and lost,—and behold now, the five brothers and Droupadi the slaves of Duryodhana. The proud Droupadi refused to submit to her position, but Duhsasana dragged her to the assembly-room by her heir, and Duryodhana forced her down on his knee in the sight of the stupefied assembly. The blood of the Pandavas was rising, when the old Dhritarashtra was led to the assembly-room and stopped a tumult. It was decided that the Pandavas had lost their kingdom, but should not be slaves. They agreed to go in exile for twelve years, after which they should remain concealed for a year. If the sons of Dhritarashtra failed to discover them during the year, they would get back their kingdom.

Thus the Pandavas again went in exile; and after twelve years of wanderings in various places, disguised themselves in the thirteenth year and took service under the king of Virata. Yudhishthira was to teach the king gambling; Bhima was the head cook; Arjuna was to teach dancing and music to the king's daughter; Nakula and Sahadeva were to be master of horse and master of cattle respectively, and Draupadi was to be the queen's handmaid. A difficulty arose. The queen's brother was enamoured of the new handmaid of superb beauty, and insulted her and was resolved to possess her. Bhima interfered and killed the lover in secret. Cattle-lifting was not uncommon among the princes of those days, and the princes of Hastinapura carried away some cattle from Virata. Arjuna, the dancing master, could stand this no longer; he put on his armour, drove out in chariot and recovered the cattle, but was discovered.

And now the Pandavas sent an envoy to Hastinapura to claim buck their kingdom. The claim was refused, and both parties prepared for a war, the like of which had never been seen in India. All the princes of note joined one side or the other, and the battle which was fought in the plains of Kurukshetra, North of Delhi, lasted for eighteen days, and ended in fearful slaughter and carnage.[1]

The long story of the battle with its endless episodes need not detain us. Arjuna killed the ancient Bhishma unfairly after that chief was forced to desist from fighting. Drona, with his impenetrable "squares" or phalanxes, killed the old rival Drupada, but Drupada's son revenged his father's death and killed Drona unfairly. Bhima met Duhsasana, who had insulted Droupadi in the gambling-room, cut off his head, and in fierce vindictiveness drank his blood. Lastly, there was the crowning contest between Karna and Arjuna, who had hated each other through life ; and Arjuna killed Karna unfairly when his chariot wheels had sunk in the earth, and he could not move or fight. On the last or eighteenth day, Duryodhana fled from Bhima, but was compelled by taunts and rebukes to turn round and fight, and Bhima by a foul blow (because struck below the waist) smashed the knee on which Duryodhana had once dragged Droupadi. And the wounded warrior was left there to die. The bloodshed was not yet over, for Drona's son made a midnight raid into the enemy's camp and killed Droupada's son, and thus an ancient feud was quenched in blood.[2]

The remainder of the story is soon told. The Pandavas went to Hastinapura, and Yudhishthira became king. He is said to have subdued every king in Aryan India, and at last celebrated the Asvamedha ceremony or the great horse-sacrifice. A horse was let loose and wandered at its will for a year, and no king dared to stop it. This was a sign of the submission of all the surrounding kings, and they were then invited to the great horse-sacrifice.

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1. The pakṣa in which the war began had only 13 days (*Mah.* VI. 3, 11-18 ; *IA*, XVI. 82. The great European war also began in a pakṣa of 13 days. L. D. Swamikannu would however not attach any evil influence for such a short fort-night.

2. According to the dates given in the text :—
Kārṭika śukla ḍvādasi-Revaṭi——(Kṛṣṇa's) message.
,, Kṛṣṇa pancami (Puṣyam)——Mobalisation.
,, Amāvāsya-Jyeṣtha——Reaching battle-field.
Mārgāśira Śukla ṭrayodaśi (mṛgaśira)——War begins.
Kṛṣṇa amāvāsya——War ends.
Māgha Śukla pancami——Death of Bhīṣma.

Babu Ramgopal Singh Choudhry B. L. wrote in *The Wisdom of the East* thus: "The epoch of the Kaliyuga 3102 B. C. is usually identified with the era of Yudhisthira, and the date of the Mahabharath War. Two pitched battles were fought between the said parties, the 1st at Beratnagar and the 2nd at Kurukshetra. The battle took place just on the completion of the 13 years *Banbas* (exile of the Pandavas into the forests). (*Vide* Berath Parv. Adhyaya 30, Slokas 28 and 29. Thereafter Sri Krishna started for Hastinapur on the 1st Kartik, Revathi Nakshatra, Mitra Daivat Mahoort, to negotiate peace, and if possible prevent the impending civil war that caused the ruin of Ancient India. (Udyog Parv, Adhyaya 82, Slokas 6 to 13.) On Duryodhan's refusal to come to terms and declining to give even 5 villages for the maintenance and support of the five Pandavas, Sri Krishna on his way back to Berathnagar asked Karna to commence the war that day week, *viz.*, on 15th day (Amavasya) of that month. (Udyog Parv, Adhyaya 141, Sloka 18.) It appears that for some reason or other the war did not commence on that date, for 50 nights after the end of the war Maharaja Yudhisthira paid a second visit to Sri Bhishma who breathed his last on that day. (Anusasan Parv, Adhyaya 167, Slokas 5 to 28.)

Now the Mahabharath War lasted for 18 days; so he died (50 and 18) 68 days after the commencement of the war. It is well-known that Magh Sudi 8, *i. e.*, the 8th day of the bright side of the moon of the month of Magh is the date on which he went to heaven. It is therefore called Bhishma Astami and *tarpen* (oblations of water) is given to him on that day. By calculation we find that 68 days backwards from Magh Sudi 8th would fall on Aghan Sudi 1 or 16th Aghan. So the battle commenced on the 16th of Aghan and lasted till the 3rd of Pus. That this is the date of the commencement of the war will also be borne out by the fact that when after spending 50 nights in the city on the termination of the second war, Maharaja Yudhisthira went to Sri Bhishma for the 2nd time, the latter spoke thus (*vide* Anusason Parv. Adhyaya 167:—"Well Yudhisthira, to-day is the bright side of the moon, ¾ of this month have already passed and I have already slept on the points of the arrows for 58 nights." So there remains no room for doubt that the day when Yudhisthira went to him, that is to say, the day Bhishma died, fell on the 23rd of Magh (Aghan Sudi 8). He fought for 10 days and passed 58 nights on the bed of arrows; so by this calculation also it comes out that the battle began on Aghan, Sudi 1st (16th of Aghan), for counting from that day the 68th day would fall on Magh Sudi 8th. It seems that although Sri Krishna proposed

to commence the war on the Dipavali day (15th Kartic), the Kurus could not make necessary arrangements in that short time and the war commenced a month and 8 days after, instead of 8 days.

Now I give dates of the death of the great warriors who fell in that battle. Sri Bhishma fell on Aghan Sudi 8th, *i. e.*, 23rd Aghan ; but died on the 3rd of Paus. Bhag-Dutt was killed on Aghan Sudi 11. Abhimanuya was killed on Aghan Sudi 13. Bhurisrava, Jaidarath and Ghototkuch were killed on Aghan Sudi 14. Dronacharya was killed on Aghan Sudi 15. Duhsasan and Karna were killed on Paus Badi 2. Shalya, Shalloa and Sakuni were killed in the day time on 3rd Paus Badi. And on the same date at dusk, Duryodhan's thighs were broken and he fell down. Dhristdquman, Shikhandi, and the 5 sons of Droupadi were killed in the night on the same day, *viz.*, 3rd paus. Duryodhan breathed his last on the same day after midnight but before sunrise."

COMMENTARIES

There are commentaries on the Mahābhāraṭa by Nīlakaṇṭha,[1] Arjunamiśra[2], Sarvagna Nārāyāṇa[3], Yegnanārāyaṇa[4], Vaiśampāyana[5], Vāḍirāja, Śrīnanḍana,[6] and Vimalaboḍha. Aufrecht gives the names of the following commentators :—Ānanḍapūrna, Viḍyāsāgara, Caṭurbhuja, Nanḍikeśvara, Ḍevaboḍha, Nanḍanācārya, Paramānanḍabhattācārya, Raṭnagarbha, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Lakṣmaṇabhatta, and Śrīnivāsācārya. Besides two anonymous commentaries, Nigūdhapaḍaboḍhinī and Bhāraṭatippaṇi, the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras contains Bhāraṭavyākhya by Kavīnḍra and Lakṣaslokālankāra of Vāḍirāja. Śrīḍharāchārya has commented on the Chapter Mokṣaḍharma.

Sarvagna Nārāyaṇa appears to be the earliest commentator whose work is at least extant in fragments. Vāḍirāja was a Madhva ascetic who lived between 1450 to 1500 and his commentary is an extensive work. Kavinḍra lived in the Oriya Country about 1600 A.D.

Arjunamiśra mentions Ḍevaboḍha, Vimalaboḍha and Sarvagna Nārāyaṇa and Śānḍilya Māḍhava and is mentioned by Nīlakanṭha. Nīlakanṭha lived at Kūrpara in Maharastra probably in the 16th cen-

1. *TC*, III. 2955-6.
2. *KC*, 106 ; *IOC*, VI. 1151.
3. *BTC*, 184.
4. *TC*, II. 2305.
5. *CC*, I. 489.
6. *DC*, IV. R. No. 3801.
7. Mitra's Notices, No. 3011.

tury.[1] Śrīnanḍana was the son of Lakṣmanacarya of Bhāradvaja Gotra and was known as Mahabharata Bhattāraka.

Mahābhāraṭa-ṭāṭparya-nirṇaya is an epitome of the Mahābhāraṭa by Sri Maḍhvacarya, the great teacher of the Dwaita philosophy who flourished in the 12th century A.D.[2] There are commentaries on it by Jnānānanḍabhatta, Varaḍarāja, Vāḍiraja, Vittalācārya, and Vyāsaṭirṭha, and a commentary Sabhyābhinayavaṭi.[3]

There is a Bhāraṭaṭāṭparyanirṇaya by Varaḍarāja who lived about 1500 A. D.[4] Bhāraṭaṭaṭva-vācanam is a collection of extracts made by Puranam Hayagriva Sastri which support and illustrate the principles of Advaita philosophy.[5] Bālābhāraṭam and Mahābhāraṭa-Sangraham are compilations of the main thread of the story.[6] There is an abridgement by C. V. Vaidya.[7] Anonymous work called Vyāsākūṭa is remarkable for its double entendre.[8] Bhāraṭayuḍḍha-vivāḍa by Nārāyaṇa Ḍāsa, known as Bhāraṭācārya, determines the length of time occupied by the Great War. Bhāraṭasāviṭrī is a similar work quoted by commentators and is often extracted in the Kumbakonam edition.[9]

Jaimini-Bhāraṭam is an elaborate work dealing with the exploits and character of the Pāndavas in verse. Only one parvan of this work is extant describing the Aśvameḍha of Yuḍhiṣthira.[10]

Brihaṭ Pāndava Purāṇa called also the Mahābhāraṭa is divided into 25 Parvans. It was composed at Śrīpura in Śākavāta by Śrī Śubhacanḍra and revised and rewritten by his desciple Brahma Srīpāla: Śubhacanḍra was the head of Jaina muth founded by Paḍmananḍi of Śrimulasangha. He succeeded Vijayakīrṭi. He mentions other works of his, Canḍranāṭhacariṭa, Paḍmanābhacariṭa, Jīvakacariṭa, Pārśvanātha kāvya, Canḍanakaṭhā, Nanḍīśvari etc. In the first six Parvans some Jain anecdotes are narrated including the life of Śānṭināṭha and the last four

1. Macdonell, *SL*. 290-1.
2. Ed. Bombay.
3. *CG*, I. 440.
4. This is found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
5. Ed. Masulipatam *TC*, III. 3242.
6. *TC*, III. 2998, 33385, 3849. See also for a similar abridgment, *KC*, 197.
7. Ed. Bombay.
8. Mitra's Notices (1872).
9. *KC*, 195, 352.
10. Ed. Bombay (1863); Ed. with Hindi gloss, Sree Venkateswar Press Bombay. *Cat.* of Berlin Library, 111-118. See also Wilson's *Mac. Collection*, II. 1; *ZDMG*, II. 278; Monatsberichteder Berl. Acad. (1869), 13-15.

Parvans describe the advent of Nemināṭha and the attainment of salvation of the Pāndavas. The date of the composition is given as samvat 1608 or 1552 A. D.[1]

Pāndavapurāna in 18 cantos describes the story of the Mahābhārāṭa as current among the Jainas. The author Vāḍicanḍra was the desciple and younger brother of Prabhācanḍra. The story was first recounted by Varḍhmāna, son of Siḍḍhārṭha, to Śreṇika, king of Kuṇḍina, and from him was traditionally transmitted through Neminātha, Paḍmananḍi etc., to Prabhācandra, who was the author's brother. The work was written at Ghanaugha in the Pushya month of 654 (samvat).[2]

Ḍevaprabhāsūri, the Jain monk, wrote Pānḍavacariṭa.[3]

Harivamśa is a sequel to the Mahābhāraṭa and is held in high esteem. It is also the work of Vyāsa and describes the life and adventures of Kṛṣṇa. Introductory to his era, it records particulars of the creation of the world, and of the patriarchal and regal dynasties.[4]

Jaina Harivamśa is a long poem of some historical value in the Puranic form by Jinasena who wrote in Saka 705.[5]

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1. *TC*, III. 3968, *PR*, IV. 156.
2. *TC*, II, 1785. The words used are *Veḍa-bāṇa-Sad-anke (ge) varṣe* The editor of the catalogue suggests 1654 (?)
3. *PR*, I. 98; III. 133.
4. Ed. Bombay. Translated by M Langlois.
5. *IA*, XV. 141.

On Mahābhāraṭa generally :—

Ed. by P. C. Roy (Calcutta); Ed. by Education Committee (Calcutta); Ed. by S. L. Bhaduri (Calcutta); Ed. S. Vyasacarya (Kumbakonam). There are other editions in various scripts everywhere.

For contents of the work, see M. Williams' *Indian Epic Poetry* and *Indian Wisdom*.

K. Narayana Iyer, *The Permanent History of Bharata Varsha*, Vol. I, Trivandrum; H. Jacobi, *Index and Concordance*; S. Soerensen, *Index to the names of the Mahabharata and Concordance*; L. Grasberger, *Noetes Indicai, sive quaestions in Nalum Mahabharateum*; *Story of the Great War* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar); C. V. Krishnamacharlu, *Mahabharata, analysed* (Lahore); Roussel. *Legends of the Mahabharata* (Santiparvan,) Paris.

Translated into English prose by P. C. Roy (1894, Calcutta); Translated by R. C. Dutt (Calcutta); by M. N. Dutt (Calcutta). Takur Rajendra Singh, *Great War of Ancient India* (*Ind. Rev.* XVI. 531); J. Dahlman, *Genesis Des Mahabharata* (Berlin) says that the work existed in the present form before the 5th century B.C. Holtzman *Das Mahabharata* (Kiel); Buhler, *Indian Studies* No. II (*Trans.* of *Imp. Vienna Academy*, 1892); Paper by Winternitz (*JRAS*,

Theories and dates

Much has been said by oriental scholars on the age of the Mahābhāraṭa and the general tendency of such opinions has been only to bring down the date of the composition to a close proximity to the beginning of the Christian era. MAX MULLER traces the connection between the Mahabharata and the vedic literature and attributes the present form of the poem to the redaction of Brahmanical priesthood :[1] "The war between the Kurus and Pandavas, which forms the principal object of our Mahabharata, is unknown in the Veda. The names of the Kurus and Bharatas are common in the Vedic literature, but the names of the Pandavas has never been met with. It has been observed,[2] that even in Panini's grammar the name Pandu or Pandava does not occur, while the Kurus and Bharatas are frequently mentioned,

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(1897,) 713 ; *IA*, I, xxvii ; *Mahabharata condensed into English verse* by R. C. Dutt (London); Channing Arnold's *Mahabharata* (Longman's Green & Co.); M. Williams, *Story of Nala*: Johnson, *Selections from the Mahabharata* (W. Heffer & sons. Ltd., Cambridge) ; *Nalopakhyanam* by Jaret ; and by Piele (W. Heffe & sons Ltd., Cambridge) ; F. Bopp, *Deluvium with three other texts from the Mahabharata*, (Berlin) ; J. Murdoch, *An English abridgment* (Probsthain & co., London ; *Vier Philosophische Texte des Mahabharatam*, translated into German by P. Deussen, (1906, Berlin) ; *Traduit completement pour la le fois en francais* par H. Fanche, (10 Vols. Paris) ; As to this *I Str*, II 410 ; *Indian Idylls from the Sanskrit of the Mahabharata* by E. Arnold; *The Mahabharata* (*Hindu Epic Poetry*) by Goldstucker (Calcutta) ; *Reconstruction of the Mahabharata* by A. Holtzman ; *Grammatiches Ausdem Mahabharata* by A. Holtzman ; *The original shape of the Mahabharata* by T. G. Kale, *Ind. Rev.* IX. 335) ; B. V. Kamesvara Iyer, *On the date of the Bharata War* fixing a date long before 1422 B. C. (*Ind. Rev.* X. 673) ; Vaidya, *Historical Studies in the Gita* (*Ind. Rev.* XVII 481) ; R. G. Bhandarkar on the Mahabharata (*IA*, I. 350. This paper gives all references to Mahabharata from Patanjali onwards. There are early inscriptions mentioning Mahabharata names (*JBRAS*, XVIII, 1, 4 ; IX. 315). Pargiter on *The Nations of India at the battle between Pandavas and Kauravas and the controversy thereon* [*JRAS*, (1908) 602, 309, 831, 837, 1138]. *On the Ganesa legend* in the Mahabharata [*JRAS* (1898) 631].

Bhishma, his life and teachings (Datta Boss & co., Calcutta) ; Manoranjan Ghosh, *Date of Sri Krishna* (*Ind. Rev.* XV. 39) ; Buhler and Kirste, *Contributions to the history of the Mahabharata* (Sita, Wien) ; *On the old linguistic form of the epics* by Jacobi, (*ZDMG*, XLV. 407) and by Rapson, [*JRAS*, (1904), 435] Gauranganath Banerji, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 225.

1. *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 44-48.

2. Weber, *I Str.*, 148, Katyayana, however knows not only Pandu, but his descendants Pandavas.

particularly in rules treating of the formation of patronymics and similar words.[1] If, then, Asvalayana, the immediate successor of Panini, knows not only Pandu, but also his descendants, the Pandavas, can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor, of Panini, the Bharata which he is speaking of must have been very different from the epic poem which is known to us under the name of the Mahabharata, celebrating the war of the Kurus and Pandavas.[2]

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1. The names of the two wives of Pandu, Kunti and Madri, occur in the commentary on Panini. (Cf. i. 2. 49, iv. i. 65., iv. I. 176. (text) for Kunti, and iv. I. 177, (for Madri). But both these names are geographical appellatives, Kunti signifying a woman for the country of the Kuntas, Madri, a Madra-woman. Pritha, another name of Kunti, stands in the Gana sivadi. As to the proper names of the Pandava princes, we find Yudhisthira, Pan. vi. I. 134., vi. 3 9., viii. 3. 95. (text); Arjuna, Pan. iii. I. 119., iv. 3. 64., v. 4. 481, vi., 2. 131, Bhima, Pan. vi. I. 205.; Nakula, Pan. vi. 3. 75. The name of Sahadeva does not occur; but his descendants, the Sahadevas, are mentioned as belonging to the race of Kuru, together with the Nakulas, Pan. iv. I. 114. In the same way we find the descendants of Yudhisthira and Arjuna mentioned as members of the eastern Bharatas, Pan. ii. 4. 66. Draupadi's name does not occur in Panini, but Subhadra, the sister of Krishna and the wife of Arjuna, is distinctly mentioned, Pan. iv. 2. 56. Another passage in the commentary on Panini (iv. 3. 87) proves even the existence of a poem in praise of Subhadra, which, if we remember the former mention of a war about Subhadra (iv. 2. 56.), seems most likely to have celebrated this very conquest of Subhadra by Arjuna. In the Mahabharata this story forms a separate chapter, the Subhadra-harara-parva (Adiparva, p. 288.) which may be the very work which Panini, according to his commentator, is alluding to. That the chapter in the Mahabharata belongs to the oldest parts of the epic, may be seen from its being mentioned in the Anukramani (i. 149): "when I heard that Subhadra, of the race of Madhu, had been forcibly seized in the city of Dvaraka, and carried away by Arjuna, and that the two heroes of the race of Vrishni had repaired to Indraprastha, I then, O Sanjaya, had no hope of success." The Mahabhashya, however, does not explain the former Sutra, (iv. 2. 56.) and for the latter it gives examples for the exceptions only, but not for the rule. The word Grantha, used in the Sutra, (iv. 3 87.), is also somewhat suspicious. That some of the Sutras which now form part of Panini's grammar, did not proceed from him, is acknowledged by Kaiyyata (cf. iv. 3. 131, 132.) Krishna Vasudeva, who is considered as peculiarly connected with the tradition of the Pandavas, is quoted as Vasudeva, of the race of Vrishni (Pan. iv. i. 114.); as Vasudeva, together with Siva and Aditya (Pan. v. 3. 99. text).; as Vasudeve together with Arjuna (iv. 3. 98 text). In the commentary to Pan. iii. 3. 156., and ii. 3. 72., we have proof of Krishna's being worshipped as a god; in i. 4. 92 he is mentioned as a hero. His residence, Dvaraka, however, does not occur in Panini.)

2. That Panini knew the war of Bharatas, has been rendered highly probable by Prof. Lassen (Ind. Alterthumskunde, i. 691, 837.). The words which called forth Panini's special rule (iv. 2. 56), can scarcely be imagined to have been

"In the form in which we now possess the Mahabharata it shows clear traces that the poets who collected and finished it, breathed an intellectual and religious atmosphere, very different from that in which the heroes of the poem moved. The epic character of the story has throughout been changed and almost obliterated by the didactic tendencies of the latest editors, who were clearly brahmans, brought up in the strict school of the Laws of Manu. But the original traditions of the Pandavas break through now and then, and we can clearly discern that the races among whom the five principal heroes of the Mahabharata were born and fostered, were by no means completely under the influence of brahminical law. How is it, for instance the Pandava, who if we are to believe the poet, were versed in all the sacred literature, grammar, metre, astronomy, and law of the Brahmans, could afterwards have been married to one wife? This is in plain opposition to the Brahmanic law, where it is said, "they are many wives of one man; not many husbands of one wife." Such a contradiction can only be accounted for by the admission that, in this case, epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and curious feature in the life of its heroes to be changed. However, the Brahmanic editors of the Mahabharata, seeing that they could not alter tradition on this point, have at least endeavoured to excuse and mitigate it.

"Neither does the fact that Pandu is lawfully married to two wives, harmonise with the Brahmanic law. That law does not prohibit polygamy, but it regards no second marriage as legal, and it reserves the privilege of being burnt together with the husband to the eldest and only lawful wife. Such passages in the ancient epics are of the greatest interest. We see in them the tradition of the people too far developed, to allow itself to be remodelled by Brahmanic Diaskeuastes. There can be little doubt that polygamy, as we find it among the early races in their transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life, was customary in India. We read in Herodotus (v. 5.), that amongst the

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different from those in the Mahabhashya; viz., Bharatah sangramah, Saubhadrah sangramah. It was impossible to teach or to use Panini's Sutras without examples. These necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Pratisakhyas and in Panini show that these examples were by no means selected at random, but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching. See also Pan. vi. 2. 38., where the word Mahabharata occurs, but not as the title of a poem.

Thracians it was usual, after the death of a man, to find out who had been the most beloved of his wives, and to sacrifice her upon his tomb. Mela (ii. 2) gives the same as the general custom of the Getae. Herodotus (iv. 71.) asserts a similar fact of the Scythians, and Pausanias (v. 2.) of the Greeks, while our own Teutonic mythology is full of instances of the same feeling. And thus the customs of these cognate nations explain what at first seemed to be anomalous in the epic tradition of the Mahabharata, that at the death of Pandu, it is not Kunti, his lawful wife, but Madri, his most beloved wife, in whose arms the old king dies, and who successfully claims the privilege of being burnt with him and following her husband to another life."

"The marked difference between the vedic and epic poetry of India has been well pointed out by Professor ROTH of Tubingen, who for many years has devoted much time and attention to the study of the Veda. According to him, the Mahabharata, even in its first elements, is later than the time of Buddha.[1] "In the epic poems," he says, "the Veda is but imperfectly known; the ceremonial is no longer developing, it is complete. The vedic legends have been plucked from thier native soil, and religion of Agni, Indra, Mitra and Yaruna has been replaced by an altogether different worship. The last fact, he says "ought to be the most convincing. There is a contradiction running throughout the religious life of India, from the time of Ramayana to the present day. The outer form of the worship is Vedic, and exclusively so; but the eye of religious adoration is turned upon quite different regions.[2] The secondary formation, the religion of Vishnu and Brahma, began with the epic poetry, and remained afterwards as the only living one, but without having the power to break through the walls of the Vedic ceremonial, and take the place of the old ritual."

M. WINTERNITZ thus sums up his views :—" If however the Mahabharata already undoubtedly possessed in the 4th century A. D., the later portions, such for example, as the 13th book and 'Harivamsa,' if at that time, the epic had already become a religious and devotional book and if a century later the news of the Mahabharata had already spread up to farther India and was there read in temples, then we can with perfect justification conclude that it must have received the form which

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1. Zur Litterature and Geschichte des Veda. Drei Abhandlungen von R. Roth, Doctor der Philosophie. Stuttgart, 1846.)

2. Professor Burnouf has treated the same subject in his Review of Prof. Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu-purana, Journal des Savants, 1840, May, p. 296.

it has to-day, at least one or two centuries earlier, that is, in the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. On the other hand, however, it might have received its earliest shape not only after the rise and spread of Buddhism, because it contained so many allusions to it, but also after Alexander's invasion of India because, the Yavanas, i.e., the Indians or Greeks are often alluded to and there are moreover references to stone buildings, whereas before the time of the Greeks only wooden buildings were known in India. The Mahabharata in its present form could not be earlier than the 4th century B. C. and later than 4th century A. D."[1]

MACDONELL traces the growth of the Mahābhāraṭa: "There can be little doubt that the original kernel of the epic has as a historical background an ancient conflict between the neighbouring tribes of the Kurus and Panchalas, who finally coalesced into a single people. In the Yajurvedas these two tribes already appear united, and in the *Kathaka* King Dhritarashtra Vaichitravirya, one of the chief figures of the Mahabharata, is mentioned as a well-known person. Hence the historical germ of the great epic is to be traced to a very early period which cannot well be later than the tenth century B. C. Old songs about the ancient feud and heroes who played a part in it, must have been handed down by word of mouth and recited in popular assemblies or at great public sacrifices. These disconnected battle-songs were, we must assume, worked up by some poetic genius into a comparatively short epic, describing the tragic fate of the Kuru race, who, with justice and virtue on their side, perished through the treachery of the victorious sons of Pandu with Krishna at their head. To the period of this original epic doubtless belong the traces the Mahabharata has preserved unchanged of the heroic spirit and the customs of the ancient times, so different from the later state of things which the Mahabharata as a whole reflects. To this period also belongs the figure of Brahma as the highest God. The evidence of Pali literature shows that Brahma already occupied that position in Buddha's time. We may, then, perhaps assume that the original form of our epic came into being about the 5th century B. C. The oldest evidence we have for the existence of the Mahabharata in some shape or other is to be found in Acvalayana's Grihya Sutra, where a Bharata and Mahabharata are mentioned. This would also point to about the fifth century B. C. To the next stage, in which the epic, handed down by rhapsodists, swelled to a length of about 20,000 *clokas,* belongs the representation of the victorious Pandus in a favourable light, and the introduction on

1. *Gestichte der Indische Litteratur*, 395.

a level with Brahma of the two other great gods Civa, and especially Vishnu, of whom Krishna appears as an incarnation. We gather from the account of Megasthenes that about 300 B. C., these two gods were already prominent, and the people were divided into Civaites and Vishnavites. Moreover, the Yavanas or Greeks are mentioned in the Mahabharata as allies of the Kurus, and even the Cakas (Scythians) and Pahlavas (Parthians) are named along with them; Hindu temples are also referred to as well as Buddhist relic mounds. Thus an extension of the original epic must have taken place after 300 B. C. and by the beginning of our era."[1]

HOPKINS[2] sums up the result of his discussions :—" We may tentatively assume as approximate dates of the whole work in its different stages: Bharata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B. C. A Mahabharata tale with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bharatas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type; with Pandu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diasskeuasts, Krishna as a demigod (no evidence of didactic form or of Krishna's divine supremacy), 400-200 B. C. Remaking of the epic with Krishna as all-god, instrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of puranic material old and new; multiplication of exploits, 200 B. C. to 100-200 A.D. The last books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen Anucasana separated from Canti and recognised as a separate book, 200 to 400 A.D.; and finally 400 A. D. occasional amplifications, the existence of which no one acquainted with Hindu literature would be disposed antecedently to doubt, such as the well-known addition mentioned by Professor Weber, *Lectures on Literature*, p. 205; and perhaps the episode omitted by Csemendra, *Indian Studies*, No. ii, p. 52.

" In the case of these dates there is only reasonable probability. They are and must be provisional till we know more than we know. But certain are these four facts:

1. That the Pandu epic as we have it, or even without the masses of didactic material, was composed or compiled after the Greek invasion; 2. That this epic only secondarily developed its present masses of didactic material; 3. That it did not become a specially religious propaganda of Krishnaism (in the accepted sense of that sect

1. *Sanskrit Literature*, 284-6.
2 *The Great Epic of India*, 397-400.

of Vaisnavas) till the first century B. C.; 4. That the epic was practically completed by 200 A. D.; 5, That there is no " date of the epic " which will cover all its parts (though handbook-makers may safely assign it in general to the second century B. C.).

" The question whether the epic is in any degree historical seems to me answerable though not without doubt, and I cannot refrain from expressing an opinion on the point so important. As I have remarked above, there is no reflex of Pandu glory in Brahmanic literature before the third or fourth century. It is, further, impossible to suppose that during the triumph of Buddhism such a poem could have been composed for the general public for which it was intended. The metre of the poem shows that its present form is later than the epic form of Patanjali's epic verses, but this indicates simply recasting; so that a Pandu Mahabbharata may have existed previously, as implied by Panini. But while a Buddhist emperor was alive no such Brahmanic emperor as that of the epic could have existed, no such attacks on Buddhism as are in the epic could have been made, and the epic of to-day could not have existed before the Greeks were personally familiar. In other words, granted a history, that history must have been composed at least as late as the history was possible. Panini's allusions and those of Buddhistic writers show that the Pandus were known as heroes. It is, further, most improbable that the compilers, who made the poem represent Pandu virtues and victories, would have chosen them for this position had they been mythical. In their reassertion of Brahmanism they would have chosen rather the well-known ancient Brahmanic heroes of the older tale, Bharati Katha, yet to appeal to the people something real and near was necessary. But while before the second century the conditions were lacking which could have produced the poem, with the second century they become possible, and there was already the Pandu tribe with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bharatas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type.

" In so far, then, as we may discern a historical germ in the midst of poetic extravagance, it would seem that the poem represents an actual legend of a real tribe, and in so far as that legend persists in its adherence to polyandry as an essential part of the legend, a tribe which, like so many others in India, had been brahmanized and perhaps become allied by marriage to the old Bharata tribe, whose legends were thus united with its own."

C.V. VAIDYA[1] fixes the date of the extant epic, at 250 B.C. about the time of Asoka and previous to the time of Paṭanjaii, because Don Chrysostom, the Greek orator, of the 1st century A.D. refers to the existence of an epic of the present dimensions of the Mahabharata and Dikshit points out[2] that the cycle of Nakṣhaṭras beginning with Śravaṇa said in the Mahābhāraṭa to have been instituted as a new cycle by Viśvāmiṭra cannot go beyond 450 B.C.

According to Kern, the Kavi translation of Ādiparvan dates from the beginning of the eleventh century.[3]

Among the extravagant fancies of modern orientalists, which are dignified with the respectable appellation of theories, may be mentioned the opinion of PROF. HOLTZMANN on the nature and origin of the Mahābhāraṭa deserves a short review: "The traditional stock of legends were first worked up into a precise shape by some Buddhist poets and this version, showing a decided prediliction for the Kaurava party as the representation of Buddhist principles, was afterwards revised in a contrary sense at the time of the Brahminical reaction by the votaries of Vishnu, when the Buddhistic features were generally modified into Saivite tendencies and prominence was given to the divine nature of Krishna as an incarnation. It is but right that the Brahminical priests should have deemed it desirable to subject the traditional memorials of Kshatriya chivalry and prestige to their own censorship and adapt them to their own canons of religion and civil law." This theory subverts all truth and tradition. Modifications and innovations especially in the religious character of sectarian works are not easily accomplished. The Buddhistic records offer no support for this theory. If such a standard work as the Mahābhāraṭa were included in the catalogue of the Buddhistic literature, Brahminical transformation could never have been possible, so as to entirely erase from the huge mass of the work all traces of the Buddhistic coloring. As an exposition of the ethics of the Vedic religion, there is pre-eminently the Mahābhāraṭa.

H. H. WILSON thus sums up the opinion of his times: "According to Col. Wilford's Computations (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, Chronological table, p. 116) the conclusion of the great war took place in B.C. 1370; BUCHANAN conjectures it to have occurred in the 13th century B.C. COLEBROKE infers from astronomical data that the arrangement of

1. *Historical Studies in the Bhagavat Gita*, [*Ind. Rev.* (1916), 481].
2. *Dikshit's Mahrati History of Indian Astronomy*, III.
3. *Over de Oud Iavannsche Vertaling Van't Mahabharala* (Amsterdam).

the Vedas, attributed to Vyasa, took place in the fourteenth century B.C.,; M. BENTLEY brings the date of Yudhisthira, the chief of the Pandavas to 575 B.C.; but the weight of authority is in favour of the thirteenth or fourteenth century B.C. for the war of the Mahabharata and the reputed commencement of the Kali age."[1]

WEBER says "Of the Mahabharata in its extant form, only about one-fourth (some 20,000 slokas or so) relates to this conflict and the myths that have been associated with it; and even of this, two-thirds will have to be sifted out as not original, since in the introduction to the work (I. 81) the express intimation is still preserved that it previously consisted of 8,800 slokas only. But as to the period when the final redaction of the entire work in its present shape took place, no approach even to direct conjecture is in the meantime possible, but, at any rate, it must have been some centuries after the commencement of our era."[2]

R.C. DUTT says "The annals of different kingdoms in India allude to this ancient war, and some of these annals are not unreliable. The founder of Buddhism lived in the sixth century B.C. and we learn from the annals of Magadha that thirty-five kings reigned between the Kuru-Panchala War and the time of Buddha. Allowing twenty years to each reign, this would place the war in the thirteenth century B.C. Again, we know from coins that Kanishka ruled in Kashmir in the first century A.D. and his successor Abhimanyu probably reigned towards the close of that century. The historian of Kashmira informs us that fifty-two kings reigned for 1266 years from the time of the Kuru Panchala war to the time of Abhimanyu, and this would place the war in the twelfth century B.C."[3] FERGUSSON places the war in the 13th century B.C.[4]

R. SHAMA SASTRY accepts the date ascribed to Chandragupta and assigns the war to the 13th century and says that "Bharata the son of Dushyanta, is stated to have performed in the twelfth Atiratra (*Asv. Sr. S.* X, 5, 8). This gives 372×4=1488 Kali Era or 1613 B. C. as the date of Bharata. According to the list of kings given in the Vishnu Purana, Yudhistira, the hero of the Mahabharata and contemporary of Krishna is the 25th descendant from Bharata, and died in 1260 B.C.

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1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 232. In his Intr. to Translation to Rig Veḍa (I. 47) he gave the probable date of the epic poem at the 3rd century B.C.
2. *Indian Literature*, 187-88.
3. *Civ.* I. 10.
4. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 36.

Accordingly the interval between Bharata and Yudhistira is 247 years, which, if the list is correct gives about 10 years on an average to each of the 25 reigns. Parikshit is the grandson of Yudhistira. The interval between him and Nanda is according to the Matsya Purana one thousand years less by one hundred and fifty. Nanda lived in 4th century B.C."[1]

Immemorial tradition sanctified by the religious faith of hundreds of generations of people in India assigns the Mahābhāraṭa war to the end of the Ḍvāpara Yuga, that is, the year **3139 B.C.** The Purāṇas and the astronomical Siḍḍhānṭas accept the tradition as incontrovertible history and as the starting point of Indian chronology. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that "On the same day that Hari departed from the earth the powerful dark-bodied Kali (age) descended."[2] Hari Kṛṣṇa lived for 125 (105 ?) years and he was a contemporary of the great war[3] and according to the Mahābhāraṭa the race of Śri Kṛṣṇa was destroyed thirty-six years after the war and the Paṇdavas departed from their kingdom soon after the beginning of Kaliyuga.[4]

Megasthenes, "who probably quoted from Harivamśa, not as it exists to-day but as it was in his time, viz., a real dynastic list as its name implies, has recorded a statement that between Dionysos and Chandragupta there were 153 Kings and a period of 6042 years and that Heracles was younger than Dionysos by fifteen generations. Although

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1. *Gavām Ayana, the Vedic Era*, 155.

2. Yasmin Kṛṣno ḍivam yāṭas ṭasmin eva ṭaṭhahani Praṭipannam Kaliyugam.........V. 37.

See also *Vāyu*, II. 37-422; *Bhāg.*, XII. ii. 26-32; V. 37; *Maṭsya*, 221, 52. Mahāprasṭhānika Parvaṇ, I. 2, 7. Also Wilson's *Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 234.

3. According to these passages Kṛṣṇa was born in the year śrimukha, Śravana Bahula Navamī-viḍḍha-sapṭamī Vṛsabha Lagna and lived for 125 years, 7 months and 8 days dying on the first day of Kaliyuga. According to Bṛhaspaṭimāna, the birth would be in the year Pārṭhiva and death in Khara.

According to another view Kṛṣṇa lived for 105 years only and was born in 3208 B.C. in the year Vijaya, Srāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa Aṣtamī, Mangalavāra, Rohiṇi, Vriṣabha Lagna.

Kṛṣṇa's horoscope has thus been cast. Guru in Mesha, Rāhu in Miṭhuna, Kuja and Buḍha in Kataka, Ravi and Sani in Simham, Sukra in Kanyā, and Keṭu in Ḍhanus and Lagna Vṛshbha.

On the birth and death of Kṛṣṇa, see *Bhag.*, X. 3, XI. 6; *Harivamśa*, I. 52, IV. 24, V. 23.

4. *Mah. Mausala Parvan*, I. 1, 3. See *Bhāg.*, X. 3, XI. 6. *Harivamśa*, I. 52; *Viṣnu*, V. 37, 23.

it is not easy to identify Dionysos it is indisputable that Heracles was none else than Hari or śri Kṛṣṇa from Megasthenes' record about him. 'This Heracles like the Thoeban namesake had married many wives and was worshipped by the Shouraseni people whose chief towns were Mathura and Cheisobora.'" If then between Chandragupta and Śri Kṛṣṇa, there were 138 (153-15) generations, taking 20 years for each generation, there is a period of 2760 years intervening between them, which gives us 3072 B.C.[1]

According to the Sūrya-Siḍḍhanṭa Kaliyuga began on midnight, of Thursday, 17th February, 3102 B. C. old style.[2] Āryabhata took this date as granted [3] and computed by the era of Yuḍhiṣthira.

In the commentary Bhāttaḍīpikā on this verse it is said: Bhāraṭā Yuḍhisthiraḍayah, Rājyam caratām Yuḍhisthirāḍīnam, anṭyo guruḍivaso ḍvāparāvasānagaṭā iṭyarṭhah. Ṭasmin ḍine Yuḍhisthirāḍayo mahāprasṭhānam gatā iṭi prasiḍḍhiḥ.[4]

Jyoṭirviḍābharaṇa tell us that six different eras will flourish one after another in the Kaliyuga, and the first of them that is of Yuḍhisthira lasting for 3044 years beginning from the first year of Kaliyuga.[5] Śankara knew the tradition that Kṛṣna Ḍvaipāyana flourished between Kali and Ḍvāpara Yugas.[6] It was composed in Vikrama era year 24 expressed to be identical with 3068 the year of Kali.

S. P. L. Narasimha Swami says that after the war was over, Dhṛtarāṣtra continued to rule, with Yuḍhisthira as his regent, for fifteen years and that Yuḍhisthira was crowned king only in the 16th year after the war, and that Yuḍhisthira ruled for 36 years; so that he would place the war 50 years before Kali began, that is, in 3052 B. C.[7]

Kalhana says that in his days the tradition was strong that the Bhāraṭa war took place at the end of Ḍvāpara-yuga.[8]

1. See C. V. Vydya's *Epic India*, 418.
2. Sewell's Indian Calendar, 6.
3. Kāho manavo manuyuga śkha gaṭāsṭe ca manuyuga chna ca, Kalpāḍer-yugapāḍā, Ga ca guradivasat ca bhāraṭāṭ purvam.—*Giṭikāpāda, 3.*
4. See Colebrooke, *Mis. Es.* II. 248; Weber, *IL.* 260. See also Lassen, *IAK.* II. 50; Kern's *Preface*, 6.
5. For a fuller account see Chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA, under Kāliḍāsa.
6. *Brahmasuṭra Bhāṣya*, on Sūṭra, III. iii. 32.
7. *IA*, IV. 162. *Mah. Asrama Parva*, 2-6; and *Mausala Parva*, 3-13
8. *Raj.* I. 15. But Kalhana thought he was deceived by the tradition and fixed 653 of Kaliyuga as the date of the war. This view is elaborated and supported in a pamphlet by Kotikalapudi Narasimha Śarma at the instance of the late Maharaja of Bobbili.

But oriental scholars direct their intuitive faculty of original research and theorisation to a refutation of the tradition; to them tradi-

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The following verses from the Rājaṭaranginī, Book I are important:—

48-49. The kings Gonanda the First and his successors ruled Kashmir during twenty-two hundred and sixty-years in the Kaliyuga. This calculation of the duration of these kings' reigns has been thought wrong by some authors who were misled by the statement that the Bharata war took place at the end of the Dvapara Yuga.

50. If the years of those kings, the duration of whose reigns is known, are added up, leaving aside the above 2268 years of Gonanda I and his successors, no rest remains from the passed period of the Kaliyuga, as will be seen from the following.

51. When six hundred and fifty-three years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, the Kurus and Pandavas lived on the earth.

52. At present, in the twenty-fourth year of the Laukika era, one thousand and seventy years of the Saka era have passed.

53. On the whole, at this time two thousand three hundred and thirty years have passed since the accession of Gonada the Third.

54. Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are believed to be comprised in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two lost kings.

55. On this point a decision is furnished by the words of the author of the Bṛhat Samhita who with reference to the fact that the Great Bear moves from one Nakṣaṭra to the other in a hundred years, has thus indicated its course.

56. "When King *Yudhisthira* ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) stood in the Naksatra *Maghah*. The date of his reign was 2526 years before the Saka era."

Verse 50, says Stein, "gives Kalhaṇa's reason for accepting the calculation of 2268 years for the reigns contained in Taranga I. Dr. Hultzsch, (*IA*. xvii, 99) has shown that if we add up the figures given by K. in Tarangas ii-viii. for the reigns from the dethronement of Yudhisthira I. to his own time, we get a rough total of 1328 years (the odd months and days in the totals of the reigns of the ii. and iii. Tarangas being disregarded). If to this total are added the 2268 years for the i. Taranga, and the result deducted from the 4249 years which had elapsed of the Kali era at the time of K's composition (see verse 52 below), there remain 653 years. This is exactly the number of years which had elapsed according to the statement accepted by K. (i. 51) between the commencement of the Kaliyuga and the date of the Bharata war, i.e. Gonanda I. Thus the whole period of the Kali era up to the author's time is accounted for and 'no rest remains.' The equation of K., as indicated in this verse, is therefore:

A.		B.	
Years of the Kaliyuga elapsed in 1070 Saka...	1070	Reigns of kings from Gonanda I to Yudhisthira I. (i. 48)	2268
&	3179	Reigns of kings mentioned in Tarangas ii-viii, up to Saka 1070	1328
	4249	Kali years passed up Gonanda I.	653
			4249

tion is superstition and cannot be history. In spite of their capacity for discovering new pieces of evidence and novel paths of reasoning, the traditional literature has been too strong in its assertion that the Mahābhāraṭa war synchronised with the end of Ḍvāparayuga. They therefore resorted to the only other alternative, that is, to postdating the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and thus to postdate this synchronism.

The first step in this attempt was to damn the date 3102 B. C. acknowledged to be the beginning of Kaliyuga, as an astronomer's hypothetical point of calculation [1] first fancied by Āryabhata in 499 A.D.[2] This is easily said, for a bold assertion is better than logical reasoning. One cannot perceive why this astronomer thought of fancying the date and how it happened that ancient writings like the Purāṇas thought of taking this hypothetical date in computing their theological history. The next step therefore has often been taken that these passages in the Purāṇas are later interpolations, nay, the Purāṇas themselves are fabrications of a late age. One is tempted to remind the reader of the adage 'lies follow lies.'

We shall now follow the reasoning adopted for fixing the commencement of the Kaliyuga.

In his Bṛhaṭ-Samhiṭā, Varāhamihira quotes a verse from Vṛḍḍha Garga:

आसन् मखासु मुनयः
शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षट्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः
शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च (राज्यस्य) ॥

"Our observations as to the theoretical basis of Kalhana's early chronology may thus be briefly summed up. We have seen that the starting-point of his and his predecessors' calculations was the supposed date of Gonanda I, obtained by connecting a semi-mythical king of Purana tradition with a purely legendary event of the great Indian epic and its imaginary chronology. We are next asked, without indication of an authority, to accept the figure of 2269 years for the aggregate length of rule of a single dynasty, of which, however fifty-two kings had already become 'lost' to the tradition of the earlier Chronicles. Lastly, Kalhana presents us, again without naming his authority, with the figure of 2330 years as the result of an avowedly 'rough' calculation of the aggregate duration of reigns from Gonanda *III*, to his own date."—*Stein.* For a criticism of Kalhaṇa's view, See Hulzsch, *IA*, xviii. 99 *et seq.* and Pandit Ananda Koul, *JASB*, vi. 195-219 (*N.S.*)

1. See Bentley, *Historical View of Hindu Astronomy*, 85.
2. See V. S. Gopala Iyer, *Chronology of the Siddhantas*, 92.

"When king Yudhistira ruled the earth, the (seven) seers (Ursa Major) were in Makha, the Saka era (is) 2526 (years after the commencement of his reign."[1]

This verse has been relied on by Kalhana as showing that the traditional date was an error and that the date of the Mahābhāraṭa war must be moved forwards to the year 651 Kali or 2448 B. C. It must be noted that Kalhana postulated that Kaliyuga began in 3102 B.C. but premises that the synchronism of the tradition between the war and the Kaliyuga was erroneous. But orientalists would not brook this too. For, why should the war and the necessary civilisation of India be put back to an ancient age as 25 centuries? So the attack was planned from the rear. The verse gives the name '*Śaka kāla*'. Then began the speculation on what was the *śakakāla* meant here.

According to GOPALA IYER, it was the era of Buḍḍha Nirvāṇa, for "Garga lived in the 1st century B.C. and by that time, the Saka era of 78 A.D. could not have been known." The reading *śaka-kāla* is a mistake for *Sakya kaḷa* and the phrase '*Sad-ḍvika-pancaḍvi*' means *not 2526 but '26 times 25' or 650;* the correct interpretation is that 650 years had elapsed from the time of Yuḍhisthira to the beginning of Sakyakala or the era of Gautama's Nirvana. Gautama Buḍḍha died in 543 B. C. and the addition of 543 and 650 gives the date of the Mahābhāraṭa War as 1194-3 B.C.[2] Apart from the meaning given to

1. As translated by Hultzch (*IA*, XVIII. 99),. For other similar translations, see Troyer, I. 338, II. 7 and Wilson's Essays, 97. Regarding the theory that the Sapṭarṣis (Great Bear or Ursa Major) move within each lunar mansion for one century, see *Bṛhaṭ Samhiṭā*, XIII. 4; Alberuni's *India*, I. 391; Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, 11; T. S. Narayanasastri's *Age of Sankara*, App. II.

2. V. S. Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India*, 68-77. At 48 he admits that his interpretation is new and original. See also, Rajatarangini (Telugu Translation by K. R. V. Krishna Rao (Cocanada 1903). According to Gopala Iyer, Kaliyuga originally comprised only 1000 years or at the most only 1200 years, it commenced at the winter solstice occurring in the latter part of the year 1177 B.C. "As Megasthenes gives 6451 years for the period between Ikshwaku and Alexander the Great and as 5,600 years were supposed to have expired at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, 6,451–5,600, or a deviation of 851 years must have been the period represented to Megasthenes as having expired since the commencement of the new era. Since Alexander left India in 325 B.C. the Kaliyuga must have commenced, according to the informants of Megasthenes in the year 851+325 or 1176 B.C." (at page 45). See for a full discussion of this, T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, 15 note. Tilak (*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 422) approves of Gopala Iyer's views on Kaliyuga.

the phrase *Saḍ-ḍvika-panca-ḍvi*, which offends against the fundamental principles of Sanskrit notation and apart from the uncertainty of the date of the death of Buḍḍha, on which opinion is as varied as on any other question of chronology, there is the detection of the error in the reading of *śāka* into *śākya*, for if the word *śākya* is substituted for the word *śaka*, the line goes wrong in prosody.[1]

G. THIBAUT,[2] and SUDHAKARA DVIVEDI assume the 'śakakāla' here mentioned to be the same as the Śālivahana śaka which commenced in 78 A.D.

SRISA CHANDRA VIDYARNAVA later on reviewed his position and fixed the 1922 B. C. as the year of the Great war.[3] DHIRENDRANATH PAL gives the date of the War as 15th or 16th century B.C. and says the story was immediately written.[4]

Other scholars took "the anchor of Indian Chronology, that is the year 315 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession, as the starting point for computation and by taking the interval of time between the Mahābhāraṭa war and the accession of Chandragupta as variously stated,[5] to be 1604 to 1115 years, place the date of the Mahābhāraṭa war, (and the beginning of the Kaliyuga) between the year 1919 B.C. and 1430 B.C. and the year 1415 B.C. (which is somehow arrived at by adding 1015 to 315 B.C.), for the vernal equinox would be in the Kṛṭṭikas about that date.[6]

PARGITER who originally put the commencement of the Kaliyuga at about 1733 B.C.[7] later on arrived at the year 1810 B.C. as the date of the Great War. This is the reasoning : From Somāḍhi to Ripunjaya there were 22 kings in the Bāṛhaḍraṭha dynasty who reigned for 920 years. The Praḍyoṭas after Ripunjaya were 5 kings who reigned for

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1. For a refutation of this theory, see T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, p. 22 note, App. II.

2. Int. to *Panca Siddhantika*, lix.

3. Int. to Edn. of *Maṭsya Purāṇa*, (Sacred Books of the Hindus Series) *App.* II. xxiv.

4. Int. to *Sri Krishna, his life and teachings*.

5. As to these variations, see T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Kings of Magaḍha* (Madras, 1918), 147 pp.

6. As to a complete discussion of the vernal equinox, see V. S. Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India*, Vaidya's *Mahābhāraṭa*, and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, App. II.

7. See *JRAS*, (1910).

138 years. The Śaiśunagas were 10 kings and reigned for 330 years. Adding up the above three figures 920+138+330, we get 1388 years, which is the interval between the installation of Mahānanḍa and the birth of Parīkṣiṭ or the Great War. Adding 422 B.C. the year of the installation of Mahāpaḍma Nanḍa (whose date fixed at 100 years before Chandragupta) who is postulated to have ascended the throne in 322 B.C. we get the year 1810 B.C. as the date of the Great War.[1]

Arguments on astronomical calculations have been based on (1) the reference to the Sapṭarṣi cycle and (2) the vernal equinox and the seasons and these are explained by each theorist as supporting his own date.[2]

These astronomical arguments are based on the Parāśara Siḍdhānṭa, Garga Siḍdhānṭa, Veḍānga Jyauṭiṣa. And the period of the war has been closely connected with the real determination of the date of the commencement of the Uṭṭarāyana in Māgha Śukla Sapṭamī or the then Raṭhasapṭamī and the death of Bhīṣma in the same month.[3]

परिवृत्तो हि भगवान् सहस्रांशुर्दिवाकरः ।
....
माघोऽयम् समनुप्राप्तो मासस्सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर
त्रिभागशेषः (मात्रः) पक्षोऽयम् शुक्लोभवितुमर्हति ॥[4]

But the advocates of the orthodox tradition are themselves not wanting in their capacity to interpret these astronomical date as supporting the origin of the Kali Yuga in 3102 B.C.[5] and the latest reasoning of T. S. Narayana Sastri will be of interest ;

" Yudhisthira observes the change in the course of the sun, collects all the necessary materials for the cremation of Bhishma, and goes to

1. See *Dynasties of the Kali Age.*
2. For a detailed discussion of these, see V. S. Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India* and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, App. II.
3. See *Mah.* XIII. 273, 27-28.
4. *Mah. Anu.* 167, 20-27.
On this, see Tilak's *Orion*, 36-7. Lale, Modak, Kelkar and other have tried to determine the date of the war from such references and they hold that the vernal equinox was then in the Kṛṭṭikas. See also Maxmuller, *Pref. to Rg. Veḍa*, IV. xxxi.
5. See also, Sree Kalyanananda Bharati Swamy's *Introduction to the Chronology of Sanskrit Literature* (Bezwada, 1920).

him with all his relations on the morning of Magha Sukla Ashtami, and Bhishma breathes his last just at noon at about 15 Ghatikas after the sunrise on the same day in the constellation of Rohini. It is stated by the dying Bhishma himself that three-fourths of the month still remained unexpired. It follows from this that at the time of Bhishma's death which took place immediately thereafter 7½ Tithis out of the total number of *thirty* had already passed away. In other words Bhishma died just in the middle of Ashtami. Now it is also stated that at the time of the death of Bhishma, the moon was in the constellation of Rohini; and according to the calculations of Brahmasri Varahur Sundaresvara Srauti, the Rohini on that day should have ended at about 32 Ghatikas after sunrise. A perusal of the exact moment when the constellation of Jyestha commences on Kartika Amavasya of the coming year Kalayukti and of the precise moment when the constellation of Rohini ends on Magha Sukla Ashtami of the same year, which we have chosen as a typical year for purposes of comparison, will show at a rough glance that the constellation of Rohini could not have lasted for more than 32 Ghatikas on that particular Magha Sukla Ashtami, when the great Bhishma, of the Mahabharata cast off his body. By the time of the passing away of Bhishma, who died just at mid-day, as 15 Ghatikas had expired, the Rohini Nakshattra lasted only for 17 Ghatikas more after mid-day. Soon the moon was, more definitely speaking, in the 3rd quarter of Rohini at the time when Bhishma actually passed away to Heaven; and even in this 3rd quarter which consists of 15 Ghatikas on the whole, 13 Ghatikas had already passed away, so that there remained only 2 Ghatikas in the 3rd quarter of Rohini when Bhishma actually breathed his last. The third quarter of Rohini commences at 46°-40' of the Ecliptic, and ends with 50°. So, at the exact moment of Bhishma's death, the moon must have been at 46°-40' *plus* 13/15 (3°-20') or 46°40' *plus* 2°-53'-20" equal to 49°-33'-20".

" As the distance between the Sun and that Moon at the moment was separated by 7½ Tithis or 7½ *times* 12° or 90° the sun must have been at the moment of Bhishma's death at 49°-33'-20" *minus* 90° or 31 9°-33'-20" or in other words in the 4th quarter Satabhisha. As the winter solstice or Uttarayana had already commenced with *Ratha-Saptami*, which must have ended at about the mid-night on the previous day, there will be a difference of 1½ degrees between the actual commencement of the Uttarayana and the actual moment of Bhishma's death, with the result that the Uttarayana in Bhishma's time or soon after the close of the Mahabharata War, must have commenced when

the sun was in 319°-33′-20″ *minus* 1°-30′-0″ or in 318°-3′-20″ or in other words at about the middle of the fourth *Pada* of *Satabhisha.* Now the Uttarayana commenced in 1917 (as already shown) in the first part of the 3rd *Pada* of *Mula* in 247°-28′. There is a difference of 318°-3′-20″ minus 247°-28′-0″ or 75°-35′-20″ or 254120″. We thus find that since the time of Bhishma's death, the date of the Winter Solstice or Uttarayana has been thrown back by 70°-35′-20″ or 254120″, on account of the precession of the equinoxes.

" What then is the period of time within which so much change in the date of the Winter solstice may take place? If we take the rate of precession at 50.26″ of angle in a year, 254120″ will take a period of $254120 \times \frac{100}{5026}$ or $5056\ \frac{544}{5026}$ years, or in round figures 5056 years, as the measure of time needed for the change. In other words, Bhishma must have died in the year 5056-1917 A.D., or in the year 3139 B.C., just 37 years before the commencement of the Kali Yuga; and the Mahabharata War must have commenced on Tuesday corresponding to the last day of the month of Kartika on Amavasya in the constellation of Jyeshtha of the year corresponding to 3140 B.C."[1]

Mahabharata War is mentioned in grants dated in the Gupta Samvat era.[2] Buchanan mentions an inscription in the temple of Madhukesvara at Banavasi in North Canara dated in 168th year of Yuḍhisthira era and two inscriptions at Belgaum in Mysore dated in the reign of Yuḍhisthira himself.[3] The Tirthahalli plates of Mysore State record that King Janamejaya granted to the ascetics of the locality for worship of the God Sitarama some land constituting a property name Munivṛnḍakṣeṭra in the place called Vṛkoḍara on the west of the Ṭungabhaḍrā in the Plavanga year corresponding to year 89 of Yuḍhisthira Śaka (3014 B.C.) In a Siva's temple at Iballi in Dharwar, an inscription is dated 3730 years after the great war and in Saka 506.[4]

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1. *Age of Sankara.*
2. Fleet, *CII*, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139.
3. *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, III. 231, 411.
4. *IA*, XXX. 219-20. In *Asiatic Researches* (Vo. IX) Ellis notices a copper plate grant of Janamejaya. Gibbons and Airy calculate the date as 7th April 1521 A.D. and Ellis wishes to say that the Mahabharata was composed after that date !! (*JRAS*, X. 81).

In the inscriptions in Combodia we have "the fragment of an inscription of the beginning of the 7th century which informs us that, as early as that time, both the epics were considered sacred on the border of distant Laos, and that records that king Somasarma presented a temple with copies of the Ramayana, the Puranas and the Bharata complete and had them recited every day."[1]

Latest about the beginning of the Christian era, Perundevanar known as Bharata Padiar, wrote his classical work, the Tamil Mahābhāraṭa.[2]

The AIHOLE INSCRIPTION of Pulikesin II,[3] has not yet been correctly read.

In the *Indian Antiquary* (V. 67-71), it was originally published thus:—

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतात् आहवात् इतः
सहाब्दशतयुक्तेषु शतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ।
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

Prācīnalekhamālā (I. 68-72) reads the second line

सहाब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ।

Granting that the Śakabhūpaṭikāla here mentioned is the Śaka era commencing in 78 A.D., and not any other Śaka era of 550 B.C., as propounded by T. S. Narayanasastri,[4] the inscription does not

Ellis relies for this conclusion on the Gawja agraharam grant, translated by Colebrooke in 1806 (see *IA*, I. 377) and pronounced by him to be spurious. On Ellis' correspondence, see Bhandarkar, *JBRAS*, X. 89. For the Iballi inscription, see *JASB*, IV. 376; V. 725; VI. 88; *JRAS*, (N.S.), I. 273; *JBRAS*, IX. 315.

1. *IA*, XVII. 31. M A. Barth's review of *Inscriptions Sanskrites Der Combodge*, (Paris, 1885).

2. A Sangam work on Mahābhāraṭa was undertaken in the 8th century under the patronage of the Pallava king and a third work was written in the 13th century in the reign of Kulottunga III. See M. Raghava Iyengar's *Lectures* in the Madras University, 1929, on Epigraphy and the South Indian Literature.

3. *IA*, VIII. 237.

4. For a discussion, see T. S Narayanasastri's *Age of Sankara*, Part I—D, pages 224-8. Macdonell (*SL*. 318) dates this inscription in 634 A.D. and R.C. Dutt (*Civ*. III. 219) in 637 A D. For śaka 556 (=634-5 A.D.), see *IA*, VIII. 237; For śaka 507 (=585-6 A.D.) see *IA*, V. 67 and Weber's *IL*, 196. For Hiuen Tsang's account of Pulakesin II, see *IA*, VII. 290. See also Hemchandra Roy Choudhry's *Political History of India from Parikshit*, Journal of the Dept. of Letters Calcutta University, Vol. IX 1926. For a review of Weber's paper on the influence of the Greeks and Homeric poems on the Mahābhāraṭa see *IA*, XVII, 302. On the era of Yudhisthira, see Bhagvat, *JBRAS*, XX. 150.

militate against the view that the Mahābhāraṭa war occurred somewhere before the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C.

In his commentary on the Bṛhajjāṭaka (VII. 9), composed in Śaka 888 (=966 A.D.) Bhattoṭpala writes thus:

गतेन साध्यर्धशतेन युक्ताप्यङ्केन (प्येकेन) केषां न गताऽब्दसंख्या ।
कालः शकानां स विशोध्य तस्मादतीतवर्षाद्युगवर्षजातम् ॥

एवं स्पुजिध्वजकृतं शककालादर्वाक् (1044) ज्ञायते ॥

This verse may help to fix the date of Śakakāla and of the astronomer Sphujiḍhvaja as posterior to it, but its meaning, particularly how the number is arrived at, is not ascertainable.

SECTION IV.

The Epics Compared

"While the Ramayana generally represents one-sided and exclusive Brahmanism," says M. Williams, "the Mahabharata reflects the multilateral character of Hinduism; its monotheism and polytheism, its spirituality and materialism, its strictness and laxity, its priestcraft and anti-priestcraft, its hierarchical intertolerence and rationalistic philosophy, combined. Not that there was any intentional variety in the original design of the work but that almost every shade of opinion found expression in a compilation formed by a gradual accretion through a long period. In unison with its more secular, popular, and human character, the Mahabharata has, as a rule, less of mere mythical allegory, and more of historical probability in its narratives than the Ramayana. The reverse, however, sometimes holds good. For example, in Ramayana IV, xi, we have a simple division of the world into four quarters or regions, whereas in Mahabharata VI 236, &c., we have the fanciful division (afterwards adopted by the Puranas) into seven circular Dvipas or continents, viz., 1. Jambu-dvipa, or the Earth, 2. Plaksha-dvipa, 3. Salmali- dvipa, 4. Kusa-dvipa, 5. Kraunca-dvipa, 6. Saka-dvipa, 7. Pushkara-dvipa; surrounded respectively by seven oceans in concentric belts, viz., 1. the sea of salt water (LAVANA), 2. of sugar-cane juice (IKSHU), 3. of wine (SURA), 4. of clarified butter (SARPIS), 5. of curdled milk (DADHI), 6. of milk (DUGDHA), 7. of fresh water (JALA), the mountain Meru or abode of the gods, being in the

centre of JAMBU DVIPA, which again is divided into nine Varshas or countries separated by eight ranges of mountains, the Varsha called BHARATA (India) lying south of the Himavat range.

"Notwithstanding these wild ideas and absurd figments, the Mahabharata contains many more illustrations of real life and of domestic and social habits and manners than the sister Epic. Its diction, again, is more varied than that of the Ramayana. The bulk of the latter poem (notwithstanding interpolations and additions) being by one author, is written with uniform simplicity of style and metre (See p. 335, note 2); and the antiquity of the greater part is proved by the absence of any studied elaboration of diction. The Mahabharata, on the other hand, though generally simple and natural in its language, and free from the conceits and artificial constructions of later writers, comprehends a great diversity of composition, rising sometimes (especially when the Indra-vajra metre is employed) to the higher style and using complex grammatical forms and from the mixture of ancient legends, occasional archaisms and Vedic formations."[1]

"In the Mahabharata (Vana-parvan 15872-16601) the Ramopakhyana is told very nearly as in the Ramayana, but there is no mention of Valmiki as its author, and no allusion to the existence of the great sister Epic. Markandeya is made to recount the narrative to Yudhishthira, after the recovery of Draupadi (who had been carried off by Jayadratha, as Sita was by Ravana), in order to show that there were other examples in ancient times of virtuous people suffering violence at the hand of wicked men. It is probable (and even Professor Weber admits it to be possible) that the Mahabharata episode was epitomized from the Ramayana, and altered here and there to give it an appearance of originality. There are, however, remarkable differences. The story in the Mahabharata, although generally treating Rama as a great human hero only, begins with the circumstances which led to the incarnation of Vishnu, and gives a detailed account of what is first mentioned in the Uttarakanda of the Ramayana the early history of Ravana and his brother. The birth of Rama, his youth, and his father's wish to inaugurate him as heir-apparent are then briefly recounted. Dasaratha's sacrifice, Rama's education, his winning of Sita and other contents of the Bala-kanda are omitted. The events of the Ayodhya-kanda and much of the Aranya Kanda are narrated in about forty verses. A more detailed narrative begins with the appearance before Ravana of the

1. M. WILLIAMS' *Indian Wisdom*, 413-20.

mutilated Surpanakha, but many variations occur; for instance, Kabandha is killed, but not restored to life, the story of Savari is omitted and there is no mention of the dream sent by Brahma to comfort Sita.

"There are other references to, and brief epitomes of parts of the story of the Ramayana in the Mahabharata, e.g., in Vanaparvan 11177-11219; in Drona parvan 2224-2246; in Santi parvan 944-955; in Harivamśa 2324-2359, 8672-8674, 16232. These and other differences have led Professor Weber to suggest the inquiry whether the Mahabharata version may not be more primitive than that of the Ramayana, and possibly even the original version, out of which the other was developed. 'Or ought we,' he asks, 'to assume only that the Mahabharata contains the epitome of an earlier recension of our text of the Ramayana; or should both texts, the Ramopakhayana and the Ramayana, be regarded as resting alike upon a common groundwork, but each occupying an independent standpoint?' "[1]

WEBER has thus advanced *the theory that the composition of the Mahābhārata must have preceded that of the Rāmāyaṇa.* So also R.C. Dutt: "We must premise even as a picture of life the Ramayana is long posterior to the Mahabharata. We miss in the Rāmāyaṇa the fiery valour and the proud self-assertion of the Kshatriyas of the Mahabharata and the subordination of the people to the priestly caste is more complete."

The traditional belief of the orthodox Hindus in the priority of the Rāmāyaṇa is apparently shaken by the acceptance of these theories. But there is ample external and internal evidence to falsify the modern theory and corroborate Indian tradition.

There are clear references to the story of the Ramayana in the Mahābhārata. Sṛngiberapura is considered a place of sanctity and pilgrimage because of Rāma's visit to it. Not one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata is named in the Rāmāyaṇa whereas the story of Rāma is very frequently referred to in the other. In the Vanaparvan where Rāmopākhyāna is related, some of the verses closely resemble the original, and Vyāsa postulates that the story of Rāma was too popular to need any detail.[2]

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1. M. WILLIAMS' *Indian Wisdom*, 366-7.

2. Vanaparvan, 275-292, 149-75. The Purāṇas contain numerous allusions to the Rāmāyaṇa. The Agni Purāṇa has an epitome of the seven Books in seven Chapters. The Pādma and Skānda also devote several chapters to the same

Such direct references[1] must amply prove the priority of the Rāmāyaṇa. But the negativists try to explain it away by the plea that *these are later interpolations,* What do the orthodox Hindus gain by purposely interpolating unimportant references and arguing the feigned priority of the one epic to the other? If the original of the Mahābhāraṭa did not contain any references to the Rāmāyaṇa, they had no business in such interpolation. The Mahābhāraṭa loses not, nor does the Rāmāyaṇa gain, a particle of belief or regard by a consideration of chronological priority or posteriority; for it is in the inherent nature of the Hindu mind to disregard all questions of history. If the Rāmāyaṇa had really been composed later, how is this fact accounted for—that the Mahābhāraṭa war, the most important incident as it is in the world's history, fails to have the least reference to it in Vālmiki's work? Valmiki's ignorance of the Great War cannot be the answer. Nor can the sanctity of Kurukṣeṭra be less conspicuous than that of Śṛngiberapura, so as to lose mention of it in a religious work as the Rāmāyaṇa. The argument of interpolation has neither purpose nor probability.

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subject. The Viṣṇupurāṇa has also a section [IV a) about Rama and in III. 3 describes Valmiki as the Vyāsa of the 24th Dvāpara. The Brahmāndapurāṇa has a Rāmāyaṇa Māhāṭmya and embodies the Aḍhyāṭma Rāmāyaṇa. For full account of these references and later Jain and Buddhist modifications, see Int. to Uttararāmacarita by S. K. Belvalkar, *HOS*, No. 4.

1. HOPKINS (*The Great Epic of India* 62) says "The individual allusions prove, therefore, nothing in regard to the general priority of Valmiki as the first epic poet. They prove that the Mahabharata was only not completed before Valmiki wrote, just as the mention of the Vayu Purana in the Mahabharata shows only that there was a Purana of that name not before the Bharata beginning but before its end. They show also no antipathy or wish to suppress Valkimi's name influenced the Bharata poets, who therefore, had they simply retold or epitomised a poem recognised as Valmiki's would probably have mentioned his name in connection with the Rama Upakhyana"............Apart from VII. 143. 67, the Mahabharata knows the poet Valmiki only in the 12th and 13th books; whereas it knows everywhere the Rama tale, a poem called the Ramayana, and a saint known not as a poet but as an ascetic called Valmiki. It gives the Rama-episode as it gives other ancient tales handed down from Antiquity without having been assigned to a specific author. The Rama Upakhayana stands to the Ramayana, somewhat as the Nala Upakhayana stands to the Naishatha, in that it is an early tale of unknown authorship which a poet made his own. Long before there is any allusion to Valmiki's Ramayana, the base of the great epic, the substance of the Bharata Katha is recognised in Hindu Literature; while the latest additions to the great epic refers to Valmiki himself as a man who is to be that is, who is already, famous, यशस्तेऽग्र्यं भविष्यति (VIII, 18 49, S. Ind. Edn.) Between these extremes lies the Ramayana." For a list of parallel passages in the Epics, see App. A to his book.

The Rāmāyaṇa represents its actors as often moving beyond earthly sphere. The Mahābhāraṭa deals with men and not bears or monkeys. "In the latter" says Weber himself, "human interest everywhere predominates and a number of well-defined personages are introduced, to whom the possibility of historical existence cannot be denied......" No scholar can discern any improbability in gambling, loss of kingdom, exile and war. An advanced race of men can place no confidence in the story of a ten-headed monster. Ṛṣyaśṛnga is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as a sage ever in solitude and unseen by men or women. He was born of a hind and had a horn on his head. The earlier we peep into the world's history, the world is more simple and credulous. The Rāmāyaṇa must have been composed when India was yet in very early stages of theological evolution.

In the Mahābhārata Āḍiparvan a house of combustibles is erected by a Mlecha called Purocana at the bidding of Ḍuryoḍhana. Again Viḍura, trying to reveal the conspiracy of the lac house to his friends the Pāndavas, talks to them in a Mlecha tongue understood by the accompanying populus. The war-portion of the same epic names not less than half a dozen Mlecha Kings taking part in the war itself (Ḍroṇa Parvaa, 26, 93, 119, 122). On the contrary the Rāmāyaṇa makes no such references at all and the only few allusions to the *Yavanas* do not prove alien interference in politics. The signification of 'Yavana' is not the same as that of 'Mlecha.' It is therefore safe to deduce that at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa foreign influence was not felt, at any rate not enough to give the foreigners a territorial dominion in the international policy of Indian States.

The geographical account of Vālmiki regarding Southern India denies the existence of any civilized kingdoms there. On the other hand the country south of the Vindhya range is the haunt of savage demons like Virāḍha and Kabanḍha. In the royal invitations at Ḍaṣaraṭha's Court no one King of Southern India has a summons, nor does Rāma in his journey southwards make alliance with a civilized prince. On the other hand the Kings of Southern India have a prominent reception at the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yuḍhiṣthira. The geographical sketch of Bhāraṭa-varṣa as given in the Bhīṣma-parva shows a very intimate acquaintance with the advanced states of the Dekhan. Hence since the days of the Rāmāyaṇa the country appears from a political point of view to have made a decided advance.

The test of archery at the marriage of Sīṭā had better be compared with that at Ḍraupaḍī-Swayamvara. The latter indicates an obvious

advance in the dexterity of the test. Likewise is the improvement in the art of war. Rāma's army knows not of varied dispositions, whereas in the Bhāraṭa war the plan of *Vyūhas* or arrays has already been devised, by means of which a small force can withstand a powerful one. The ordered supervision of the commandants, the regular signals of colored standards, the applausive roars of victorious combatants—all these never miss a detailed delineation in the battles of the Great War. The complexity in the development of martial tactics shows a sign of a later age.

The encyclopædiac variety of the contents of the Mahābhāraṭa together with its vastness of knowledge in every line of science or art shows a rapid progress from the age of Vālmīki. Vyāsa notes law and science reduced to a system, whereas no idea of codification is discernible in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The character of Sīṭa is advantageously compared with that of Ḍraupadī. Siṭā is simpler and more cowardly. She exhorts the reluctant Rāma to permit her company to the woods. Ḍraupaḍī musters her strength to argue the justice of Yuḍhisthira's authority to pawn his wife when once he has enslaved himself. Sīṭā belongs to an age of ignorance and timidity; Ḍraupaḍī of wisdom and courage. Ḍraupaḍī's religious convictions are looser than the god-fearing instincts of the daughter of Janaka.

The rigour of patriarchal ties and institutions is palpably visible in the history of Rāma. The disintegration of the presbyterian respect enjoined by Hindu canons of conduct has set in by the time of the Mahābhāraṭa. Rāma is a model son, innocently submissive to paternal mandate; Bharata, the paragon of a brother; Sugrīva, the standard of a friend. A sense of sincere duty animates Vālmīki's characters and the pivot of Rāma's victory is the truthfulness of his adherents. The reverse is the age of the Mahābhāraṭa. Bhīma is ready to revolt against Yudhisthira, if only he should consent to a conciliation. He is impatient to throw off the Kaurava princes, despite their promise of self-slavery on a failure at dice. Śalya readily takes the side of the Kurus. Business and self-seeking overrides the feeling of truthful responsibility. For victory's sake every crime is readily committed—from false evidence and forgery to robbery and murder. Ḍuryoḍhana's attempt to poison his own kinsmen or Yuḍhisthira's abetment at Ḍroṇa's murder are sufficient instances. This state of corruption and degeneracy clearly points to a later sceptic state of society.

Rāvaṇa carries off Sītā by force and she would not allow her to be touched by Hanūman, when he proposes to take her on his back to Rāma's abode. Even after victory she has to pass through an ordeal of fire for admission to the queenship. Similarly in the Kāmyaka forest Jayaḍratha abducts Ḍraupaḍī by force and is easily received again without any test of good conduct by her husbands. Apparently Rāma's contemporaries had a stricter notion of morality and wifely duty and stronger was the faith in the interposition of Providence. The relaxation in such religious and ethical beliefs proves an advance in the age of the Mahābhāraṭa.

It has been said, "The heroes of the Ramayana are somewhat tame and common place personages, very respectful to priests, very anxious to conform to the rules of decorum and etiquette······" This is a negativist's argument. But that very tameness of heroes and priestly domination is a sign of antiquity, for when people learn to reason and argue, priests can no longer claim predominance.

Regarding the compartive merits of the two great epics, says AUROBINDO GHOSE,[1] "Valmīki's mind seems nowhere to be familiarised with the stern intellectual gospel of Niṣkāma Ḍharma, that morality of disinterested passionless activity, promulgated by Krishna of Dwāraka and formulated by the Krishna of the Island, which is one great keynote of the Mahābhāraṭa. Had he known it, I doubt whether the strong leaven of sentimentalism and feminity in his nature would not have rejected it; such temperaments, when they admire strength, admire it manifested and forceful rather than self-contained. Vālmīki's characters act from emotional or imaginative enthusiasm, not from intellectual conviction; an enthusiasm of immorality tyrannises over Rāvaṇa. Like all manly moral temperaments, he instinctively insisted on an old established code of morals being universally observed as the only basis of ethical stability, avoided casuistic developments and distasted innovators in metaphysical thought as by their persistent and searching questions dangerous to the established bases of morality, especially to its wholesome ordinariness and everydayness. Vālmīki, therefore, the father of our secular poetry, stands for that early and finely moral civilisation which was the true heroic age of the Hindu spirit. Vyāsa, following Vālmīki, stood still farther on into the era of aristocratic turbulence and disorder. If there is any kernel of truth in the legends about him, he must have contributed powerfully to the

1. *Age of Kalidasa*, Tagore & Co., Madras.

establishment of those imperial forms of government and society which Valmiki had idealised. It is that he celebrated and approved the policy of a great aristocratic statesman who aimed at the subjection of his order to the rule of a central imperial power which should typify its best tendencies and control or expel its worst But while Vālmīki was a soul out of harmony with its surroundings and looking back to an ideal past, Vyāsa was a man of his time profoundly in sympathy with it, full of its tendencies, hopeful of its results and looking forward to an ideal future. The one was a conservative imperialist advocating return to a better but dead model, the other a liberal imperialist looking forward to a better but unborn model. Vyāsa accordingly does not revolt from the aristocratic code of morality; it harmonises with his own proud and strong spirit, he accepts it as a basis for conduct, but purified and transfigured by the illuminating idea of the Niṣkāma Ḍharma. But above all intellectuality is his grand note; he is profoundly interested in ideas, in metaphysics in ethical problems; he subjects morality to casuistic tests from which the more delicate moral tone of Vālmīki's spirit shrank; he boldly erects above ordinary ethics a higher principle of conduct having its springs in intellect and strong character; he treats government and society from the standpoint of a practical and discerning statesmanlike mind, idealising solely for the sake of standard. He touches in fact all subjects, and whatever he touches, he makes fruitful and interesting by originality, penetration and a sane and bold vision. In all this he is the son of the civilisation he has mirrored to us, a civilisation in which both morality and material developments are powerfully intellectualised. Nothing is more remarkable in all the characters of the Mahābhāraṭa than this puissant intellectualism; every action of them seems to be impelled by an immense driving force of mind solidifying in character and therefore conceived and outlined as in stone. This orgiastic force of the intellect is at least as noticeable as the impulse of moral or immoral enthusiasm behind each great action of the Rāmāyaṇa. Throughout the poem the victorious and manifold mental activity of the age is prominent and gives its character to its civilisation. There is far more of thought in action than in the Rāmāyaṇa, far less of thought in repose; the one pictures a time of gigantic ferment and disturbance; the other, as far as humanity is concerned, an age of equipoise, order and tranquillity."

SECTION V

Puranas.

"The Puranas constitute an important department of Sanskrit literature in their connection with the later phases of Brahmanism, as exhibited in the doctrines of emanation, incarnation, and triple manifestation (TRIMURTI) and are, in real fact, the proper Veda of popular Hinduism, having been designed to convey the exoteric doctrines of the Veda to the lower castes and to women. On this account, indeed, they are sometimes called a fifth Veda. Their name PURANA signifies 'old traditional story,' and the eighteen ancient narratives to which the name is applied are said to have been compiled by the ancient sage Vyasa (*also called Krishṇa-ḍvaipāyana and Bāḍarāyaṇa*), the arranger of the Vedas and Mahabharata and the supposed founder of the Vedanta philosophy. They are composed chiefly in the simple Sloka metre (with occasional passages in prose), and are, like the Mahabharata, very encyclopaedical in their range of subjects. They must not, however, be confounded with the Itihasas, which are properly the histories of heroic men, not Gods, though these men were afterwards deified. The Puranas are properly the history of the gods themselves, interwoven with every variety of legendary tradition on other subjects. Viewing them as a whole, the theology they teach is anything but simple, consistent, or uniform. While nominally tritheistic—to suit the three developments of Hinduism, the religion of the Puranas is practically polytheistic and yet essentially pantheistic. Underlying their whole teaching may be discerned the one grand doctrine which is generally found at the root of Hindu Theology, whether Vedic or Puranic—pure uncompromising pantheism. But interwoven with the radically pantheistic and Vedantic texture of these compositions, tinged as it is with other philosophical ideas (especially the Sankhyan doctrine of Prakriti), and diversified as it is with endless fanciful mythologies, theogonies, cosmogonies, and mythical genealogies we have a whole body of teaching on nearly every subject of knowledge. The Puranas pretend to give the history of the whole universe from the most remote ages, and claim to be the inspired revealers of scientific as well as theological truth. They dogmatize on physical science, geography, the form of the earth, astronomy, chronology; and even in the case of one or two Puranas, anatomy, medicine, grammar, and the use of military weapons. All this cycle of very questionable omniscience is conveyed in the form

of leading dialogues (connecting numerous subordinate dialogues), in some of which a well-known and supposed divinely inspired sage, like Parāśara, is the principle speaker, and answers the inquiries put to him by his disciples; while in others, Loma-harshaṇa (or Roma-harshaṇa), the pupil of Vyasa, is the narrator being called Sūta, that is, 'Bard' or 'Encomiast,' as one of an order of men to whom the reciting of the Itihasas and Puranas were especially interested." This passage taken from *the Indian Wisdom* of M. WILLIAMS may be taken to be a fair description of the Purāṇas.

The origin of the eighteen Purāṇas is thus stated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa[1]: Accomplished in the purport of the Purāṇas, Vyāsa compiled a Puranik Samhitā, consisting of historical and legendary traditions, prayers and hymns and sacred chronology. He had a distinguished desciple Sūṭa, also termed Romaharṣana, to him the great Muni communicated the Purānas. Sūta had six scholars, Sumati, Agnivarcas, Maiṭreya Samsapāyana, Akṛṭavraṭa and Sāvarṇi. The three last composed three fundamental Samhiṭās and Romaharṣaṇa himself

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1. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, III. vi and Wilson's Translation, III. 63-66. See *JASB*, I. 84. and Burnouf's Bhagavata purana, preface. For similar accounts:
   - i. The Aṭharva Veda (15-16) says, "Iṭihāsa, Purāṇa, Gātha, and others &c."
   - ii. Saṭapatha Brāhmana (XIV vi-10-6) says: "The Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veḍa, Atharva-Veda, Iṭihasa, Purāṇa, Upanishads, Sutras, slokas, their explanations &c.
   - iii. Ṭaiṭṭiriya Āraṇyaka (ii-9) says, "The Veda, Itihasa, Purana, Gatha &c."
   - iv. Chandogya Upanishad (Vii) says "He said, 'O Exalted one, I am acquainted with the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veda, and the fourth, Aṭharva-Veda, and the fifth, Iṭihāsa (history) and purāna.'
   - v. Manu Samhiṭā (III. 232) says, "In Sradh ceremonies, the Sastras called the Vedas, the Samhitas, the stories, the histories, the purāṇas and the Khilas should be recited to others."

   The Bhāgavaṭa (X. iii, 496) says, Aruni, Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi, Akṛṭavarṇa, Samsapāyana, and Hāriṭa are the six Pauranikas (learned in the purāṇas). They learnt the purāṇa from my father who was the pupil of Vyāsa. After studying the original (Purāṇa) Samhiṭā, they each wrote a separate (Purāṇa) Samhiṭā etc.

   Sriḍharaswāmin (in commenting on sloka XII-vii, 6) says, "At first Vyāsa wrote six Samhiṭas and taught them to my father, Romaharṣaṇa. From him Aruṇi and others learnt each one Samhiṭā. I am their pupil; from me Rurba has learnt them."

   Agnipurāṇa says, "The Sūta Lomaharṣana received the purāṇa from Vyāsa. Sumati, Agnivarca, Maiṭreya, Samsapāyana, Kṛṭavrata, and Sāvarṇi became his pupils. Samṣapāyana and others wrote the purāṇa samhiṭās.

compiled a fourth, called Romaharṣaṇika; the substance of which four Samhitās is collected into this (Viṣṇu Purāṇa). The first of all the Purāṇas is entitled the Brahma. Those who are acquainted with the Purānas enumerate eighteen. It will thus appear that an original Samhita of Vyasa was expanded by his desciples into eighteen separate works at his direction. In Viṣnu Purāṇa, (VI, iii, 16) it is said Vyāsa, learned in the Vedas, wrote a purāṇa saṃhiṭa with Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāṭhā, and Kalpaśuḍḍhi. The commentator explains these four subjects:—"What is seen with one's own eyes is called Ākhyāna by the learned men; what is heard from different persons is called Upākhyāna; songs about the ancestors are called Gāṭhā; and the treatment of the śrāḍḍha ceremony is called Kalpaśuḍḍhi." Amarasimha gives the word Pancalakṣaṇa, characterized by five topics, as a synonym of Purāṇa. These topics are (i) the creation of universe (Sarga); (ii) Its destruction and recreation (Praṭi-Sarga); (iii) the genealogy of gods and patriarchs (Vamśa); (iv) the reigns and periods of the Manus (Manvanṭara) and (v) the history of the solar and lunar race of kings (Vamśānucariṭa).

The fact that very few Purāṇas now extant answer to the title Pancalakṣaṇa, says M. Williams, "and that abstract given in the Maṭsya-purana of the contents of all the others does not always agree with the extant works, either in the subjects described or number of verses enumerated, proves that like the Ramayana and Mahabharata, they were preceded by more ancient works.[1] In all probability there were Mula Ramayana and Mula Mahabharata."[2]

The Purāṇas aim at exalting one of the three members of the Ṭri-mūrṭi, Brahma, Viṣṇu, or Śiva; those which relate to Brahma being sometimes called Rājasa Purāṇas (from his own peculiar Guṇa Rājas); those which exalt Viṣṇu being designated Sāṭṭvik (from his Guṇa Saṭṭva); and those which prefer Śiva being styled Ṭāmasa (from his Guṇa Ṭamas).

1. For instance, Maṭsya purana gives the following description of Brahma Vaivarṭa Purāṇa:—The Purāṇa, which is recited before Nāraḍa by Sāvarṇi, and which contains the glory of Kṛṣṇa, the accounts of Raḍhanṭara Kalpa, and the story of Brahma in eighteen thousand slokas is called Brahma Vaivarṭa. But the present Brahma-Vaivarṭa Purāna does not mention its recitation by Sāvarṇi before Nāraḍa and does not contain the stories of Brahma Varāha and Raḍhanṭara Kalpa.

2. *Indian Wisdom*, 492-3.

The Purāṇas have been thus classified :—

A. *Rājasa*, or those which relate to Brahma, are

1. Brahma, 2. Brahmānda, 3. Brahma-Vaivarṭa, 4. Mārkandeya, 5. Bhaviṣya, 6. Vāmana.

B. *Sāttvika*, or those which exalt Viṣṇu, are

1. Viṣṇu, 2. Bhāgavaṭa, 3. Naraḍīya, 4. Garuda, 5. Paḍma, 6. Varāha. These six are usually called Vaiṣṇava Puraṇas.

C. *Tāmasa*, or those which glorify Śiva, are

1. Śiva, 2. Liṅga, 3. Skānḍa, 4. Agni, 5. Maṭsya, 6. Kūrma. These six are usually styled Śaiva Purāṇas.

There are eigteen UPA-PURANAS or 'secondary Puraṇas,' subordinate to the eighteen MAHA or principal Puranas :—1. Sanaṭkumāra ; 2. Narasimha or Nṛsiṁha ; 3. Nāraḍīya or Bṛhan-nāraḍīya ; 4. Śiva ; 5. Dūrvāsasa : 6. Kapila ; 7. Mānava ; 8. Auśanasa ; 9. Varuṇa ; 10. Kālika ; 11. Sāmba ; 12. Nanḍi ; 13. Saura ; 14. Parāśara ; 15. Āḍiṭya : 16. Maheśvara ; 17. Bhāgavaṭa (thought to be a misreading for Bhārgava) ; 18. Vāsiṣṭha. Another list given by Professor H. H. Wilson varies a little thus :—1. Sanaṭkumara ; 2. Narasimha ; 3. Nāraḍa ; 4. Śiva-Dharma ; 5. Dūrvāsasa ; 6. Bhaviṣya ; 7. Kapila ; 8. Mānava ; 9, Auśanasa ; 10. Brahmānda ; 11. Varuṇa ; 12. Kālika : 13. Maheśvara ; 14. Sāmba ; 15. Saura ; 16. Parāśara ; 17. Bhāgavaṭa ; 18. Kūrma.

It is a matter of controversy whether by Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa is meant the Sri Bhāgavaṭa or the Ḍevī Bhāgavaṭa, that is, a Vaiṣṇava or a Saiva composition. By the advocates of Ḍevi Bhāgavaṭa, it is said that Sri Bhāgavaṭa was composed by Bopaḍeva, son of Keśava poet of the Court of Hemāḍri, Raja of Ḍevagiri (1260-71 A.D.).[1] On the names of the eighteen Purāṇas there are a few variations. Kūrma omits the Agni and substitutes Vāyu, Agni omits Śiva and inserts Vāyu, Varāha omits Garuda and Brahmānda and has Vāyu and Narasimha instead. Mārkandeya, Visnu and Bhagavata omit Vāyu. Maiṭreya like Agni gives up Śiva. Mūlasṭamba Purāṇa gives an account of

1. For this discussion, see Wilson Preface to Vishnu Purana, xxxix and Burnouf's Int. to Bhagavata Purana I. see xiii, xcvii and Int. to the Telugu Edition (Madras) see Lyall, *As. Res.* VIII. 967 ; Lassen, *Ind. Ant.* IV. 599 ; Belwalkar, *System of Sams. Grammar*, 104 ; Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 89. There is a Jaiminiya Bhagavata (*OML*, *R* No. 3171).

Viśvakarma, the divine architect, his human descendants. the artisan class and of their customs, rites and ceremonies in 23 Adhyayas.[1]

Prof. Wilson assigns the composition of these works to a period later than the 6th century A.D. "They offer" he says "characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description, in the paramount importance which they assign to individual divinities, in the variety and purport of the rites addressed to them and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of those divinities and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them." The Professor further discovers allusions to circumstances, which make the assignment of a comparatively recent date indisputable. As a culminating remark, he adds "they were pious frauds for temporary purposes."[2]

The deductions which occasioned the learned scholar's remarks are based on internal evidence, the authority of which modern research questions on all sides. Sectarianism consists in the exclusive and not merely preferential worship of any divinity. The Purāṇas as a whole do not prohibit the worship of any god, but the sectarianism goes to the extent of recommending a particular deity in preference to all others. Passages are not rare in the Purāṇas, where all the deities are described as occupying an equal scale in the Hindu pantheon. Again the Professor seems to have given greater weight to the internal testimony from those passages, which he thinks have a modern appearance, than to that which results from those parts which the Puranas must have contained from their first composition, in order to entitle them to a sacred character and to that reverence with which these works have been regarded by the Hindus. But the fixing of a possible date when the Purāṇas received their present form is a question of

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1. *TC*, III. 4002.

On the merit of the Chronology of the Purāṇas, see introduction.

On the Purāṇas, generally, see Introduction to Wilson's Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Bose, *Sri Krishna, his life and teachings ;* R. C. Dutt, *Civ.* II. v. Holtzman, *Das Mahabharata*, IV. 29-58. Pargiter, *The Puranic Text of the Dynaties of the Kali age* ; T. S. Narayana Sastri, *the Age of Sankara* (*Ind. Rev.* X. 585) ; Macdonel, *SL*, ; K. C. Kangilal, *Philosophy of the Puranas*; K. Narayanaswami Iyer, *The Puranas in the light of modern science*, (Adyar, Madras). (This is a remarkable work in which much of the mythology of the Purāṇas is rationally and scientifically interpreted). Paraman and Bharati's *Sri Krishna, the Lord of Love* (see *Ind. Rev.* IX. 933) ; Ch. Gopinatham's, *Sri Krishna Parabrahma Vicharana*, (Ellore).

2. Preface *to Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa.*

little or no consequence, when it is admitted that there is abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era. They cannot, therefore, be pious frauds in subservience to sectarian imposture. What more conclusive evidence of their antiquity can be required than their containing a correct description of the doctrines and institutions of the Hindu religion, which were prevalent in India centuries before the Chistian era? For it is more probable that the present Puranas are the same works as were then extant, than that eighteen persons should have each conceived 1300 years afterwards the design of writing a Purāṇa and should have been able to compile or compose so accurately 18 different works which correspond so exactly in most of their minute particulars. Within the short compass of this work, it is not possible to discuss the Professor's views in greater detail. Suffice it to say, that Vans Kennedy has, in his letters, which are printed as appendix to the Vth volume of Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu Purana, demonstrated that Wilson's remarks are completely erroneous and 'his reasoning is altogether ineffectual to prove that the Puranas are modern compilations. The reader, if he has any real interest in ancient Indian Literature, is referred to the masterly criticism of Vans Kennedy and he will immensely benefit by its study.

There is a PURANA SARVASVA, anonymous, giving a brief sketch of all the Puranas in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.[1] The same library also contains a Purana Sūchi being a list of the contents of all Upapuranas and the Mahabharata.[2] Bhuvana Kosa is a collection of passages from the Puranas bearing on the geography of the world.[3] So is Bhūgolanirṇaya by Ramakrishna Yajvani.[4]

1. Cal. No. 51.
2. *Ibid.* No. 52.
3. *Ibid.* No. 106.
4. *Ibid.* No. 108.

SECTION VI

Tantras.[1]

Ṭanṭras represent a later phase of the Purāṇic religion. Ṭānṭrika doctrines are inculcated in the Purāṇas. As distinct books they are of later age but never of an age later than the Christian era. Śakṭi is the active energising will of a god, personified as his wife. The ṭanṭras are numerous and to Śakṭas, or worshippers of Ṣakṭi they take the place of the Purāṇas. They embrace much that is said in the Purāṇas and contain formulas of magic and witchcraft and charms for averting and producing evils. Among Ṭanṭras, are Rudra Yāmala. Kālika, Mahānirvāṇa, Kulārṇava etc.

Ṭanṭric literature is usually designated as Vaiḍika and non-vaiḍika indicating whether they recognise the supreme authority of the Vedas or not In the latter class all the Buddhist and Jain ṭanṭras are included while the Vaiḍika ṭanṭras are again Śaiva, Śākṭeya, Yāmala, etc. The last of this class are practically encyclopædias of knowledge in all branches of human exertion as developed till the time of their composition. These wonderful and interesting works once existed in the library of Kavīndrācharya Sarasvati of Benares.[2] A few of his manuscripts are found scattered all over India and Yāmalāshtaka, the 31st of the Yāmala Ṭanṭras which are altogether 32, found in the Tanjore Palace Library, professes to give the name of the authors, extent and contents of all works before the seventh or eighth century. The vedic *rites* are analysed and classified according to the subject or the governing deity. Details of the four Upa-vedas and of 32 Yāmala Ṭanṭras throw an astonishing light on the extent of perished literature proclaiming man's utter incapacity against the cruel hand of Time. Arṭhaveda for an example extends over 30000 slokas and treats of all branches of state politics, industrial development and minerology, that is, everything of *artha*.

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1. On Ṭanṭras, see M. WILLIAMS, *Indian Wisdom*, 501–5 and Works of WOODROFFE; R. C. DUTT, *Civ*, II. 212.

2. *Vide* the Kavindracharya's list published in Gaekwad Sanskrit series.

BOOK II

MAHAKAVYA

CHAPTER II

Kāvya

1. The term Kāvya literally and in its widest sense connotes all that is *the work of a poet.* In that sense Kāvya is the subject of Classical Sanskrit Literature. The science of poetics, embracing in it dramaturgy, music and dancing, is a concomitant of Kāvya or Poetry. In the words of Mammata, Kāvya is thus described :

सकलप्रयोजनमौलिभूतं समनन्तरमेव रसास्वादनसमुद्भूतं विगलितवेद्यान्तरमानन्दं प्रभुसंमितशब्दप्रधानवेदादिशास्त्रेभ्यः सुहृत्संमितार्थतात्पर्यवत्पुराणादीतीहासेभ्यश्च शब्दार्थयोर्गुणभावेन रसाङ्गभूतव्यापारप्रवणतया विलक्षणं यत् काव्यं लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म ।

"Kāvya is that which touches the inmost cords of the human mind and diffuses itself into the crevices of the heart, working up a lasting sense of delight. It is an expression in the beautiful form and melodious language of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which is the spectacle of life, awakening the finest souls."

Kāvya is *śravya* or *dṛśya,* literally audible or visible ; these are respectively Poems or Plays. In its narrower sense the term Kāvya is used as an equivalent to poem (prose or verse) and the term Rūpaka denotes a play. The different kinds of Rūpakas and their characteristics will be described in a later chapter.

Śravya Kāvya is of two kinds, verse or prose. Thus says Viśvanātha : श्रव्यं श्रोतव्यमात्रं तत्पद्यगद्यमयं द्विधा ।

Rhetoricians distinguish between the body and embellishments of poetry. The theories of poetical embellishment will be noticed in the Chapter on Poetics. Daṇḍin in his Kavyādarśa says, "The 'body' consists of a series of words calculated to aptly convey a desired meaning. This (body) is adequately divided into just three sorts metrical, prose, and mixed. The metrical consists of four feet, and this again falls into two classes Vṛtta and Jāti." These are described in the Chapter on Metrics. Gadya or prose romance is treated in a later chapter.

2. Poetry in verse follows generally the manner of Rāmāyaṇa. Some call Kāvyas, artifical epics. They are either long or short, called respectively Mahākāvyas and Laghukāvyas or Khanda Kāvyas. Raghuvamśa and Naiṣadha are instances of the former and Meghadūta and

Bikṣātana of the latter. Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpaṇa (VI. 315-325) describes the characteristics of a Mahākāvya thus :—

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यं तत्रैको नायकः सुरः ।
सद्वंशः क्षत्रियो वापि धीरोदात्तगुणान्वितः ॥

एकवंशभवा भूपाः कुलजा बहवोऽपि वा ।
शृङ्गारवीरशान्तानामेकोऽङ्गी रस इष्यते ॥

अङ्गानि सर्वेऽपि रसाः सर्वे नाटकसंधयः ।
इतिहासोद्भवं वृत्तमन्यद्वा सज्जनाश्रयम् ॥

चत्वारस्तस्य वर्गाः स्युस्तेष्वेकं च फलं भवेत् ।
आदौ नमस्क्रियाशीर्वा वस्तुनिर्देश एव वा ॥

क्वचिन्निन्दा खलादीनां सतां च गुणकीर्तनम् ।
एकवृत्तमयैः पद्यैरवसानेऽन्यवृत्तकैः ॥

नातिस्वल्पा नातिदीर्घाः सर्गा अष्टाधिका इह ।
नानावृत्तमयः क्वापि सर्गः कश्चन दृश्यते ॥

सर्गान्ते भाविसर्गस्य कथायाः सूचनं भवेत् ।
संध्यासूर्येन्दुरजनीप्रदोषध्वान्तवासराः ॥

प्रातर्मध्याह्नमृगयाशैलर्तुवनसागराः ।
संभोगविप्रलम्भौ च मुनिस्वर्गपुराध्वराः ॥

रणप्रयाणोपयममन्त्रपुत्रोदयादयः ।
वर्णनीया यथायोगं साङ्गोपाङ्गा अमी इह ॥

कवेर्वृत्तस्य वा नाम्ना नायकस्येतरस्य वा ।
नामास्य सर्गोपादेयकथया सर्गनाम तु ॥

Ḍandin in his Kavyādarśa (I. 14-19) says :

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते तस्य लक्षणम् ।
आशीर्नमस्क्रियावस्तुनिर्देशो वापि तन्मुखम् ॥

इतिहासकथोद्भूतमितरद्वा सदाश्रयम् ।
चतुर्वर्गफलोपेतं चतुरोदात्तनायकम् ॥

नगरार्णवशैलर्तुचन्द्रार्कोदयवर्णनैः ।
उद्यानसलिलक्रीडामधुपानरतोत्सवैः ॥

विप्रलम्भैर्विवाहैश्च कुमारोदयवर्णनैः ।
मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाजिनायकाभ्युदयैरपि ॥

अलंकृतमसंक्षिप्तं रसभावनिरन्तरम् ।
सर्गैरनतिविस्तीर्णैः श्रव्यवृत्तैः सुसन्धिभिः ॥
सर्वत्रभिन्नवृत्तान्तैरुपेतं लोकरञ्जकम् ।
काव्यं कल्पान्तरस्थायि जायेत सदलंकृति ॥

[काव्या—१: १४ - १९.

"Composition-in-Cantos is a long poem (Mahākāvya) and its definition is being given [now]. Its opening is a benediction, a situation, or a naming of the principal theme; it springs from a historical incident or is otherwise based upon some fact; it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble; by description of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons, and rising of the moon or the sun through sportings in garden or water, and festivities of drinking and love; through sentiments of love in separation and through marriages, by description of the birth and rise of princes, and likewise through state-counsel, embassy, advance, battle, and the hero's triumph; embellished; not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints, and in each case with an ending in a different metre, furnished; such a poem possessing good figures-of-speech wins the people's heart and endures longer than (even) a Kalpa."[1]

Shortly stated, a Mahā-Kāvya is a writing of considerable length, varying description and elaborate construction, embracing a narrative, theological or historical and is divided into Sargas or Cantos for convenience of narration. A poem that falls short of the several particulars that are required to make up a Mahā-Kāvya is called a Laghu-Kāvya or a Minor Poem. Among these Minor Poems many are lyrical or didactic and these are treated in a later chapter. In the following chapters the history of poetry is traced by a chronological mention of writers of Kāvya and Rūpaka. Poems by women, biographical poems and anthologies have been treated in separate chapters.

1. As translated by S. K. Belwalkar.

teacher the story of 300 bats, which, in a subsequent birth had as the result of their merit become the 500 wise men whom "in these latter times" (Julien), "lately" (Beal), "in recent times" (Watters), king Kanishka and the reverend Pārśva had convoked in the "Council," held in Kashmir, at which there was drawn up the Vibhāshā-Śāstra. The great Arhat asserted that he himself had been one of the 500 bats. And, having narrated all this, he proved his divine power by instantly disappearing. Having been one of the 500 bats, this great Arbat was necessarily also one of the 500 members of the "Council" of Kanishka. And the story certainly places the great Arhat, at the time when he was telling it, in the 500th year after the death of Buddha. But the plain indication that he was a somewhat miraculous being entitles us to at any rate credit him with a certain amount of longevity, even to the occasional Buddhist extent of 120 years."[1]

5. Tradition identifies Pāṇini, the grammarian, with Pāṇini, the poet and author of the poem Jāmbavaṭījayam. In the Saḍukṭi-Karṇāmṛṭa, Śrīḍharadāsa refers to the poet as Dākṣīpuṭra,[2] and Rājasekhara is more explicit.[3] Aufrecht refers to this verse and says "we may listen to what the sage, bent double over grammar and who had foresworn all worldly joys has to say and sing."[4] Kṣemendra in his Suvṛṭṭaṭilaka says that Pāṇini excelled in Upajāṭi metre. Namisāḍhu in his commentary on Rudrata's Kāvyālaṅkāra (II. 8) quotes a line from "Pāṇini's Mahākāvya Pāṭālavijaya." This poem Jāmbavaṭījayam or Pātālavijayam is said to be still extant in a corner of Malabar and my inquiries show that the manuscript may soon be recovered. Jāmbavaṭī was the daughter of Jāmbavan, Ṛkṣarāja of Pāṭāla. Kṛṣṇa conquered him, got the Syamanṭakamaṇi and won the hand of Jāmbavaṭī. The story of Jāmbavaṭī's marriage with Kṛṣṇa is described in the Mahā-

1. Fleet's *Traditional date of Kanishka*, [*JRAS* (1906), 979ff].

2. सुबन्धौ भक्तिर्नः क इह रघुकारे न रमते
   धृतिर्दाक्षीपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हृदयम् ।
   विशुद्धोक्तिः सूरः प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिरः
   तथाप्यन्तर्मोदं कमपि भवभूतिर्वितनुते ॥

3. स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै येन रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
   आदौ व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं ततो जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

4. *PR*, I. 5.

bhārāṭa, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāna.[1] The same story is described in a poem called Jāmbavaṭī-Pariṇayam by Ekāmranāṭha,[2] and in a drama (Jāmbavaṭīkalyāṇa) by Krishṇarāya of Vijayanagar.[3]

Of the verses quoted in the anthologies as Pāṇini's, there are many and they are of exquisite beauty.[4] In Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka's commentary on Bhoja's grammatical treatise, Sarasvaṭī-Kaṇṭhābhāraṇa, Pāṇini's verses are quoted freely as illustrations.[5] It looks therefore as if Pāṇini, who composed his aphorisms for classical Sanskrit, illustrated his aphorisms by a poem of his own composition. Rāyamukuta in his commentary on Amarakośa quotes fragments from Pāṇini's poems.

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1. *Mah.* Sabha, 57; *Bhag.* X. 56; *Viṣṇ.*, IV. 13. For Jāmbāvaṭī's agniprāveśa, see *Mah.* Mausala, VII. 74;

2. He composed his poem at the instance of King Ankusa of Rāna family. The poem in manuscript is available (*DC*, XX. 7732) where extracts are given, and breaks off in the 5th canto.

3. See Chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA *post.*

4. For verses of Pāṇini, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XIV. 581; XXVII. 46 XXXVI. 365; (where verses are translated into English); Pischell, *ZDMG*, XXXIX. 95; Peterson, *JRAS* (1891), 3; *Rep.* IV. lxxvi; *Int.* to *Subh.* 54; Bhandarkar, *Rep.* (1883-4), xvii, xxxii, 62. 479; Thomas (*Int.* to *Kav.* 51) gives a complete list of the verses in the anthologies. Bhandarkar (*JBRAS*, XVI. 344) does not accept the identity.

5. As instances of Pāṇini's imagery and expression we have :—

गतेऽर्धरात्रे परिमन्दमन्दं
गर्जन्ति यत्प्रावृषि कालमेघाः ।
अपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्बं
तच्छर्वरी गौरिव हुंकरोति ॥

उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं
तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तया
पुरोऽपि रागाद्गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥

विलोक्य संगमे रागं पश्चिमाया विवस्वतः ।
कृतं कृष्णमुखं प्राच्या न हि नार्यो विनेर्ष्यया ॥

अथाससादास्तमनिन्द्यतेजा
जनस्य दूरोज्झितमृत्युभीतेः ।
उत्पत्तिमद्वस्तुविनाश्यवश्यं
यथाहमित्येवमिवोपदेष्टुम् ॥

शरदि रविरश्मितप्ता विश्राणाः शोषमतिशयग्लपिताः ।
ज्वरिता इव लक्ष्यन्ते लङ्घनयोग्या महासरितः ॥

6. Vararuci also called Kāṭyāyana was the son of Somadaṭṭa of Sankṛṭi goṭra. He was born at Kauśāmbī on the Jumnā. He studied along with Pāṇini and Vyādi under Upavarṣa in Pāṭalīpuṭra and married his daughter Upakośā.[1] He composed the Vārṭika on Pāṇini and the slokas called *Bhrajas*. *Patañjali* in his Mahabhashya (1. 23) mentions a poem by him (IV. iii.) According to the Avanṭi-Sundarī-Kathāsāra (IV. 17) Vararuci was born in the reign of King Mahāpaḍma, son of King Mahānanḍi, who ruled at Viśālā. According to the Purāṇas, King Mahānanḍi son of Nanḍivarḍhana, ruled for 43 years from 1678 to 1635 B.C. Mahāpaḍma his son (born of a Sudra woman) known as Nanḍa, ruled over Magaḍha for 88 years from 1635 to 1547 B.C.[2] According to the Hindu tradition therefore Kāṭyāyana must have lived sometime between the 16th and 17th Century B. C. To Pāṇini's suṭra (VIII. ii. 50) Kāṭyāyana adds a vārṭika to explain the term Nirvāṇa and says it means 'to blow out.' Patañjali explains this by various illustrations such as 'the lamp is blown out by the wind etc.' Nirvāṇa is a well known Buddhistic term, meaning absolute exemption from the cycle of transmigration, state of entire freedom from all forms of existence etc. If Kāṭyāyana and Paṭañjali had lived after the advent of Buddhism, they would not have failed to mention the technical use of the term. It is therefore inferred that they must have flourished before the days of Buḍḍha. On the date of the Nirvāṇa of Buḍḍha, there is great divergence of opinion, and according to Chinese chronology it is 944 or 973 B.C.[3] If Paṭañjali lived before that date and Kāṭyāyana before Paṭañjali with an interval of time sufficient for the language to develop and change to an extent that needed Paṭañjali's explanations, the Puranic date for Kāṭyāyana does not appear improbable.[4]

1. This is the account given in Somadeva's Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara, (*Tar.* I-V). This account is supported by Bhoja. In Chapter 27, Dutāḍhyāya of *Śṛngāra*-prakāśa, Bhoja enumerates various mediators between lovers and among them he mentions as an illustration Upavarṣa, Guru of Vararuci, as arranging the marriage of his own daughter Upakośa with Vararuci. According to the Avanṭisundarī-kaṭhāsāra (chapter IV) Vararuci was the son of a virgin Kātyāyanī, daughter of a brahin Kalāpi, who became pregnant by contact with Agni and suspected of unchastity she was abandoned and Vararuci was born to her on the banks of the Godavari, when Agni removed her. The poem refers to the association with Vyādi, Inḍraḍatta and Upavarṣa. For the story of Vararuci see *IA*, XI. 146.

2. For Puranic dates, see Introduction and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, App. I, 25.

3. Beal's *Catena of Chinese Scriptures*, 116 note; Max Muller's *ASL*, 267.

4. Weber (*IL*. 222) says "with regard to the date of Katyayana, the state-

Vararuci is mentioned in the well-known verse[1] as one of the nine gems of the Court of King Vikramāḍiṭya. In the absence of certainty on the date of that King Vikramāḍiṭya it is not possible to say anything definite about the poet Vararuci of his Court. It is probable he was different from Kāṭyāyana. Kātyāyana knew of a work dealing with the wars of gods and demons, Ḍaivāsuram. Paṭañjali mentions a Vārarucam Kāvyam,[2] and the anthologies quote verses[3] under the name of Vararuci. Jalhaṇa in his Sūkṭimukṭāvali quotes a verse as Rājaśekhara's[4] which gives the name of the work called Kaṇṭhābharaṇam. It is conjectured that it was a poem with acrostics and alliteration as Vararuci is known to be fond of them.[5] Vararuci's Bhāṇa Ubhayābhisārikā shows the beauty of his poetry and the antiquity of the composition and in the colophon to the available manuscript he is described as *muni*. A manuscript of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣiṭāvali seen in the O. Mss. Library, Madras, says that the verse printed (1740) as Vararuci's,

आलोहितमाकलयन्कन्दलमितिकम्पितं मधुकरेण ।
संस्मरति पथि स पथिको दयिताङ्गुलितर्जनं ललितम् ॥

ment of Hiuan Thsang, to the effect that 300 years after Buddha's death, i.e., in B.C. 240, "le docteur Kia-to-yan-na" lived at Tamasavana in the Punjab, is by Bohtlingk referred to this Katyayana; but when we remember that the same traveller assigns to Panini's second existence a date so late as 500 years after Buddha, such a reference of course becomes highly precarious. Besides, the statement is in itself an extremely indefinite one, the "docteur" in question not being described as a grammarian at all, but simply as a descendant of the Kaṭya family. Even admitting however, that the reference really is to him, it would still be in conflict with the tradition—in itself, it is true, of no particular authority—of the Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara, which not only represents Kāṭyāyana as the contemporary of Pāṇini, but identifies him with Vararuci, a minister of King Nanḍa, the father of Chanḍraguptạ, according to which, of course, he must have flourished about B.C. 350. As regards the age of the Mahabhashya, we have seen that the assertion of the Rājaṭaraṅgiṇi as to its introduction into Kashmir in the reign of Abhimanyu the successor of Kanishka, i.e., between A.D. 40 and 65, is, for the reasons above assigned, in the meantime discredited." Macdonell (*SL.* 432) gives 3rd century B.C., Belvalkar (*SSG.* 29) 500—850 B.C. and Bhandarkar and R. Mukerji (*IA*, LVI. 21) 350 B.C. Goldstucker gives to Pāṇini 700 B.C. and says there was a long interval of time between Pāṇini and Kāṭyāyana who followed Pāṇini. See Jayaswal, *Dates of Paṇini and Katyayana* (*IA*, XLVII. 112, 138).

1. On this verse, see under Kālidāsa.
2. IV. iii. 191. Goldstucker's *Panini*, 146 note; Weber, *ISt*, XIII. 450.
3. Peterson's Subhāsitāvali (*Int.* 108-110); Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXXVI. 524; Pischel, *ZDMG*, XXXIX. 98.
4. यथार्थता कथं नाम्नि माऽभूत् वररुचेरिह । व्यधत्त कण्ठाभरणं यस्सदारोहणप्रियः ॥
5. See *IA*, X. 366.

is from Cārumaṭī of Vararuci and Bhojadeva quotes the following verse in his Sṛṅgārāprakāśa from Cārumatī as spoken by a pair of Kinnaras before the hero on an amorous embassy :

कनककुण्डलमण्डितगण्डया जघनदेशनिवेशितवीणया ।
अमरराजपुरो वरकन्यया तव यशो विमलं परिगीयते ॥

The editors of Avanṭisundarīkaṭhā say that Cārumaṭī was an akhyāyikā (in prose) and Paṭañjali mentions the existence of Akhyāyikās in his days. The name Cāṛumaṭī indicates it might be so.

There is a collection of eight verses called Māryaṣṭakam, laudatory of Durga in the terrific pose and the pictures delinated in the verses are very graphic.

According to a tradition in Malabar Vararuci married girls in all 18 castes and consequently he was treated as a śvapach or a chandāla. Bhoja has quoted a verse (Śṛ. Prakāśa XI) probably from the prologue of a drama which confirms the latter part of the tradition,

धूर्तैर्येन् श्वपचीकृतो वररुचिः सर्वज्ञकल्पोऽपि सन्
जीवन्नेव पिशाचतां च गमितो भर्चु यदभ्यर्च्यधीः ।
छन्दोगोऽयमिति प्रभाकरगुरुर्देशाच्च निर्वासितः
यद्वृत्तान्तविजृम्भितेन महता तत्सर्वमलपीकृतम् ॥

Bharcu was a Maukhāri king and teacher of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Prabhākara, a contemporary of Kumārila, if not his pupil, interpreted Mimāmsābhāṣya antagonistic to Kumārila.

7. Patanjali came after Kāṭyāyana.[1] There is no indication of any poetic composition by Paṭanjali. But he makes numerous references to poems, romances and plays in his Mahābhāṣya. Kielhorn has collected the poetic citations from the Mahābhāṣya and says that they show that the Kāvya prospered in Paṭanjali's times: "Many of these verses exhibit metres characteristic of the artificial poetry, such as, Malati, Pramitaksbara, Praharshini and Vasantatilaka. These verses as well as many others in the heroic Anushtabha-Sloka agree, in point of contents as well as the mode of expressions, not with epic works but with the Court Kavyas."[2]

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1. For Patañjali's date, Bohtlingk gives 250 B.C.; MaxMuller (*ASL*), 200 B.C.; Weber (*IL*, 224, *IA*, II. 206) 140 to 60 B.C.; Goldstucker (*Panini*, 234) 140–120 B.C.; N. Bhashyacarya, (*Age of Patanjali*) 10th century B.C.; Peterson (*IA*, XII. 353) 2nd century A.D. and Bhandarkar (*IA*, I. 299, LII 21) 144–142 B.C. On Patañjali, see *ISt.* I. 141, 157; *IA*, I. 299; II. 57, 69, 94, 206–10, 238, 362; III. 14, 285; IV. 247; XIV. 40; XV. 80–4; *JASB*, LII. 269. On a Maurya passage, see XVI. 156-172. On his mention of Śivabhāgavaṭa, see *IA*, XLI. 272;

2. *IA*, XIV. 326. See Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn's Edn.) I. 426, 435; II, 119; III. 143, 338. On Kielhorn's Edn., see *IA*, XVIII. 128.

8. Theory of Renaissance.—Max Müller propounded the theory of Renaissance. His main thesis is "that in the middle of 6th century A. D. the reign of a King Vikramādiṭya of Ujjain, with whom tradition connected the names of Kāliḍāsa and other distinguished authors, was the golden age of Indian Court Poetry. This Renaissance theory is based on Fergusson's ingenious chronological hypothesis that the supposed King Vikrama of Ujjain, having expelled the Scythians from India, in commemoration of his victory founded the Vikrama Era in 544 A.D., dating its commencement back 600 years to 56 B.C. Fergusson arrives at the following conclusions (i) that the Vikramādiṭya who conquered the Śākas at the battle of Karur was Harsha of Ujjain, (ii) that he died about 550 A.D., (iii) that before 1000 A.D., when the struggle with the Buddhists was over and a new year was opening for Hindu religion the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time to supercede the Buddhist Saka Era of Kanishka,[1] (iv) that the Guptas and Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, in looking for some name for an event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of New Era, they hit on the name of Vikramādiṭya as the most illustrious known to them and his victory at Karur, the most important event of his reign, (v) and that, since the date of victory in 544 A.D., was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years thus arriving at 56 B.C., and not content with this they devised another era which they called Harsha Era from the other part of his name the epoch of which was fixed at 456 B.C., by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karur." On the basis of these deductions Max Müller asserted that the Indians in consequence of the incursions of the Śākas and other foreigners ceased from literary activity during the first two centuries A.D. and Sanskrit poetry having been dorment for five centuries was revived and flourished in the reign of a King Vikramāḍiṭya of Ujjain in the 6th century A. D.[2]

"The epigraphical researches of Mr. Fleet," says Macdonell,[3] have destroyed Fergusson's hypothesis. From these researches it results that the Vikrma era of 57 B. C., far from having been founded in 544 A. D. had already been in use for more than a century previously under the name of Malava Era (which came to be called the Vikrama Era about 800 A. D.). It further appears that no Sakas (Scythians)

1. *JRAS* (1880), "*On the Saka and Gupta Eras.*"
2. *India, What can it teach us?* 281, 284; Weber, *IL*, 203 note.
3. *SL*, 323.

could have been driven out of western India in the middle of the sixth century, because that country had already been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years before. Lastly, it turns out that though other foreign conquerors, the Hunas, were actually expelled from western India in the first half of the sixth century, they were driven out, not by a Vikramāḍiṭya, but by a king named Yasoḍharman Vishṇuvarḍhana."

The inscriptions that have been discovered at Krle,[1] and Mandassor[2] by Fleet have completely belied Fergusson's hypothesis and with it the theory of Renaissance. They have been fully examined by Bühler and his essay has been rendered in English by V. S. Ghate of Poona.[3] Bühler himself augmented the list of Fleet's 18 inscriptions by the inclusion of many other documents such as the Meherauli Pillar inscriptions of Emperor Chandra and the poetically coloured genealogy of the Maukharis on the Asirgadh Seal. These inscriptions show, says Bühler, that the use of Kāvya style in the inscriptions, especially in the longer ones was in vogue during the period from 350-550 A. D. and from this very circumstance it follows that Court poetry was zealouly cultivated in India. After dealing with the merits of inscriptions Bühler proceeds thus to refute the theory of Renaissance:

"His first proposition, that *the Indians did not show any literary activity during the first and second centuries of our era, in consequence of the inroads of*

1. *IA*, (1876), 152; see on this Max Muller (c.c. 286 note); Fleet's commentary in *IA*, XII. 152; III. 293.

2. *Corpus Inscriptionarum Indicarum*, III. 65-69, *Int.* 55. मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये । त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानां ऋतौ सेव्यघनस्वने ॥

"When by the tribal constitution of the Malavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; to that season the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed."

Fleet translated this as "when 493 years had elapsed by the reckoning from the tribal constitution of the Malavas" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 79-87) or "in accordance with the reckoning followed by the Malava tribe" [*JRAS*, (1913) 995; (1914), 745; (1915) 138]. Thomas [*JRAS* (1914), 413, 1010; (1915), 533] says it means continued existence. See also Jayaswal (*Mod. Rev.* 1913, May to September) R. C. Dutt (*Civ.* II. 51) and V. S. Gopala Iyer, *Chronology of Ancient India*, 153. *JMy*, VIII. 275 In *IA*, (1913), 161, Bhandarkar notes the use of the word मालवगणाम्नात.

3. *IA*, XLII. 29, 137 etc. See further on these inscriptions, Apte, *Age of Kalidasa*, 4; Nandargikar, Int. to Raghuvamsa, 48-60; V. Smith, *EH.* 327; Fleet, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 71.

the different foreign races, is contradicted by the clear proof provided by the Praśasti of the Sudarśana lake and the Nasik-inscription No. 18. I think, I must further add that the extinction of the intellectual life of the Indian during the first two centuries by the Scythians and other foreigners is improbable for other reasons also. In the first place, never had the foreigners brought under their sway in the long run more than fifth part of India. To the east of the district of Mathura, no sure indications of their rule have been found, and the reports of the Greeks ascribe to the Indo-Scythian kingdom no further extent in the east or south. In India proper, their Kingdom could permanently possess only the Panjab, besides the high valleys of the Himalaya, the extreme west of the North Western Provinces, the Eastern Rajputana, the Central Indian Agency with Gwalior and Malwa, Gujarat with Kathiawar, as well as Sindh. No doubt, temporarily these limits are further extended in several cases, as the inscriptions from the reign of Nahapana prove for the western border of the Deccan, and several traces of war might present themselves in further removed districts. The rulers of such a kingdom could indeed have exerted a considerable influence on the east of India, but they would never have been able to suppress the literary and scientific life of the Indians. Secondly, however,—and this is the most important point—the very will to show a hostile attitude towards the Indian culture, was wanting in the foreign kings of the time, as the sayings and authentic documents inform us. They themselves, as well as their comrades of the same race, were far inferior to the Indian, in point of civilisation and culture and the natural result was that they could not escape the influence of the Indian civilisation, but were themselves Hinduised. Their willingness to appropriate the culture of their subjects is shown by the very fact that the descendants or successors of the foreign conquerors immediately began to bear Indian names, even in the second generation. Havishka's successor is indeed a Shahi, but he is named Vasudeva. Nahapana's daughter is named Dakshamitra and his son-in-law the son of Dinika, a Saka, is named Ushavadata or Usabhadata, i. e., Rishabhadatta. The son of Chashtana is Jayadaman. The leaning of these kings to the Indian systems of religion is equally indisputable. According to the Buddhist tradition, Kanishka is one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism and even a Buddhist himself. The latter fact is indeed shown to be improbable by the inscriptions on his coins. On the other hand, there is no doubt that he built a Stupa and a Vihara in Purushapura, Peshawar. So also it is proved from the inscriptions that Huvishka had

founded a Vihara in Mathura.[1] Ushavadata and his consort, according to the Nasik and Karle inscriptions,[2] made grants to Buddhists and Brahmanas without distinction, and the former, just like a pious Indian, carried out numerous works of public utility, for the sake of merit. The Mathura inscriptions further show that under Kanishka and his successors, by the side of Buddhism, many other systems of religion also, like Jainism, were not only tolerated, but enjoyed a high prosperity. These inscriptions as well as numerous archaeological finds also prove that the national Indian architecture and sculptures in Mathura were on a high level, and one of the newest discoveries of D. Fuhrer permits us to conclude that even the dramatic art was cultivated in the city of gods. The inscription No. 18, out of the collection prepared by me for the next number of the Epigraphia Indica, says that 'the sons of the actors of Mathura (Māthurāṇām Sailālakānām), who were known as Chandaka brothers, dedicated a stone-slab, for the redemption of their parents, at the holy place of the adorable Naga-prince, Dadhikarna.' If Mathura had its company of actors, then it would not have been in want of dramas. All these circumstances make it impossible in my opinion to look upon the times of the Indian popular migration as a period of wild barbarism. The conditions appear to be in no way essentially different from those of the times when there were national rulers. The Indians of the north-west and the west had indeed to obey foreign suzerains and to pay them tributes and taxes; in return for which, however, they had the triumph of exerting sway on their subjugators, through their high culture and of assimilating the same with themselves. The conditions necessary for literary activity must have been in existence, when Ushavadata noted his great deeds in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit itself.[3] He would certainly have lent his ear and opened his purse to bards and *Kavis* who would glorify him. These considerations appear to be of importance, for the statements in the Girnar Praśasṭi heighten their significance.

"A second proposition which Professor Max Muller in addition to other scholars advocates,—*that the period of the bloom of artificial poetry is to be placed in the middle of the sixth century of the Christ*,—is contradicted by the testimony of the Allahabad Prasasti of Harishena, of other compositions of the Gupta period and of the Mandasor Prasasti. These

1. Cunningham, *Arch Surv. Rep.* Vol. III, plate XIV, No. 12.
2. *Arch. Surv. Rep. West Ind.*, IV. 99ff.
3. *Arch. Surv. Rep. West Ind.*, L C. No. 5. I. 3. ff.

leave no doubt about the fact that there were not one but several such periods of the bloom of the Kavya, of which one fell before the time of Samudragupta, and they also make it probable that Kalidasa wrote before 472 A. D. The same conclusion is favoured by the fact that Dr. Fergusson's bold chronclogical combinations, on which is based the theory of the Indian Renaissance in the sixth century, have been shown to be insupportable by the researches of Mr. (Dr.) Fleet. The authentic documents going down to the year 533 A. D. know absolutely nothing about the Vikramaditya of Ujjain whose existence is inferred or set up by new interpretations of the different legends, and who is reported to have driven away the Scythians from India and to have founded the Vikrama era in the year 544 A. D, dating it as far backwards as 600 years. On the contrary they prove the following facts concerning western India. Samudragupta-Parakaramka, according to (Mr.) Fleet's inscription No. 11, had extended the kingdom of his father, at any rate as far as Eran in the Central-Provinces. His son Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, according to No. III, conquered Malwa, before or in the year 400 and also possessed Mathura. Chandragupta's son, Kumaragupta-Mahendrāditya, held fast these possessions, because, according to No. XVIII, he was the suzerain of the rulers of Dasapura-Mandasor, in the year 437. His son, Skandagupta-Kramaditya or Vikramaditya, according to No. XIV, ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawar, about 455-457 or 456-458. In his time, the Hunas came forth, against whom he made a successful stand, according to No. XIII. Later on, however, whether it was in his own reign which lasted at least till the year 467 or 468, or under his successors Puragupta and Narasimhagupta,[1] the most western possessions were lost and went over to the foreign race. In No. XXXVI and XXXVII, there appear the kings, Toramana and Mihirakula[2] as rulers of Eran and Gwalior, and in No. XXXVII, the latter is said to have reigned for fifteen years.

"The end of the rule of Mihirakula in these districts, is made known to us through Nos. XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, according to which, he was defeated by *a king Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana, before the year 533 A.D.* These inscriptions represent Yasodharman as a very powerful ruler who had brought under his sway not only Western India from

1. See Dr. Hoernle, *JBAS*, 158, 89, and Mr. Fleet, *IA*, XIX, p. 224.

2. See also Mr. Fleet's articles on Mihirakula, *IA*, XV., p. 245ff. and on Toramana, *IA*, XVIII p. 225. With Dr. Hoernle (l. c. p. 96, Note 2) I hold that Vishnuvardhana is a second name of Yasodharman, as is shown by the grammatical construction.

Dasapura-Mandasor down to the ocean, but also large parts in the east and north. In his possessions Malwa was naturally included, whose capital Ujjain lies only something like 70 English miles to the south of Dasapura. In No. XXXV, and in two considerably early inscriptions Nos. XVII, and XVIII, the Malava era is used, which is identical with the so-called Vikrama era beginning with 56-57 B.C. These exceedingly important discoveries which we owe to Mr. Fleet's zeal in collecting and his ingenuity, prove the absolute untenableness of the Fergussonian hypothesis. Because they show (1) that the era of 56-57 B.C. was not founded in the sixth century, but was in use under the name of the Malava era for more than a century;[2] (2) that at that time, no Sakas could have been driven from Western India. Inasmuch as the country had been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago; (3) that, on the contrary, other foreign conquerors the Hunas, were driven out[3] of western India in the first half of the sixth century, not, however, by a Vikramaditya, but by Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana, and (4) that therefore, there is no room at all in the sixth century for a powerful Vikramaditya of Ujjain, whose exploits called forth such an upheaval in India."

9. These inscriptions[4] are dated either in Gupṭa-Samvat or in the Malava Samvat or merely in Samvat. There is a wide difference of opinion, which will be referred to in the Introduction, on the meaning and the beginning of these Eras. In some of these inscriptions the names of the Gupṭa Kings Samuḍra Gupṭa, Canḍra Gupṭa, Kumāra

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1. See also *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 194ff. and XIX, p 56, in which latter place Prof. Kielhorn has given the right explanation of difficult expression MALAVANAM or MALAVA-GANASTHITYA.

2. As is quite clear, the Malava era has suffered the same fate as the Saka era and came to be known by another name, as its origin was forgotten. The change of name appears to have come in about 800 A.D. The latest known Malava date is the year 795 which appears in the Kanaswa inscription, *IA*, Vol. XIX, 55ff. Apart from the two doubtful documents, the oldest known Vikrama date is found in Dr. Hultzch's Dholpur inscription and corresponds to 16, April 842, as Prof. Kielhorn has shown, *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 35.

3. If it occurs to any one to conjecture that the Hunas had caused an interruption in the literary activity of India, I bring to his notice the fact that both the inscriptions of the age of Toramana and Mihirakula contain no mean composition and that their authors glorify the foreign kings as highly as if they had been the national rulers.

4. For texts of many of these, see Prācinalekhamāla (Kavyamāla Series) and D. R. Diskalkar's *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions* (Rajkot).

Gupṭa, Bhānu Gupṭa and Skanḍa Gupṭa, are mentioned, and the years are in the reigns of these kings. Whether the Gupṭa Dynasty ruled before or after the Christian Era, as the opinions differ, these inscriptions disclose a literary composition in prose and in verse of great merit and show that "the use of Kavya style in inscriptions especially in the longer ones, was in vogue and from this very circumstance it follows that court-poetry was zealously cultivated in India." So says Buhler, but he would date this period as 350-550 A.D. though according to the Purāṇas, Śri Gupṭa dynasty ruled between 328 and 83 B.C.

10. Vatsabhatti.—The Praśasṭi in the Sun Temple in Mandasor[1] was composed by Vaṭsabhatti in Malava Samvat 529, which according to Buhler equals 473-4 A.D. The 44 verses in this Praśasṭi or panegyric begin and end with Mangalas or blessings in prose and in the intermediate verses there are exquisite descriptions of the sovereign Kumāra Gupṭa and his vassals Viśvavarman and Banḍhuvarman, of the temple then built and of the winter season, in a variety of metres, and it is said that the diction shows many marks which characterise, according to Ḍandin, the poets of the Eastern School. The whole piece incarnates fluid poetry and the description of the winter is enchanting.[2] On this appreciation, Buhler may not agree, but his remarks are interesting :

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1. *IA*, XLII. 32, 137, 146, 175, 244. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18. Here the words मालवानां गणस्थित्या is used. See also *IA*, XV. 194. On Kumāragupṭa see *IA*, XL. 170, and his possible name Canḍraprākāsa see *Ibid*. XL. 174.

2. *a* केचित्स्वकर्मण्यधिकास्तथान्यै-
विंज्ञायते ज्योतिषमात्मवद्भिः ।
अद्यापि चान्ये समरप्रगल्भाः
कुर्वन्त्यरीणामहितं प्रसह्य ॥

b. प्राज्ञा मनोज्ञवधवः प्रथितोरुवंशा
वंशानुरूपचरिताभरणास्तथान्ये ।
सत्यव्रताः प्रणयिनामुपकारदक्षा
विस्रम्भपूर्वमपरे दृढसौहृदाश्च ॥

c. विजितविषयसङ्गैर्धर्मशीलैस्तथान्यै-
र्मृदुभिरधिकसत्त्वैर्लोकयात्रामरैश्च ।
स्वकुलतिलकभूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुदारै-
रधिकमभिविभाति श्रेणिरेवंप्रकारैः ॥

" In the second half of the fourth century in Vatsabhatti's Prasasti of the sun-temple of Dasapura-Mandasor we see traces of the existence of the school of the Gaudas, the poets of eastern India. This work should be called rather the exercise of a scholar who busied himself with the study of the Kavya literature, than a product of an actual poet. We can see therein that its author had studied the Kavyas and Rhetorics, but that, in spite of all the troubles he took to produce a real Kavya, he possessed little of inborn talent. Small offences against good taste, such as the use of expletives and tautologous words, are more frequently met with. In one place, the author is led to forget one of the most elementary rules of Grammar, by the exigencies of the metre; in another place, in his zeal to form long compounds, he is tempted to disregard the rule, always observed by good writers, according to which, the week pause can never come at the end of a half-verse. In a third place, he jumbles together two ideas in a manner the least permissible; and his attempt to bring out a new comparison between the clouds and the houses leads in no way to a happy result.

"These defects in Vatsabhatti's Prasasti make it the more important for the historian of literature, inasmuch as they bear testimony to the fact that everything worthy of attention in the Prasasti, is gathered from the literature of his time and compiled into a whole. Thus, on

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d. रामासनाथरचने दरभास्करांशु-
वह्निप्रतापसुभगे जललीनमीने ।
चन्द्रांशुहर्म्यतलचन्दनतालवृन्त-
हारोपभोगरहिते हिमदग्धपद्मे ॥

e. लोध्रप्रियङ्गुतरुकुन्दलताविकोश-
पुष्पासवप्रमुदितालिकलाभिरामे ।
काले तुषारकणकर्कशशीतवात-
वेगप्रनृत्तलवलीनगणैकशाखे ॥

f. स्मरवशगतरुणजनवल्लभाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तपीनोरु-
स्तनजघनघनालिङ्गननिर्भर्सिततुहिनहिमपाते ॥

and also the following verse

यद्भात्यभिरम्यसरिद्द्वयेन चपलोर्मिणा समुपगूढम् ।
रहसि कुचशालिनीभ्यां प्रीतिरतिभ्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥

Regarding verse (*d*) Kielhorn notices close similarity with a verse in Kālidāsa's Ṛtusamhāra.

the one hand, we are assured of the fact that about the year 472 A.D., there was a rich Kavya literature in existence; and on the other hand greater weight is gained by the points of accordance with the works handed down to us, which the Prasasti presents. It has been already pointed out about that verse 10 of the Prasasti only repeats, for the most part, the comparison contained in verse 63 of Meghaduta, with some points added in a very forced way; while the remaining points contained in that verse of Kalidasa, find themselves repeated in verse 11 of the Prasasti. Further it is to be noted that Vatsabhatti, like Kalidasa, shows a special predilection for the word Subhaga, and that while describing the king Bandhuvarman, plays upon his name just in the same way as Kalidasa does with the names of Raghus, whom he describes in the beginning of Sarga XVIII of Raghuvamsa. These facts make the conjecture more probable, that Vatsabhatti knew and made use of the works of Kalidasa. The same view is advocated by Prof. Keilhorn in a publication [1] just appearing, which reached me after this treatise was nearly finished. He reads verse 31 of the Prasasti (otherwise) and shows that the verse sufficiently agrees with Ritusamhara V. 2-3, in both words and thoughts, as there are only two new points added. Although I am not in a position without examining a good impression of the inscription, to give a definite opinion regarding the proposed, and no doubt very interesting alteration of the text, still the truth of his assertion that verse 31 of the Prasasti is an imitation of Ritusamhara, V. 2-3, appears to me quite undeniable. If we may believe in the tradition which ascribes Ritusamhara to the author of Meghaduta, then the point overlooked by me, which Prof. Kielhorn has made out, strengthens the probability of the supposition that Kalidasa lived before 472 A.D., which is very significant. In that case, however, it will have to be assumed that Vatsabhatti knew the Ritusamhara also."

11. **Harisena's** panegyric of Samudra Gupta [2] inscribed on the Allahabad Pillar is undated, and according to Buhler must have been composed between 375-390 A.D. It has 8 verses with a long prose passage and a verse in conclusion. Hariṣena calls it a Kāvya. Partly in prose and partly in verse it may be called a Champu. He calls his patron the Prince of Poets. In describing his greatness, he says in the 8th verse "His is the poetic style which is worthy of study and his

1. 'The Mandasor-inscription of the Malava year 529 (=472 A.D.) and Kalidasa's Ritusamhara' Gottingen 1890, p. 251 ff.

2. Fleet *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 32. D. B. Diskalkar (*Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*) gives date about 360 A.D.

is the poetic verse which multiplies the spiritual treasures of poets."[1] On this composition Buhler says, "It naturally follows that, during the reign of Samudragupta, the Kavya literature was in full bloom, and that the conditions at his court were absolutely similar to those which are reported to have prevailed in later times at the courts of Kanauj, Kashmir, Ujjain, Dhara and Kalyani, and which are found to exist even to this day, here and there in India. The cultivators of Sanskrit Poetry, who were called by the name of Kavi or Budha or Vidvat, were not born or self-taught poets, but were professional learned men or pandits who studied in Sastras, i.e., at the least, Vyakarana, Kosa, Alamkara and Chandas, and who wrote according to the hard and fast rules of poetics, as is shown by the form of Harishena's little composition. The Sanskrit Kavya, which owed its origin to the court-patronage, and which can exist only by means of the same, was assiduously cultivated at the courts. The King supported and raised to honour such poets, and even he himself, and with him his high officers, too, emulated with their proteges. Perhaps he had even a Kaviraja, or a poet-laureate, appointed. At any rate the title as such was in use in the days of Samudragupta—the title which in later times occurs very often in Sanskrit literature, and which, even at present, is given by Indian princes, associated as it is with many benefits. His court could not thus have been the only one which patronized the exertions of the Pandits in the domain of poetry."

The inscription on Ḍhanya-Viṣṇu's Boar statue at Eran,[2] dated in the year one of King Toramana is also partly in prose and partly in verse of high flight. Vāsula's panegyric of King Yaśoḍharman,[3] though undated inscribed on a pillar of Mandasor is spoken of as *Ślokāh*.

Among earlier inscriptions Buhler selects two, and describes their literary merit, the Nasik inscription[4] dated in the 19th year of Śirī Pulāmāyi, and Girnar inscription,[5] of the reign of Mahākṣaṭrapa Ruḍraḍāman. For these inscriptions Buhler gives dates between

1. निशितविदग्धमतिगान्धर्वललितैर्व्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बुरुनारदादेर्विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेककाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य।

2. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 36.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 33. D.B. Diskalkar *op. cit.* gives date about 532 A.D.

4. According to the Purāṇas this king reigned 409-377 B.C. as Pulomayi II of the Andhra dynasty.

5. *EI*, VIII. 47. The date is रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे. It is said to be dated in Śaka 72 or 150 A.D. This inscription refers to Maurya Kings Chanḍraguptạ and Aśoka.

150-170 A.D. In the Girnar inscription the poet praises Rudradāman's skill in poesy and expresses the views of the author on the characteristics of good composition.[1] The Nasik inscription shows great affinity with Gadya kāvyas.

12. Kalidasa is a name which is the magic wand of India in the world's poetic literature. But as untold time had past, all that surrounded the life and times of that great poet have been forgotten and beyond the name everything connected with him, his age and nativity, is only a matter of vague conjecture. In this respect Kālidāsa may be compared with Homer, while however the tradition is that "Living Homer sought his daily bread" Kālidāsa was in affluence and beloved of Kings. While "seven cities claim the birth of Homer dead," the birth of Kalidasa is claimed by different parts of India,[2] and by Ceylon. Tradition generally does not lie and it is possible that Kālidāsa was personally known in the several places where he is taken solely as their own. In spite of the prevalence of a vast body of poetic literature as indicated in the early writings it is surprising and not easily accountable that no complete work of poetry has come down to us as prior to Kālidāsa beyond dispute. Kālidāsa therefore leads the long list of classical Sanskrit poets like English Caedmon. If Caedmon sang of philosophy and cosmogony, Kālidāsa retold mythical tales of love, and theology. If Caedmon appeared almost at the dawn of the Anglo-Saxon literature, Kālidāsa flourished when the Sanskrit literature was in perfection. As is common in all cases when the truth is forgotten, tales spring up which may or may not have a tinge of reality and to such tales the life of Kālidāsa is not an exception.[3] Many tories of his ready wit, pleasant life and delightful associations with soccasions of vicissitudes are found told in various books, for instance, in Ballāla's Bhoja-Prabandha. A tradition is current that though a boor in birth he was by chance wedded to an obstinate princess and when in her

1. स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालङ्कृतगद्यपद्य ...

2. Haraprasadsastri, *Kalidasa, his home* [*IBOS* (1916) 15, *IA.* xlvii. 264; *IR* xi. 292] says his birth place was Dasapura in Malwa. According to A. C. Chatterjee (*Kalidasa his poetry and mind,* 148) it is Ujjain; according to Bhau Daji (l. c) it must be Kashmir; and according to Majumdar, *Home of Kalidasa*; *IA*, XLVII. 264 it was Vidarbha. The following verse in Avantisundarikathā of Dandin supports Majumdar's view :—

लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन्यस्य निर्विवशा गिरः ।
तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भ कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥

3. See Grierson, *Traditions about Kalidasa* (*IASB*, xlvii April).

first company, she put him the question अस्ति कश्चित् वागर्थी to ascertain if he was a man of letters. He displayed his ignorance and being ashamed or abandoned, he left her, and devoted himself to the service and worship and contemplation of Goddess Kāli. In time Kāli appeared before him in Divine Form, blessed him with literacy and poesy and made him her own. It is said that this brought him the name of Kāliḍāsa, his real name being forgotten and for all his life Goddess Kāli was his guardian and protector at his invocation. Having thus become a poet he sought his princess who received him with pleasure and in remembrance of the three words of her question he composed his three Poems Kumārasambhava, Meghadūṭa, and Raghuvamśa beginning with those words.

13. Kalidasa's date.—HIPPOLYTE FAUCHE considers Kāliḍāsa a contemporary of the posthumous son of Agnivarṇa, the last king mentioned in the Raghuvamśa and assigns to him a date about the 8th century B.C.[1]

LASSEN assumes that Kāliḍāsa was a poet of the Court of Samuḍragupṭa, chiefly on account of the title "Friend of Poets," applied to that king in inscriptions,[2] and places him in the commencement of the 3rd century A.D.

WILFORD discovers a Vikramaditya in the 5th century A.D.,[3] on

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1. *Collective works of Kalidasa,* Paris; Bhau Daji's Essay on Kalidasa (*Literary Remains,* Calcutta) 7; *Saturday Review,* January, 1860; *JBRAS,* (1861) 25. S. P. Pandit (*Introduction to Raghuvamsa,* 27-28) refutes this theory: "If Kalidasa were to be a contemporary of a reigning king his omission to give any history of his own ruler is unaccountable. Besides Raghuvamsa cannot be said to be a complete poem. Tradition says that the sequel to the history of Solar kings has been yet unrecovered. The simple fact that Kalidasa's account closes there cannot conclusively prove the end of the dynasty itself. The Vishnu Purana mentions a list of thirty-seven kings after Agnimitra."

2. *IA,* II. 451, 1158-1160; *ISt,* II. 148, 415-417; M. Williams (*Indian Wisdom,* 494) accepts this date. S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 66) says that this argument is not conclusive, as many other kings like Śilāḍiṭya of Malwa and Harṣavarḍhana of Kanouj have similar titles. See also Hall (*Introduction to Vasavadatta,* 15); Nandargikar (*Int. to Raghuvamsa,* 66), and Bhau Daji, *op. cit.* 7. Weber (*Malavika and Agnimitra,* Berlin) gives date between 2nd and 4th century A.D. T. S. Narayanasastri (*Age of Sankara,* app. I. 114) gives to Samuḍragupṭa the dates 321-270 B.C. according to the Puranas. On inscriptions of Samuḍragupṭa, see paras 8 to 10 supra.

3. *AR,* IX, 142, 156. See Wilford's Essay on *Vikramaditya* and *Salivahana* (*AS,* IX. 117) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 66). S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 67) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 66) think that there are many Vikramāḍiṭyas and this reference in the Śaṭrunjayamāhāṭmya is not conclusive on the date of Kāliḍāsa.

the authority of the Śaṭrunjayamāhāṭmya[1] which says that after 466 years of the era are elapsed there would appear the great and famous Vikramāḍiṭya, and his era Wilford understands to be the Samvat era which began in 56 B.C. In his opinion J. PRINCEP and H. H. WILSON concur.

R. C. DUTT places Kāliḍāsa between 500 and 556 A.D.[2]

BHAU DAJI identifies Māṭṛgupṭa with Kāliḍāsa and places him in the reign of King Harṣa Vikramāḍiṭya of Kaṣmir in the middle of the 6th century A.D.[3]

His data have been thus summarised by Apte[4]: (i) The fact of Matrigupta being King of Kashmir is in accordance with the tradition that King Vikrama bestowed half of the kingdom on Kalidasa. (ii) There is no objection on the ground of the names Matrigupta and Kalidasa being different, because names are often titles, and Matrigupta may be taken as Kaligupta or Kalidasa. (iii) The author of Rajatarangini mentions other poets, even Bhavabhuti, but does not mention Kalidasa. (iv) Kalidasa was in all likelihood a native of Kashmir or a neighbouring province, because his illustrations are chiefly derived from the natural history of those provinces. (v) Meghaduta is simply a faithful picture of Kalidasa's feelings caused by separation from his dear wife and home a fact related

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1. The Śaṭrunjaya Māhāṭmya was a Jain work by Dhaneśvarasuri. The work was composed as it says under the patronage of King Śilaḍiṭya at Valabhi, who lived 477 years after Vikramārka, who is placed 470 years after the Vīra-nirvāṇa; Vīra or Varḍhamāna relates the legends connected with the mountain sacred to Ṛṣabha, the first Jina. The narrator does not confine strictly to Jain mythology, but includes the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāraṭa. The language is noble, powerful and compares worthily with that of Bhatti Kāvya. The date of the Vīranirvāṇa is very uncertain. V. Smith (*EH*, 46) makes Vīra and Buḍḍha contemporaries with one another and with Bimbisāra and Ajāṭaśaṭru and dates Buḍḍha's death at 487 B.C. (See *IA*, II. 139, 193, 363; IX, 158; XI, 245; XIII. 279; XX. 360; XXI. 57; XXIII. 169. Merutuṅga dates Puṣyamiṭra in the period 323–53 after Mahāvira (Weber, *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, 133). For a full review of the date of Mahāvira *alias* Varḍhamāna, see S. K. Venkateswara [*JRAS*, (1917) 122]; T. S. Narayana Sastri (*Age of Sankara*, 134 note) places Varḍhamāna between 1862–1782 B.C. see M. C. Gainis, *Life of Mahavira* (Allahabad); Jacobi, Introduction to *SBE*, XXII and XLV; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, 104.

2. *Civ.* I. 25.

3. *Literary Remains*, 18 et. seq.; *JBRAS*, VII. 19, 207 (Bhau Daji calls him the author of Seṭubanḍha).

4. *Date of Kalidasa*, (Central Press, Bombay), 8.

also of Matrigupta. (vi) The 252nd verse of Rajatarangini attributed to Matrigupta contains exactly the same sense as is found in nearly the same words in the 113th verse of Meghaduta. When Matrigupta was installed king, with his eyes filled with tears through gratitude he wrote to Vikrama: "Thou givest not one sign, thou squanderest no praises; thou dost not even announce thy intention of giving, and nevertheless thou sendest beautiful fruit." (vii) After the death of Vikrama, when Pravarasena came to the throne of Kashmir, Matrigupta retired to Benares, and there is a poem in Prakrit, called Setukayya, which tradition says was composed by Kalidasa at the request of Pravarasena. This poem is praised by Pratapendra and Dandin and Ramashrama as that of Kalidasa. Tradition also says that Pravarasena constructed a well-known bridge of boats across the Vitasta, and that it was in connection with this bridge-poem, Bāṇa, a contemporary of Hiouen Thsang, says in his Harṣacariṭa :—

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥

(viii) Matrigupta being thus identified with Kalidasa, the latter must be placed in the 6th century A.D. with Pravarasena and Vikrama. Bhau Daji says that Hiouen Thsang was the guest of Pravarasena.[1]

14. Sir William Jones relies on a verse,[2] which records the tradition that nine poets, 'nine gems' flourished at the Court of kind Vikramāḍiṭya and calls him a poet of the Court of a King who founded the era of Vikrama,[2] or the Samvat era, in

1. Max Muller shows the inconsistency of this, and suggests that it was not Pravarasena but Baladitya who was most likely the host of the Chinese traveller. As Apte rightly remarked, (*op. cit.* 11), Rāghavabhatta in his commentary on the Śākunṭala quotes from Māṭṛgupṭa and Kālidāsa, as different poets and gives the name of a work by Maṭṛgupta, as a commentary on Bharata. Kṣemenḍra in his Auchiṭyavicāracarca, also quotes similarly from these poets, as distinct. See Peterson's Paper on *Auch.* 21 and paper on *Patanjali,* 21 and *Int.* to *Subh.* 89. Here Peterson suggests that Māṭṛgupṭa was identical with Māṭṛgupṭācārya, a writer on Alankāra. For a criticism of Bhau Daji's view, see also S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 68-75), Max Muller (*India,* 133, 314) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 68-76).

2. धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशंकु-वेताळभट्टघटकर्परकाळिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

This verse is found in Jyoṭirviḍābharaṇa, a treatise on astrology, attributed to Kāliḍāsa. (See *JBRAS*, VI. 25; *AR*, VIII. 242, X. 402). The extracts necessary for reference are translated by Bhau Daji (*o.c.* 10). Verse 21 of Chapter XXII says

56 B.C.[1] in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas or the

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that the work was completed in the month of Kartika of the year 3068 of Kali, that is 34 B.C. Bhau Daji and others say that this is a literary forgery, [Kern (*Br. Sam.* 12, 17), Wilson. *Int. to Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, viii): Weber (*SL*, 228); Max Muller (*India*, 327); Apte, (*op. cit.* 42]. He adds "In framing a rule for finding out the *ayanāmsa*, we are told in the work that from the number of years after Śaka (the era of Śālivāhana, 78 A.D.) 445 years should be subtracted and the remainder divided by 60. This alone proves that the treatise was written at best seven centuries after Vikrama Samvat. Also as Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupta who gives the date of his work as 628 A.D. is stated to have graced the Court of Vikramaditya in addition to the nine gems, it is clear that the author of the Jyotirvidābharaṇa is sufficiently modern to have confounded Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjain in the 6th century with the founder of the Samvat era."

There is a commentary on this work by Bhāvaratna. He was the son of Bāhlā and Maṇdana, a disciple of Mahimaprabhasuri of Paurnamīya gaccha. It was written at Śripattana (Srinagar) in Śaka 1633 (1711 A.D.). See the Praśasti in the Ulwar catalogue, page 182; *TC*, III. 3556.

1. K. G. SANKARA IYER (*JMy.* VIII. 279) sums up the view that the so-called Samvat era was not connected with the name of Vikramaditya till late in the 10th century. In 343 and 371 A.D. the era was called *Kṛta*; यातेषु चतुर्षु कृतेषु सौम्येष्वासितचोत्तरपदेषु इहवत्सरेषु (Gupta Ins. 75); कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु अष्टाविंशेषु (Ibid. 253). In 404 and 424 A.D., it was called both "Kritaa" and "the era traditionally handed down by the Malava tribe" श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते । एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ॥ (*Ibid.* 87, 158). The earliest inscription of the era being called Vikrama is dated 842 A.D. (*IA*, XX. 406) and that being connected with a king Vikramāditya is dated 971 A.D. (*JBRAS*, XXII, 166) and earliest literary date is 973 A.D. in Amitagati's Subhāṣitaratnasandoha [*IA*, XX. 406). Fleet collects these dates and says (*Im. Gaz.* II. 4) that the era "was founded by Kanishka in the sense that the opening years of it were the years of his reign, that it was set going as an era by his successor, who continued it and that it was accepted and perpetrated as an era by the Malava people and so was transmitted to posterity by them." R. D. BANERJEE [*JRAS*, (1917) 273-289] tries to prove that in the first century B.C., Mālava was ruled by Nahapana and not by any king entitled Vikramāditya. See para 8 note *supra*.

GOPALA IYER [*Ind. Rev.* (1910) 505] considers that the era commemorated the consolidation of the tribes of Malwa into the great nation by King Chastana, the founder of the Kshatrapa dynasty in Malwa and Gujarat. HOERNLE [*JRAS*, (1909) 100] says that Yaśodharman changed the name of the Malwa era into Vikrama era. V. SMITH (*EH*) and BHANDARKAR [*Ind. Rev.* (1909) 405] say that Chandra-gupta I of the Gupta dynasty first assumed the title of Vikramaditya and changed the name. C. V. VAIDYA [*Ind. Rev.* (1909) 903] relies on Hāla's Saptaśati (V. 64) of the 1st century A.D. praising liberality of Vikramāditya. He draws attention to a tradition rejected by Kalhaṇa II. 5) that Pratāpāditya was a relative of Vikramāditya Śakāri and asserts its truth, so that he considers that there were two Vikramādityas connected with Kashmir, the prior of them

Scythians.[1]

15. T. S. NARAYANA SASTRI shows that Śri Harṣa Vikramāḍiṭya of Kaṣmir defeated the Śakas or the Persians and in commemoration of his victory founded the Harṣa era, in the year 457 B.C. and assigns Kālidāsa to his Court.[2]

APTE inclines to the view of Sir William Jones. He considers that Aśvaghoṣa's Buḍḍhacariṭa was modelled on Kāliḍāsa's Raghuvamśa, and as Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Kaniṣka, the highest limit for Kāliḍāsa is placed at 78 A.D.; on the other side, is mentioned

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connected with Praṭāpaḍiṭya, being separated from the latter connected with Māṭṛgupṭa by several centuries He says "Though the era is mentioned in old documents as the era of the Malwa people or princes, this does not negative the idea of its being started by a particular king; *secondly*, the idea that any subsequent king utilised this era to commemorate his name is absurd and improbable." *thirdly*, that the identity of Vikramāḍiṭya of the 1st century B.C. is proved beyond doubt by the mention of his name in Hala's Sapṭaśati; *fourthly*, that he was in ancient tradition recorded by Kalhana himself, regarded as Sakari and that he must have fought the battle of Karur as mentioned by Alberuni; *fifthly*, that the Śakās whom he overthrew most probably have been the Saka Śatrāps of Mathura and Taxila, whose disappearance in the 1st century B.C. has not been otherwise accounted for; *sixthly*, that the Takht-i-Bahi's inscription must be interpreted as giving the figure 103 in the era of 57 B.C. as Guduphares is connected by general tradition with the Apostle of St. Thomas; and *lastly*, that this era could not have been founded by Kanishka." In his paper on *Pandyas and the date of Kalidasa* he refers to the mention of Uragapura in *Raghu*, IV, 49 and VI. 59-60 and says because Uragapura (Uraiyar) was abandoned by Karikala as a Pandya capital in the 1st century A.D., Kalidasa must have known the capital in a flourishing condition, Kalidasa must have lived earliest.

1. Somaḍeva in his Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara (XVIII. i) says that Vikramāḍiṭya destroyed the Mlecchas. For a similar account, see Kalhaṇa's *Rāj*, III. 125-8:

म्लेच्छोच्छेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतरिष्यतः ।
शकान्विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यभारो निवेशितः ॥

See the discussion by Hultsch, *IA*, 261 and Stein's notes in his edition of *Raj*, II. 6: शकारिर्विक्रमादित्यः etc.

2. *Sri Harsha, the dramatist* (Madras), *Age of Sankara*, (Madras) Part I, Ch. ii 24 and *Introduction to Haidimba-Vaidagdhya* (Madras, 1917). The Śākas vanquished by the king are said to be the Persian hordes that invaded India from the province of Sacie, under their monarch Cyrus the Great in 550 B.C. Narayana Sastri calls this Vikramāḍiṭya the patron of Bhāsa so that Kāliḍāsa is according to him his younger contemporary.

144 B.C., as that of Paṭanjali, who refers to Puṣyamiṭra; Agnimiṭra was the son of Puṣymiṭra and the hero of the Mālavikāgnimiṭra.[1]

16. K. B. PATHAK discovers Vikrama in king Skanḍagupṭa, the conqueror of the Huns, who flourished about 450 A.D. and makes Kāliḍāsa a contemporary of Kings Kumāragupṭa and Skanḍagupṭa, the latter being Vikramāḍiṭya II of the Gupṭa dynasty.[2]

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1. Apte's *Date of Kalidasa* (Bombay). This essay contains an elaborate review of the several opinions held on Kāliḍāsa. Apte says "Puṣyamitra, the Sunga King, put the last Maurya King to death and came to the throne of Magadha in 183 B.C. His son Agnimitra is mentioned in this play as the king of Vidishā. Mālavikā is the sister of Madhavasena and cousin of Yajnasena, the king of Berars. A quarrel arose between Madhavasena and Yajnasena about the succession to the throne, and the latter for a time took possession of the seals of the kingdom. Madhavasena thus humbled by misfortune, and aware of the danger which threatened him, secretly marched off with Malavika and his counsellor Sumati. He was taken prisoner, however, on the frontier, by a general of Yajnasena, though Malavika escaped. Now the prime minister of the Maurya king, who was a brother-in-law of Yajnasena, was kept in custody by Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra. When Agnimitra demanded the release of Madhavasena, Yagnasena proposed an exchange of prisoners. This provoked Agnimitra to a severe retaliation. He sent an army against the king of Vidarbha and subdued him, and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins. From these historical incidents it is clear that Kalidasa cannot be put, as we have seen, before the first king of the Sunga dynasty. Very little is known about these kings from the Puranas and it is probable that these events must be quite fresh in the memory of our poet, as the history of the Peshawas is in the memory of the Marathas of to-day."

Arguments based on principles of law, medicine and geography are also added. On similar points, see S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 32). Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 201) on a very similar argument places Kāliḍāsa somewhere between 300 and 100 B. C. Duff's *Indian Chronology* gives date 178 B.C. for Puṣyamiṭra and 140 B.C. for Paṭanjali. On Puṣyamiṭra, see V. Smith (*op. cit.* 201, 218), Weber (*op. cit.* 224 note); Goldstucker (*Panini*, 228-238); *IA*, I, 299, II. 57, 69, 94, 206, 238, 362, XV. 80, XVI. 156, 172); *JBRAS*, XVI. 181, 199. Bhandarkar's *Early History of Deccan*, 139, *IA*, (1872) 229.

2. *Introduction to Meghaduta* (Poona) and *IA*, XLI. 265. Pathak refers to Huns mentioned in Raghu, IV. 66-68. He says that Hunas crossed the Oxus (or Vankshu) about A.D. 425 and defeated the Sussanian king Pheroz in 484, but their empire was entirely destroyed by Khusru Anushirvan, grandson of Pheroz, between 563 and 567 A.D. The defeat of the Huns by Skanḍagupṭa is recorded in Junagad Rock Inscription dated in Gupta Samvat 136 (or A.D. 455-456). V. Smith's statement that Skandagupta died about 480 A.D. (*EH*, 310) seems to be contradicted by the inscriptions (*IA*, XV. 142) which show Kumāragupṭa as reigning in Gupta Samvat 154 (473 A.D.) and Buḍḍhagupṭa as reigning in Gupta Samvat 157 (476 A.D.). T. S. Narayana Sastri assigns to Skanḍagupṭa B.C. 192 to 167. [*Age of Sankara*, App. I. 125]. Apte (*op. cit.* 24) and Nandargikar (*op. cit.* 88) considers that the Hunas referred to in this verse are the Indo-Scythians who established a vast empire on the threshold of ancient India and on the borders of Bacteria from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. to the close of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. Jayaswal (*IA*, XL. 265) thinks that the

R. HOERNLE accepts this Harṣa Vikramāḍiṭya of Kaṣmir and goes further in identifying him with Yaśoḍharman, King of C. India, as the conqueror of Kaṣmir and the Huns about 490-550 A.D.[1] and says that the memory of this great achievement survives in the Indian tradition which changed the name of the Mālava era into that of the Vikrama era.

Huna occupation of Kashmir was after Mihirakula's defeat in A.D. 530 and places Kālidāsa therefore about 540 or 550 A.D. On the Huna argument, see also Pathak (*JBRAS*, XIX. 35) and Chakravarti [*JRAS*, (1904) 158; (1903) 183]; Bloch [*ZDMG*, (1908) 671]; Schrieber (*Das Datum Candragomin's und Kalidasa's*, Breslau); Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909) 89, 144); Kennedy [*JRAS* (1908), 879). Telang's Int. to Mudrarakshasa, Cunningham's paper on white Hunas in the Tr. of the 9th Congress of the Orientalists and G. Huth (*Die Ziet des Kalidasa*, Berlin). Pathak (*JBRAS*, XIX. 35) also brings the time of Kalidasa being contemporary of King Kumāraḍasa of Ceylon in support of his date and concludes that Kalidasa must be placed in the first half of the 6th century or about 532 A.D. (As to this, see the life of Kumāraḍasa *post*) Panna Lal [*Dates of Skandagupta and his successors*, Hindustan Review, (Jan. 1918) *JRAS*, (1919) 260] gives to Skandagupta 455-467 A.D. Pathak also relies on the allusion to Dingnāga in Meghaḍūta and assigns him to the 5th century A.D. [V. Smith, *op. oit.* 329, *JASB*, (1905) 227]. For a similar opinion, see Macdonel, (*SL*, 324), 304); Keith [*JRAS*, (1909), 433-9] and B. C. Majumdar [*JRAS*, (1909) 731].

1. *JRAS*, (1903), 549; (1904) 639; (1909), 89; Hoernle's arguments are summed up by J. J. Modi (*Asiatic Papers*, II. 343-6). Hoernle relies on inscriptions on two Rana-stambhas (columns of victory in war), recorded in *CII*, 11. 147-8. (Inscrtiptions Nos. 33 and 34) wherein the subjugation of king Mihirakula and other Huna kings is expressly stated. He also refers to the tradition of the "Nine Gems" and infers that Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira flourished at Yaśoḍhorman's Court. For this, see also Pathak (*JBRAS*, XIX. 39), V. Smith (*EH*, 319) cites the authority of Hiyuen Tsang (*Beal's Records*, I. 165-72; *Watters*, I, i. 288) and says that Yaśoḍharman's boast was unfounded and gives the real credit of the defeat of the Huns to Narasimhaguptạ Balāḍitya (485-535 A.D.). M. Chakravarti [*JRAS*, (1903), 183; (1904), 159] assigns the victory over the Huns to Skanḍaguptạ. For a summary of Chakravarti's views and criticism thereon, see J. J. Modi (*Asiatic Papers*, I. 347). Haraprasada Sastri adds additional arguments to this view :—

(i) Kālidāsa's limit of geography is Persia and he does not describe the western Empire of Rome. Persia was powerful in the 6th century A.D. and the reference to Persia (*Ragh*. IV. 60) shows that it was powerful at that time.

(ii) The description of Skanḍa in the Meghaduta (I. 27) is of a statue of Skanḍa on horseback on Devagiri Hill on the road from Ujjain to Mandasor supposed to be erected by king Skanḍaguptạ.

(iii) Yaśoḍharman made the Himālayas for the first time accessible and Kālidāsa describes the Himālayas.

These arguments about Yaśoḍharman &c. of Haraprasad Sastri are quoted and refuted in detail by R. G. Sankara Iyer (*JMy*, VIII. 282) and D. Banerji (*Ibid*. X. 77, 192).

17. FERGUSSON started a theory that the Vikramādiṭya of the Samvat era was Harṡa Vikramādiṭya of Ujjain who defeated the Mlechas at Karur in 544 A.D. and to give an air of antiquity to an era of his own started in commemoration of his victory, it was thrown back for 600 years, that is 10 cycles of 60 years, so that the Samvat era was imagined to have begun in 56 B.C. This is known as the Renaisance theory made much of by Max Muller.[1]

MAX MULLER took up the idea of Fergusson and was ready with other arguments in its support. He refers to the commentary of Mallināṭha on a verse in the Meghasanḍeṡa alluding to the poets Ḍingnāga and Nicula as contemporaries of Kāliḍāsa and in fixing the date of Ḍingnāga as the pupil of Asānga gives the date of Kāliḍāsa as the 6th century A.D.[2]

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1. See para 8 *supra*.

2. अद्रेः श्रृङ्गं हरति पवनः किंस्विदित्युन्मुखीभिः
दृष्टोत्साहश्चकितचकितं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनाभिः ।
स्थानादस्मात्सरसनिचुलादुत्पतोदङ्मुखः खं
दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ॥

Megha, I. 14.

"From this place, abounding in wet canes, rise into the sky with thy face to the north, avoiding on the way contact with the massive trunks of the quarter-elephants, thy movements being watched by the silly wives of the Siddhas with their uplifted faces, full of surprise, as if the wind were carrying away the crest of the mountain."

"From this place where stands thy champion Nichula, ascend, O Muse, the heaven of invention, holding up thy head, and avoiding in the course of thy effort the salient faults indicated by Dingnaga with his hands, while thy flight is admired by good poets and fair women filled with surprise and looking upwards as if the genius of the almighty Dingnaga, were eclipsed by these." Pathak's *Meghaduta*, 77.

Ganapati Sastri (Int. to Praṭimānātaka, *TSS*, No. 42 xi) refers to a passage Dakṡiṇāvarṭa's commentary दिङ्नाग इति कोऽप्याचार्यः कालिदासप्रबंधान् अन्यतो-क्तोऽयमर्थ इति स्थूलहस्ताभिनयं दूषयति ॥ and says that Kāliḍāsa was guilty of plagiarism from Bhāsa.

Apte (*op. cit.* 7), says that Mallinātha's commentary is at best based on tradition and cannot at best be placed with the tradition of Kāliḍāsa, as a poet of king Vikramāḍiṭya's Court in 56 B.C. Seshagiri Sastri (*IA*, I. 340) says Nicula wrote a commentary on lexicon Nānārṭhaṡabḍaraṭnāvali written by one Kaliḍāsa at the Court of King Bhoja (See *DC*, III. 1171-1174) and this must be a different author of a very late age, as this lexicon is not referred to by the author of the Meḍini, who is particular in enumerating all the names of authors and works on lexicography.

There seems to be much merit in the tradition of an allusion to Dingnāga in this verse and the recent discovery of a work called *Hastavāla* by F. W. Thomas makes the quotation more interesting. Referring to the above work of which a Tibetan translation

18. P. V. KANE thinks that Kāmanḍakī in the Nītisāra appears to criticise the advantages of hunting as depicted by Kāliḍāsa and that Varāhamihira took his list of poisoned kings from Kāmanḍakī. On

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now exists (*Tanjur Mdo*, XVII. 312, XVIII. 21) ascribed generally to Āryaḍeva, a predecessor of Dingnāga, Thomas conjectures that the commentary on it might be the work of Dingnāga. He says [*JRAS* (1918) 118], "It might have seemed to Kaliḍāsa to deserve the epithet *sṭhula*, 'coarse,' or unsubtle the standing epithet which philosophers affix to what they regard as merely prima facie views. And *pro tanto*, we should have an argument in favour of Mallinatha's suggestion of a slighting allusion to that philosopher in the verse quoted *supra*. It is certainly noticeable coincidence that Dingnaga should be a reputed author of a work so called and there is a further coincidence with the fact that the fifth of the six Karikas comprising the text appears to the subtle (*sukshma*) minded, who are to forego belief in coarse (sthala) things. But unfortunately the Chinese tradition appears to fluctuate regarding the authorship which is sometimes ascribed in fact to Āryaḍeva. I have advanced the suggestion that Aryadeva was author of the text, Dingnāga, who often functions as a commentator, of the commentary. If so the fact has certainly some significance. The *Hand* treatise, an extremely compendious demonstration of the *vignana* or else the *śunyatā* doctrine (the latter term is not mentioned) may well have been a familiar as controversial weapon and so have provoked a slighting mention by Kalidasa."

Dingnāga is a celebrated author on Pramana Sastra. See Weber (*op. cit.* 209 note); Watanabe "*On the life of Dingnaga* (Japanese Oriental Philosophy (1904) No. 5; Cowell, *Preface to Kusumanjali*, vii; Hall (*op. cit.* 9); *JBRAS*, XVIII. 229; XVII. 51; Taranatha, *History of Buddhism*, 118: S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 76-82); Goldschmidt, *ZDMG*, XXVI. 808; Liebion, *Das Datum des Kalidasa* (Strassburg) 201; *IA*, XLI. 244. (Itsing refers to Dingnāga as later than Vasubandhu and places him between 475 and 525 and Vasubandhu was a contemporary of Canḍragupta II and his literary career occupies the first three quarters of the 5th century. See Meghasanḍesa-vimarśa, page 16. Peterson's *Int.* to *Sub.* 45,

Pathak (*IA*, XLI. 244) and V. Smith (*EH.* 329) and K. C. Sankara Iyer (*JMy.* VIII 35) peace Dingnāga in the 5th century A.D. These opinions of Dingnāga's date are based on the Tibetan tradition [*JASB*, (1206) 927] that Dingnāga was a disciple of Vasubanḍhu. According to Chinese tradition, Vasubanḍhu and his elder brother Asanga lived 900 years after the death of Buḍḍha. This starting point, namely Buḍḍha's death, is so uncertain, that the fabric constructed on such basis must necessarily be unreliable and inconclusive. For instance, Buḍḍha's Nirvaṇa is placed by Northern Buddhists in 2422 B.C.; Aini Akbari at 1246 B.C.; Southern Buddhists 543 B.C.; Rhys Davids 412 B.C.; Kern, 388 B.C.; Max Muller, 477 B.C.; Fleet [*JBAS*, (1908) 179, 669] 483 B.C.; Oldenburg and Barth (*Ind. Rev.* VIII. 561); Gopala Iyer (*Ind. Rev.* 1908, 384) 487 B.C.. Kirtikar (*Ind.Rev.* 1908, 101) 500 B.C., V. Smith (*Asoka EH.* 473) finds some coincidences and fixes the date 487 B.C.

On Vasubanḍhu's date, see Paramartha's Life of Vasubanḍhu; Macdonnel (*SL*, 325); S. C. Vidyabhushan. [*JASB* (1905) 227]; N. Peri *Bull de l'Ecota fr. d'Extreme-Orient*, XI. 339-90; Pathak. [*IA*, (1911), 170; (1912)., 244]; Hoernle [*IA*, (1911) 264]; R. Narasimhacharya, (*Ibid.* 312). D.R. Bhandarkar (*IA*, 1912. 1): Haraprasad Sastri (*Ibid.* 15); Watters (I. 210); Takkkasu [*JRAS*, (1905), 44] and *Life of Vasubanḍhu.*

this reasoning he says that Kāmanḍakā being older that Bhavabhūṭi, Kāliḍāsa must be earlier than 6th century A.D.[1]

19. KERN and BHANDARKAR accept the tradition of the "Nine Gems" that Varāhamihira and Kāliḍāsa were contemporaries and while fixing the date of Varāhamihira's work from a statement of Āmoraja as 587 A.D., they say that his friend Kāliḍāsa must have lived about the latter part of the 6th century A.D.[2]

TOD says "while Hindu literature survives, the name of Bhoja Paramāra and the nine gems of his Court cannot perish though it is difficult to say who of the three princes of his name is particularly alluded to *op. cit.* as they all appear to have been patrons of Science."[3]

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1. (*IA*, XL. 236 note). This conclusion would show that Varāhamihira and Kāliḍāsa were not contemporaries. But A. F. Hoernle (*IA*, XLI. 156) controverts this view. Carlo Formichi in his paper on Kāmanḍaki's Nitisara before the 12th Congress of Orientalists of Rome argues that Kāmanḍaki was either a contemporary of or earlier than Varāhamihira who flourished, as he said, between 505 and 587 A.D. Jacobi however in his paper on Indian Philosophy (*Sitzungsberichte*, XXXV) places Kāmanḍaki earlier than the 4th century. Weber (*ISt*, III. 145) and (*IL*, 271 note) inclines to the same view and says (*op. cit.* 325) that the Kavi Translation of the work probably belongs at the earliest to about the same date as the translation of the Mahābhāraṭa. See also Int. to the book edited in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 14, with the commentary of Sankararya and *Bibl. Ind.* (1849-61). The lists poisoned kings in Kāmanḍaki was taken from Koutalya's Arthaśāsrra and hence Varāhamihira need not be indebted to Kamanḍaka.

2. Kern (*Preface to Brihatsamhita* , 20) Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, 12; *JBRAS*, XIV. 24). Bhau Daji (*op. cit.* 45). Arnoraja wrote a commentary on the Khanda Khādya of Brahmagupṭa, who lived in 628 A.D. On these astronomers, see Bhau Daji's (*op. cit.* 222-153). Colebroke (*Essays*, II. 434) assigned Varāhamihira to the end of the 6th century A.D. See also Fleet, *CII*, III. App. 143; *JAOS*, VI Art. 3; and *JRAS*, N.S. I. 407, 392. This opinion, says S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 69), also rests on the unreliable authority of the memorial verse on "Nine Gems." On this question see also Apte (*op. cit.* 2). M. Duff (*Ind. Chr.*) gives date 587 A.D. See also *The Pandit*, N.S. XIV. 13. Kern also relies on an inscription in the Buddhist Temple at Gaya which according to Cunningham shows that that temple was built by Amaradeva, one of the nine gems of Vikrama. Kern also says that Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupṭa, was a contemporary of Kāliḍāsa and in 638, Brahmagupṭa was 80 years of age and Varāhamihira's date, 587 A.D., confirms this tradition. See Max Muller, *op. cit.* 327; Apte, *op. cit.* 2.

Bhandarkar [*Ind. Rev.* (1909) 405] says that Chandragupta II, Vikramāḍiṭya, put an end to the Śaka dynasty ruling over Ujjain and also the Kushana dynasty and he was probably the famous Vikramāḍiṭya Śakāri, the patron of the learned poets and fixes his dates 388-412 A.D.

3. *Annals of Rajasthan*, I. 92; Tod gives for the three kings of that time Samvat 631, 721, 1100, that is, 575, 665 and 1044 A.D, respectively. See also Bhau Daji (*op. cit.* 8).

Bentley relies on the authority of the Bhojaprabandha and makes Kālidāsa a poet of the Court of King Bhoja of Dhar in the 11th century A.D.[1]

20. Of direct references to Kalidasa the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II is the earliest and it is dated 634 A. D.[2] The famous Mandassor inscription contains an exquisite panegyric by Vaṭsabhatti and several verses in it have a very close resemblance to some in Kalidasa's Meghasandesa and Ṛṭusamhāra.[3] This Panegeric was composed in 472 A.D.[4]

21. The theory of the "Nine Gems" of Vikrama's Court may not be accepted as real history. Jyoṭirvidabharaṇa may be a forgery of a late date or the verse that embodies the story may be an interpolation. But the fact remains that the tradition was current as early as the 7th or 8th century A. D. Subandhu alludes to it and the allusion cannot be easily explained away.[5] The tradition has become so saturated with the Indian sentiment, that it is impossible for any orientalist to shake off the impression. The feeling has become so intuitive that whenever any researcher, sceptic as he is towards anything save bare historical evidence, discovers a King, as the patron of Kaḷidāsa, be he Samudraguptạ, Kumāraguptạ or Candraguptạ, Yaśodharman, Harṣa, Śūdraka, of the centuries before or after the era of Grace, the theorist always seeks to trace an association of his name with the appellation of Vikramāḍiṭya. If in fact the tradition is false or unreliable, why should this anxiety be evinced everywhere to connect the name with a Vikramāḍiṭya at all?

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1. *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. 243. Bhau Daji (*op cit.* 6 and *JBBAS*, VI. 23 note) and S.P. Pandit (*op cit.* 63) and Nandargikar (*op cit.* 63) say that Bhoja Prabandha is a medley and is of little value as history. On this work, see under Bhoja *post.*

2. येनायोजिनवेश्म स्थिरमर्थविधौ विवेकिना जिनवेश्म ।
विजयतां रविकीर्तिः कविताश्रितकाळिदासभारविकीर्तिः ॥

IA, VIII. 237.

3. On this similarity, see Apte (*op cit.* 14) Kielhorn [*Got. N.* (1890), 257 ; *IA*, XIX. 285] S. P. Pandit (*op. cit.* 127) and Leibich (*Annual Rep. of the Sch. Ges. fur Vaterlandische Kultur Breslaw*, 1903, 6-7) rely on the identity of the verses in Ṛtusamhara (V 2-3) and fix Kālidāsa's date before 473 A.D. See Jacobi (*VOJ.* III, 127). Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909), 41] criticises this view.

4. Fleet's *CII*, III 65-69 ; see para 10 supra.

5. सारसवत्ताविहृता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कङ्कः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥ *Vāsavadattā.*

Hoernle and Haraprasad Sastri take this verse to refer to Candragupta Vikramāḍiṭya (See IA, XLI. 1, 15) who died according to them about 413 A.D., but they ignore the effect of the word *navaka*, which curiously alludes by the pun on it to the nine gems.

22. Among the several data that have formed the basis of discussion, it may not be possible to make light of at least a few. The idea that the hero of the Mālavikāgnimiṭra was the king Agnimiṭra of the Sunga dynasty and the allusion to the successive names of Gupṭa Kings or the reference to the names of Ḍingnāga in his works, are all express pieces of material evidence, which must command a serious consideration in the determination of dates. But when an argument as to age is to be invoked on internal evidence, it necessarily follows that the conclusion can hold good only in respect of the particular work that shows the evidence, and it is a mistake to follow an a priori reasoning and to assert that the conclusion is good as the standard for all works, fathered on the name of Kāliḍāsa.

Of external evidence, there is nothing safe to go by. Vikramādiṭya or the 'Sun of Valour' is more an appellation than a name and the title has come to be a formal attribute to any ruler in India irrespective of distinction.[1] The literature of the inscriptions abound in such instances. Of Vikramādiṭya, was he a reality and if he is, where is his identity? Of the Śakas, were they the Persians or the Indo-Scythians? Of the Huns, were they the marauders of the countries, before or after the Christian era? Of Ḍingnāga, when did he flourish? It is dependent upon Asanga, that on Vasubanḍhu and that on Buḍḍha, which still hangs in the air. Of Aśvaghoṣa, was he a contemporary of Kaniṣka and when did Kaniṣka rule over Indian dominions? Of Agnimiṭra, was he the son of Puṣyamiṭra and if he was referred to in the Mahābhāṣya of Paṭanjali, when did Paṭanjali flourish? Of Greek astronomy, did Kāliḍāsa copy from Āryabhata and when was the Greek astronomy brought into India? These are questions that are yet to be answered with unanimity and until then such external evidence can only beget a diversity of conclusion.

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1. Kielhorn (*IA*, XX. 409) as summed up by Fleet, (*IA*, XXX. 4), says "The word Vikrama, from which the idea of the King Vikrama or Vikramāḍiṭya was evoked most probably came to be connected with the era by the poets, because the year of reckoning originally began in the autumn and the autumn was the season of commencing campaigns and was in short the Vikramakāla or war time."

On Vikramāḍiṭya, see Seshagiri Sastri, *IA*, I. 314; Lassen, *IAlt*, II. 800; Weber, *ISt*, II. 416; Wilford, *AR*, IX.; Princep, *Essays*, II. 249, *JBRAS*, VI. 27; V. Smith, *EH*, 332 note, 421; A. C. Chaterjee, *Kalidasa, His Poetry and Mind*, 90.

Kshetresachandra Chattopadhyaya (*All. Un. Studies*, II. 80 *et seq*) elaborately discusses the date of Kāliḍāsa and says Vikramāditya, who was Kāliḍāsa's patron was son of Garḍabhilla. He refers to passages from Kālakācarya-Kaṭhānaka, from which extracts are given by Rapson in *Cambridge History of India* (532-5).

23. In this state of uncertainty the student of research is bewildered and if the arguments advanced by various scholars are all accepted it would be impossible to foist all the works that go by the name of Kālidāsa on one Kālidāsa. As early as 8th and 9th century A.D. the existence of three Kālidāsas in the past age appears to have been noticed. Devendra author of Kavikalpalatā refers to it[1] and Rājaśekhara[2] and Abhinanda[3] seem to say so.

24. T. S. Narayana Sastri in his introduction to Haidimba Vaidagdhya, an epitome of Bhāsa's Madhyamavyāyoga, classifies the works under several Kālidāsas thus :

i. KALIDASA (I) alias MATRGUPTA of the court of King Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain who lived in the 6th Century B.C. He was the author of the three plays and the Mahākāvya Setubandha.[4]

ii. KALIDASA (II), alias MEDHARUDRA of the Court of King Vikramarka of Malwa the founder of the Malava era in 57 B.C. He wrote the three poems Kumārasambhava, Raghuvamśa and Meghadūta and a treatise on astronomy Jyotirvidābharana.[5]

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1. See *CC*, I. 99; Kāvyamālā, I. 8.

2. एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।
   शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥—*Suktimuktāvali.*

It may be that this verse has been misunderstood, for कालिदासत्रयी means generally his three poems and Rājaśekhara might have punned upon the word त्रयी. किमु and हन्त mean that it is चित्रं or pun.

3. हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषः श्रीपालितो लालितः
   ख्यातिं कामपि कालिदासकवयो नीताः शकारातिना । *Rāmacarita.*

4. In his commentary on this poem King Ramadāsa of Jayapura who lived in the days of King Akbar says :

धीराणां काव्यचर्चाचतुरिमविधये विक्रमादित्यवाचा
यं चक्रे कालिदासः कविकुमुदविधुः सेतुनाम प्रबन्धम् ।

Setubandha or Rāvaṇavadha in 16 āśvāsas describes the story of Rāma, the building of the Setu and the defeat of Rāvaṇa. It is perhaps the best poem in Prakrit literature and may certainly have been the production of Kālidāsa. There are commentaries by Rāmadāsa, written at the instance of Emperor Akbar in 1595 A.D. and by Kalānātha, Sri Kṛṣṇa, Mādhavayajvan. Ed. Bombay with Ramadāsa's commentary. Ed. Gottingen and translated by Goldschmidt (Strassburg). See Stein Konow's Int. to Karpuramanjari [*HOS* No. 5 194] and S.P. Pandit [*Int. to Raghu*, 72]. Apte, *Date of Kalidasa*, 41. Dandin calls it "an ocean of jewels of beautiful sentences." Bāṇa praises Pravarasena and his poem Setu. Vidyānatha calls the poem Mahāprabandha and quotes an āryā from it.

5. This bears date 3068 Kali or 34 B.C. In the Śeṣādhyāya the poet says :—

काव्यत्रयं सुमतिकृद्रघुवंशपूर्वं जातं ततो ननु कियच्छ्रुतिकर्मवादः ।
ज्योतिर्विदाभरणकालविधानशास्त्रं श्रीकालिदासकवितो हि ततो बभूव ॥

iii. KALIDASA (III), alias KOTIJIT a desciple of Mūka Śankara of Kamakoṭi Peetam (1397-430 A.D.). He wrote Ṛtusamhara, Sṛngāratilaka, Śyāmalāḍandaka, Navaraṭnamāla and many minor poems and Śruṭaboḍha (on prosody).

[*These three are said to represent* कालिदसत्रयी *mentioned by Rājaśekhara.*]

iv. PARIMALA KALIDASA (IV), alias PADMAGUPTA, contemporary of King Munja of Ḍhāra and author of Navasāhasānkacariṭa.

v. KALIDASA (V) known as YAMAKAKAVI, author of the poem Naloḍaya.

vi. NAVA KALIDASA (VI), author of Champu Bhāgavaṭa.

vii. KALIDASA ĀKBARIYA (VII) contempory of King Akbar, composed a number of Samasyas.[1]

viii. KALIDASA (VIII), author of Lamboḍara Prahasana.

ix. ABHINAVA KALIDASA, alias MADHAVA, author of Sankṣepaśankaravijayam.

25. Raghuvamsa in 19 cantos[2] narrates the history of the race of Raghu and in five cantos, 10 to 15, the story of Rama's life is recounted. Then follows an account of the successors of Rāma until Agnivarna. The last canto presents to us the coronation of his posthumous prince then in embryo and the verse is enchanting.[3] It is said that his object might have been to connect some one of the dynasties of kings existing in his time with the race descended from the Sun and others think that Kāliḍāsa was a contemporary of Agnivarṇa, with

1. He is quoted by Hari in his Subhāṣiṭahārāvali. See Thomas, *Kav*. 14.

2. Translated by S. P. Pandit, Bombay; by Nandargikar, Bombay; by K. M. Joglekar, Bombay; by Louis Renous (into French), Paris. See Analysis of Raghuvamśa, *JASB*, XXI. 445. Ed. with eight commentaries, Bombay. D. T. Tatacharya '1st verse of Raghuvamsa' (Paper read at 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras).

For comparison of verses in Raghuvamśa and other poems of Kāliḍāsa with Aśvaghoṣa's verses, see references under Aśvaghoṣa. For a historical appreciation of the kings and kingdoms mentioned in Raghuvamśa, see Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya's *Date of Kalidasa*, (*All. Un. Studies*, II. 76 *et seq*). There he says that the poem was complete and that Agnivarṇa was probably Devabhumi of the Sunga dynasty who was slaughtered by his indignant Brahmin minister Vaśuḍeva (l. c. 154). S. Ray (*Int.* to *Sakuntala*, 28) says Kāiiḍasa could be contemporary of Agnimiṭra, the hero of Mālavikāgnimiṭra.

3. तस्यास्तथाविधनरेन्द्रविपत्तिशोका-
दुष्णैर्विलोचनजलैः प्रथमाभितप्तः ।
निर्वापितः कनककुम्भमुखोज्झितेन
वंशाभिषेकविधिना शिशिरेण गर्भः ॥ *Ragh*. XIX. 56.

whose death the poem, as it is, ends.[*] Either Kālidāsa did not finish his poem or the rest of the entire poem has not come down to us.

The following 21 Kings are mentioned: Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Dasaratha, Rāma, Kuśa, Atithi, Nisadha, Nala, Nābha, Pundarīka, Ksemadhanya, Devānīka, Ahimanyu, Pāriyātra, Śīla, Unnābha, Vajraghoṣa, Śankhaṇa, Vyuṣitāśva, Viśvasaha, Hiraṇyanābha, Kausalya, Brahmitha, Putra, Punya, Dhruvasandhi, Sudarśana, Agnivarṇa. S. P. Pandit examines these lists as given in the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇas and concludes, "The list of the kings as given by Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa does not at all agree with that given in the Ramayana but it generally agrees with those which are found in the Vayu Purana and the Vishnu Purana. Some difference of course is observed even between the list of Kalidasa and those of the Puranas. From these lists of the kings it is clear that Kalidasa has not adopted the Ramayana as the basis of his Raghuvamsa. It also appears probably that the author of the Raghuvamsa and of the Vayu Purana had a common source to draw their materials upon which is now beyond the hope of recovery. The Ramayana gives two kings between Dilipa and Raghu and between Raghu and Aja are mentioned eleven kings; while in the Vayu Purana between Raghu and Dilipa intervenes Dirghababu and Aja is mentioned as the son of Raghu. And this statement tallies well with Vishnu Purana."

26. Kumarasambhava, a poem in 17 cantos, describes the birth of Kumāra, the War God.[1] As antecedent history, the poem narrates the supplication of the Gods to Lord Śiva for the creation of a general for the forces of the Gods, capable of destroying their enemy Tāraka, whose depradations they were then unable to bear. Then follow the birth of Pārvatī as the daughter of Himācala, Śiva's penance in the Himālayas and his marriage with Pārvatī. With the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, the 8th canto closes and the remaining cantos describe the story of the birth of Kumāra and destruction of Tāraka. Kālidāsa was a great votary of Vālmīki and named his poem after the verse of Rāmāyaṇa:

एष ते राम गङ्गायाः विस्तरोऽभिहितो मया ।
कुमारसंभवश्चैव धन्यः पुण्यस्तथैव च ॥

Bālakānda, xxxvii, 32.

"The birth of the War God," says Griffith "was either left unfinished

1. Ed. with notes and English translation by M. R. Kale (Cantos 1—8). Translated into English poetry by Griffith (Oriental Tr. Fund Ser.).

or time has robbed us of the conclusion. The latter is the more probable supposition, tradition informing us that the poem originally consisted of 22 cantos." The language of cantos 9 to 17 is inferior to the language of cantos 1 to 8,[1] and commentators have noticed only cantos 1 to 8; it is therefore said that cantos 9 to 17 are not the work of Kālidāsa. There are some who say that canto 8 in which the amorous pleasures of actual union between Śiva and Pārvaṭī are described is also not the work of Kāliḍāsa, because it is a sacrilege and Kālidāsa would not have been guilty of it. These objections are answered by Nārāyaṇa Panḍiṭa in his commentary Vivaraṇa.[2]

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1. R. V. Krishnamacarya (*Sah* ix, 151) collects defects of language and expression in cantos 9 to 17 and generally says:

नवमादयः सर्गास्तु येन केनापि विरचिताः स्युरिति भाति। नवमादिषु किल सर्वेषु क्वचित्क्वचिच्छन्दतो वर्णनादिभिश्च पूर्वतरसंवाददर्शनेऽपि भूयसा विसंवाद एव समुपलभ्यते। किंच तत्र प्रायेण विसंस्थुलानि परस्परसौहार्दविरहितानि शिथिलशिथिलानि क्वचित्क्वचिदश्लीलप्रायाणि अपप्रयुक्तानि पुनरुक्तकल्पानि पदजातानि नियतमकालिदासीयत्वमेव नवमादिनां सर्गाणामावेदयन्ति ॥

Siva Prasad Bhattacharya discusses the question and says cantos 9-22 are Kalidasa's only. (Paper read at 4th Oriental Conference, Allahabad).

2. 'ननु काव्ये यत्साध्यं तदनुसारेणैव काव्यस्य संज्ञा कर्तव्या। यथा—युधिष्ठिरविजयजानकीहरणशिशुपालवधप्रभृतीनाम्। अत्र तु तारकासुरनिग्रहः काव्ये साध्यतया निर्दिष्टः, 'तस्मिन्विप्रकृताः काले तारकेण दिवौकसः' इत्युपक्रमात्। तस्मात्तारकवध इत्येव संज्ञा कर्तव्या। तत्पर्यन्तं च काव्यं प्रवर्तयितव्यम्। न चैतत्कृतम्। तस्मादसमञ्जसमिदं काव्यम्। अपि च कुमारोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तमपि न काव्यं कृतम्। तस्मादनुपपन्नमिदं नामापीति। अत्रोच्यते—नात्र तारकासुरवधः काव्ये साध्यः, 'तदिच्छामो विभो स्रष्टुं सेनान्यं तस्य शान्तये' इति देवैः कुमारसृष्टिमात्रस्यैव ब्रह्माणं प्रति प्रार्थितत्वात्। तारकासुरनिग्रहस्तु कुमारोद्भवप्रस्तावकतया निमित्तत्वेनापेक्षितः; यथा—किरातार्जुनीये दुर्योधनजयः। तस्मात् कुमारसंभव इत्येव संज्ञा युक्ता। न चैवं सति तत्पर्यन्तं काव्यं प्रवर्तयितव्यमिति वाच्यम्, 'उमारूपेण ते यूयं संयमस्तिमितं मनः। शंभोर्यतध्वमाक्रष्टुमयस्कान्तेन लोहवत्' इति ब्रह्मणः प्रतिवचनेन शंभोश्चित्ताकर्षणमात्रस्यैव परमसाध्यत्वेन प्रतिपादनात्। कारणपौष्कल्ये कार्यस्यावश्यंभाव एव ब्रह्मणस्तथा निर्देशे हेतुरिति चावगन्तव्यम्। शंभोश्चित्ताकर्षणं पुनरष्टमे सर्गे विस्तरतः प्रतिपादितम्। यथोक्तमन्त्यश्लोके—

'समदिवसनिशीथं सङ्गिनस्तत्र शंभोः
शतमगमदृतूनां साग्रमेका निशेव।
स न सुरतसुखेषु छिन्नतृष्णो बभूव
ज्वलन इव समुद्रान्तर्गतस्तज्जलेषु ॥' इति।

27. There are commentaries [1] on Raghuvaṃśa by Nārāyaṇa,[2] by

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उक्तं च पञ्चमसर्गान्ते देवीं प्रति देवेनैव 'अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दासः क्रीतस्तपोभिः' इति। तस्मात् 'उमारूपेण—' इत्युपक्रमात् 'अद्यप्रभृति' इति परामर्शात्, 'समादिवसनिशीथम्' इत्युपसंहाराच्च शंभोश्चित्ताकर्षणमात्र एव तात्पर्यम्, 'उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वता फलम्। अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये' इति वचनात्। तच्च सम्यक्प्रतिपादितम्। अष्टमसर्गे संभोगवर्णनेन कुमारोत्पत्तेर्बिन्दूपक्षेपोऽपि कृत इति सर्वमनवद्यम्। यत्त्वत्र तारकासुरनिग्रहपर्यन्तं चिकीर्षितमिदं काव्यम्, निजसंभोगवर्णनेन कुपिताया देव्याः शापादसंपूर्णं जनितमिति कैश्चिदुक्तम्; तदप्युक्तया रीत्या परिहृतं वेदितव्यम्। कवेश्चिकीर्षाया एतत्पर्यन्तत्वस्य समर्थितत्वात्। देव्याः शापाभावं पुनरष्टमसर्गादौ निपुणमुपपादयिष्यामः" इति।

अत्रैवं विलिखति विवरणकारः— "पार्वतीपरमेश्वरयोः शरीरग्रहणमात्रमपि लोकानुग्रहार्थमेव। यथोक्तं भगवता—'विदितं वो यथा स्वार्था न मे काश्चित्प्रवृत्तयः' इति। देव्या अपि शरीरग्रहणादिकं लोकानुग्रहार्थमेवेति देवीमाहात्म्यादिषु तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादितम्। त्रिविधा हि लोके जनाः—मुक्ताः, मुमुक्षवः, सक्ताश्चेति। तत्र मुक्तानां कृतकृत्यत्वादेतयोर्लीलायितानां संचिन्तनश्रवणादिभिः परब्रह्मानुभवतुल्यकुल्यः परमाह्लादो भवतीति अनुग्रहो भूयानेव। मुमुक्षूणां तु लीलायितश्रवणानुसंधानादिभिरन्तःकरणशुद्धिरूपो महानुग्रहः स्पष्ट एव। किं च महत्तरैरपि तपश्चरणैरुभाभ्यामपि तदनुग्रह एव कृतः, इत्थं कर्तव्यमित्युपदेशमात्रपरत्वात्तयोस्तपश्चरणानाम्। कामिनां तु चित्तावर्जनं संभोगशृङ्गारानुगृहीतकथाश्रवणेनैव सुकरमिति लीलागृहीतशरीरौ भगवन्ताविमं प्रकारमारब्धवन्तौ। येन केनापि प्रकारेण भगवति मनःप्रणिधानमेव मुक्तिकारणमित्युक्तं भागवते—'कामं क्रोधं भयं स्नेहमैक्यं सौहृदमेव वा। नित्यं हरौ विदधतो यान्ति तन्मयतां हि ते।' इति। महाकविरपि कामिनां चित्तं पार्वतीपरमेश्वरपादारविन्दासक्तं विधातुमेवाष्टमे सर्गे वात्स्यायनशास्त्रानुसारिणीं पदवीमुररीचकार। तस्माल्लोकोत्तरलौकिकनायकव्यवहारमखिलजनानुग्रहार्थमनुकुर्वतो रेतयोर्महानटयोस्तदनुगुणानां प्रबन्धानां निर्माणतद्व्याख्यानश्रवणादिभिरनुग्रह एव भूयानाविर्भवति। तदनुबद्धानि वचनानि तु स्तुतावेव पर्यवस्यन्तीत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन॥" इति।

ध्वनिकारस्तु—'अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः' इत्युक्त्वा, 'महाकवीनामप्युत्तमदेवताविषयप्रसिद्धसंभोगशृङ्गारनिबन्धनाद्यनौचित्यं शक्तितिरस्कृतत्वाद्ग्राम्यत्वेन न प्रतिभासते; यथा—कुमारसंभवे देवीसंभोगवर्णनम्' इत्याह।

1. See S. P. Pandit's *Int. to Ragh.*, 9 *et seq.* Nandargikar's *Int. to Ragh.*, Sivadatta's *Int. to Naishadha* and Durgaprasad's *Int. to Māgha.*

2. *DC*, XX. 7720; *TC*, II. 2593; *Op*, 2651. He was a disciple of Kṛṣṇa and lived in Malabar.

Sumaṭivijaya,[1] by Uḍayākara,[2] by Hemāḍri,[3] by Vallabha,[4] by Hariḍāsa,[5] by Cāriṭravarḍhana,[6] by Mallināṭha,[7] by Ḍinakara,[8] by Vijayagaṇi,[9] by Ḍharmameru,[10] three anonymous,[11] by Bharaṭasāra,[12] by Brihaspaṭimiśra,[13] by Kṛṣṇapaṭiśarma,[14] Guṇavijayagaṇi,[15] Gopīnāṭha Kavirāja,[16] Janārḍana,[17] Maheśvara,[18] Nagnaḍhara,[19] Bhagīraṭha,[20] Bhāvaḍevamiśra,[21] Rāmabhaḍra,[22] Kṛṣṇabhatta,[23] Ṭriḍivākara,[24] Loṣtaka,[25] Śrīnāṭha,[26] Aruṇagirināṭha,[27] Raṭnacanḍra,[28] Bhāgyahamsa,[29] Jnānen-

1. *PR*, IV. 28, 34; Dec. Col. No. 46; *Kash. Cat.* 72. He was a native of Vikramapura (Bikaneer ?) and composed his work between A.D. 1635-43. He quotes Vallabha and Kṛṣṇabhatta. The manuscript contains all the 19 Cantos. S. P. Pandit's *l. c.* 11; Nandargikar l. c. 24.

2. *PR*, IV. 28, 34.

3. *PR*, III. 395; *B*, II. 100; *TC*, IV. 5574. He refers to commentators Visṭarakāra, Dakṣiṇāvarṭa, Kṛṣṇa and Vallabha. S. P. Pandit, *l.c.* 10, Nandargikar . c. 12.

4. *PR*, I. 118; *IV*. 28, 34. S. P. Pandit *l. c.* 10, Nandargikar, *l c.* 10 and Durgaprasad *Int.* to *Raghu.* 5. He is quoted by Hemadri, Cāriṭravarḍhana ,Mallināṭha and Sumativijaya.

5. *PR*, IV. 29. He was son of Viṣṇuḍāsa.

6. *PR*, II, 189; III. 210; IV. App. 210. xxviii. *Kash. Cat.* 72. He was a Jain and wrote at the request of Sāḍhu Aradakvamalla of Srimata race. He mentions commentaries by Bhoja, Vallabha, Visṭarakāra, Dakṣiṇāvarṭa and Kṛṣṇabhatta.

7. Ed. Bombay, Madras and elsewhere.

8. *B*, II. 100. He was son of Dharmāngada and Kamalā. He wrote his commentary in Samvat 1441 (=1385 A.D.). He was probably a contemporary of Mallināṭha and copied Chāriṭravarḍhana. He refers to a commentator Prabhākara. For S. P. Pandit's remarks see *l.c.* 17.

9. Dec. Col. No. 44. He was pupil of Rāmavijaya of Tapagaccha. The manuscript is a fragment and breaks off in 10th Canto.

10. *PC*, I. 487. See S. P. Pandit, *l. c.* 25.

11. The author of one was pupil of Vijayānanḍasuri. See *NP*, VII. 44; *Radh*, 22; *Op*. 2975.

12. *IO*, 551; VII. 1415, 1420. He was son of Gaurāngamallika of Ambaṣta Vaidya Hariharkhan family and lived in the 18th century. He has commented on other Mahākāvyas also. (See *CC*, II. 418).

13. *IO*, 531, 997; VII. 1420.

14. *Mitra Rep.* VII, *L*. 2404.

15. *L*. 3060.

16. *L*. 1184.

17. *B*, *II* 100.

18. *Op*. 6156; *TC*, IV. 5643.

19. *NW*. 620.

20. *L*. 1421.

21. *L*. 2374.

22. *Mitra Rep.* VII, *L*. 2505. He was Nyayalankara.

23. *Rgb*. 395.

24. *Rgb*. 396.

25. *Kash. Cat*, 71.

26. *Cu*, 1396.

27. *BC*, 311; Ed. Trichur.

28. *Bd*. 446.

29. *Bd*. 447.

ḍra,[1] Bhoja,[2] Bharaṭamallīka,[3] Jībānanḍa Vidyāsāgara,[4] Samuḍrasūri,[5] a pupil of Vijayānanḍa,[6] Ḍakṣiṇāvarṭanāṭha,[7] Samayasunḍara,[8] Kanaklal Thakur.[9]

28. There are commentaries on Kumāra-Sambhava by Kṛṣnapaṭi Śarma,[10] Kṛṣṇamiṭrācārya,[11] Gopālānanḍa,[12] Govinḍarāma,[13] Cāriṭravarḍhana,[14] Jinabhaḍrasūri,[15] Narahari,[16] Prabhākara,[17] Bṛhaspaṭi,[18] Bharaṭasena,[19] Bhīṣmamiśra,[20] Munimaṭiraṭna,[21] Mallināṭha,[22] Raghupaṭi,[23] Vaṭsa or Vyāsa Vaṭsa,[24] Ānanḍaḍevayānīvallabha,[25] Vallabhāḍeva,[26] Vinḍhyeśvarīprasāḍa,[27] Haricaraṇadāsa,[28] Navanīṭarāmamiśra,[29] Bharaṭamallika,[30] Jayasimha,[31] Lakṣmivallabha,[32] Ḍakṣiṇāvarṭanāṭha,[33] Viḍyāmāḍhava,[34] Nanḍagopāla,[35] Sīṭārāma,[36] Nārāyaṇa,[37] Hariḍāsa,[38] Aruṇagīrināṭha,[39] Gopālaḍāsa,[40] Ṭarkavācaspaṭi,[41] Sarasvaṭīṭīrṭha,[42] Rāma Pārasava,[43] Jibānanḍa Vidyāsāgara,[44] Kumārasena[45] and two anonymous.[46]

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1. *BC*, 410.
2. S. P. Pandit, *Int. to Ragh.* 26.
3. *IO*, 551.
4. Ed. Calcutta.
5. *Lah.* 4.
6. Dec. Col. No. 65. He quotes Vallabha, Dakṣiṇāvarṭa, Kṛṣṇabhatta and Cāriṭravarḍhana. S. P. Pandit says he was a contemporary of Dinakara.
7. The manuscript is in Madras library. He is quoted by Aruṇagirināṭha and he quotes Keśavaswāmin's Nānārṭhārṇavasamkṣepa composed in the 12th century. He was a native of the Chola country, (See Int. to Meghasandeśa, Tr. S. Series No. 64).
8. *Kash. Cat.* 71.
9. Ed. Benares.
10. *L.* 2403, *Mitra Rep.* VII. This commentary refers to earlier voluminous commentaries by Jagaḍḍhara and Divākara now unknown.
11. *Oudh.* X 6.
12. *IO*, 222, *AS*, 47.
13. *L*, 751.
14. *Kh.* 65 ; Ed. Bombay ; Benares.
15. *Lah.* 4 ; *Rgb.* 337.
16. *B.* 156 ; *De*, 171.
17. *B.* 2.
18. *IO*, 228, 1073.
19. *IO*, 228.
20. *Oudh.* XIX. 42.
21. *PR*, II. 54.
22. Ed. everywhere.
23. *L.* 1964, on 8 cantos.
24. *B.* 2, 78 ; *BP*, 17.
25. *Oudh*, XIV 28 ; *PR*, I. 114.
26. *PR*, I 114 ; *NW*, 614.
27. *NW*. 620. He was the pupil of Kṛṣṇa. He refers to another commentary by Śiva Dāsa which he proposes to follow.
28. *PR*, I 114.
29. *AS*. 47.
30. *AS*, 47. He is older than Śaka 1650, the date of a manuscript of his commentary on Ghatakarpara (*Mitra.* IX No. 4172) ; see *JASB*, (1917) 9.
31. *TC*, IV. 4715, 4718.
32. *Sah.* XIX. 106.
33. *TC*, III. 3863.
34. *IC*, II. 2592 ; *Kup. Rep.* (1916-19).
35. *IO*, 228.
36. *L*, 3289. Ed. Bombay. (Cantos 8-17).
37. *DC*, XX. 7720-2 ; *TC*, IV. 5014, 5543. Ed. Trivandrum.
38. *AK*, 476 (1-3).
39. Ed. Trivandrum.
40. *PR*, IV. 25.
41. Ed. Calcutta.
42. *Kash. Cat.* 67,
43. Cochin State Library, 110.
44. Ed. Calcutta.
45. *B. Or. RI, Cat* 46 (3 cantos).
46. *Ibid.* 14—15 (7 and 8 cantos).

R. Krishnamāchārya's Raghuvamśa-vimarśa and Kumārasambhava-vimarśa are running critiques on these poems commenting on their innate excellences.[1] Raghusankṣepa gives a succinct account of Raghuvamśa.[2] Kumāravijaya[3] of Bhaskarayajvan, son of Īśvarasūrya, of Vaṭsagoṭra and Kumāroḍaya[4] by Korāda Ramachanḍra relate the same story. Kumārasambhava of Jayaśekharasūri is a Jain work.[5]

29. The commentators.—VALLABHA was the son of Ānanḍadeva and was a follower of Kashmir saivism.[6] He criticises Hemacanḍra's opinion expressed in his Sanskrit grammar and is attacked in Ganaraṭnamahoḍaḍhi completed in 1141 A.D. Hemacanḍra lived in Jayasimha's reign (1094-1143 A.D.).[7] K. B. Pathak therefore says that Vallabha must have finished his commentary on Kumārasambhava about 1120 or a few years before 1141 A.D.[8] S. P. Pandit says he must have lived long before Ḍinakara, that is, 1383 A.D.[9] Ḍurgaprasāḍ identified him with Vallabhadeva, grandfather of Kayyata, who wrote in 977-8 A.D.[10] and Hultzch[11] and Peterson[12] agree with him, and the latter says that the verses quoted in Subhāṣitāvali and Sārngaḍharapaḍḍhati under Vallabhaḍeva must have been by the commentator Vallabhaḍeva. These verses show excellent poetry.[13]

Kayyata was the son of Canḍrāḍiṭya and wrote a commentary on Ānanḍavarḍhana's Ḍevīśaṭaka in 977 A.D. He is different from Kayyata, son Jayyata, author of Bhāṣyapraḍīpa.

1. Ed. Madras.
2. S. P. Pandit's *Int.* to *Ragh*, 15-17.
3. *TC*, IV. 5818 (f). He is the author of Akhilāndanāyakīḍandaka (*TC*, IV. 5819).
4. Ed. Masulipatam.
5. Ed. Bombay.
6. For a distinction of this author from the antholigist Vallabha, see S. K. De, *JRAS*, (1927), 471-7, (1926), 403 and D.C. Bhattacarya, *JRAS*, (1928), 135.
7. See for his life, later in this Chapter.
8. *Int. to Megha.*
9. *Int. to Raghu.* 10.
10. *Int. to Vakrokṭi-pancāśika.*
11. *Int. to Megha.*
12. *Int. to Subh.*
13. अयमवसरः सरस्ते सलिलैरुपकर्तुमर्थिनामनिशम् ।
इदमपि च सुलभमंभो भवति पुरा जलधराभ्युदये ॥
परिमलसुरभितनभसो बहवः काननाद्रिपरिसरे तरवः ।
तदपि सुराणां चेतसि निवसितमिव पारिजातेन ॥
पाणिपल्लवयुगेन मुग्धया यन्मुखं पिहितमंशुके हृते ।
वल्लभेन सुरतेन तद्धियाशोकतां कथमियान्निशाचरः ॥

30. HEMADRI, known as Makkibhatta was the son of Īśvarasūri. He mentions Mahrāti synonyms of Sanskrit words and he might therefore have been a Mahrātta brahmin. He came after Vallabha. Vāmanācārya in his introduction to Kāvyaprakāśa says that he must have been a resident of Gajengraghad in Dharwar District. His commentaries are replete with innumerable quotations. He was counsellor of Mahādeva and Ramarāja, the Yādava kings of Devagiri who ruled from 1271 to 1309 A.D. Bopadeva was his protege.[2]

31. MALLINATHA,[3] Telugu Brahmin, of Kāśyapa gotra of Kolacala-family, was the grandson of Mallinātha and son of Kapardin. Peddi bhatta or Peḍḍayārya and Kumāraswāmin were his sons.[4] The latter was the commentator on Pratāparudrīya. Mallinātha had Kanakābhiṣeka (bath in gold and pearls) at the hands of Sarvajna Singabhūpāla, evidently of Recharla family, on the occasion of ṣodaśa sacrifice which he performed with the help of his four brothers, four sons, four sons-in-law and four relatives.[5] He was invited by Ḍevaraja (I?) of Vijayanagar to settle some contests about the terms *vaiśya* and *vyāpūri* in connection with a stone inscription found at Conjeevaram. The manuscript containing his judgment is found in the G. O. Library, Mysore. This gives him a date of 1400-14 A.D. Mallinātha quotes from Sāhityacintāmaṇi, a work of Komati-Vema of 1409 A.D.

K. B. Pathak says "Mallinātha frequently quotes the Sangitaratnākara a work composed in the time of Yādava king Singhaṇa who reigned from Śaka 1133-1150. In his commentary on the Kumārasambhava (II. s. 1,) Mallinātha mentions Bopadeva, the author of the Mugdhabodha, who was contemporary with the Yadava king Mahadeva and his successor Ramachandra. The last mentioned king reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309. Another work quoted in Mallinātha's

1. See S. P. Pandit's *Int. to Raghu.* 9, 12; *EHD*, 117, 120; *JRAS*, V. 1839.

2. See Section V, Ch. I *supra*.

3. Mallinātha, father of Narahari alias Sarasvatītīrtha, who commented on Kāvyaprakāśa, is a different person and is not known to be an author. Narahari says he was born in 1242 A.D. For particulars, see Chapter on Poetics under Mammata; see Vāmanācarya's Int. to Kāvyaprakāśa, 27-9.

4. Nārāyaṇa in his commentary on Campurāmāyaṇa (*DC*, XXI. 8212) gives the genealogy. According to him Kumāraswāmi was the son of Peḍḍubhatta and Peḍḍubhatta and Mallinātha were brothers. Here the genealogy differs from that given above by Kumāraswāmin himself which must be more authentic. Nārāyaṇa traces his genealogy thus; Kumāraswāmin, Śambhu, Bhāskara, Nāgeśvera, Kondubhatta, Nāgeśvara, Nārāyaṇa.

5. So says Kumāraswāmin in his commentary on Pratāparudrīya.

commentary on the Meghadūta is the Ekāvali of Vidyādhara who frequently speaks of king Vīranarasimha as having humbled the pride of Hammīra who was contemporary with Singhana.[1] King Vīranarasimha reigned up to 1314 A. D.[2] Mallinātha has also written a commentary on the Ekāvali. His son Kumarasvamin has written a commentary on the Pratāparudrīya, a treatise on Alankara. The last named work frequently mentions the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra who invaded the kingdom of the Yadava king Ramachandra and reigned from A.D. 1295 to 1323.[3] The second verse in Mallinātha's introduction to his commentaries on the Raghuvamsa, Meghaduta and Kumārasambhava is quoted in an inscription dated in Saka 1455 or A.D. 1533.[4] From these facts it is clear that Mallinatha must have flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century."[5]

Mallinātha commented on the six mahākāvyas, on Ekāvali of Vidyādhara and on Tārkikarakṣā of Varadarāja and is said to have written[6] the poems Udārakāvya[7] and Raghuvīracarita.[8] Avowedly his learning was varied and his commentaries are held everywhere in the highest esteem.

32. Kuntesvaradautya[9] is a poem apparently describing an embassy to the court of Kuntala. It is expressly ascribed by Kṣemendra to Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa was himself the ambassador. The King of Kuntala received him with the honour due to the representative of King Vikramāditya and once by chance when Kālidāsa squatted on the floor and the King of Kuntala appeared not to relish it, Kālidāsa humorously answered that on the floor stood the Great Meru and there

1. *EHD*, 82.
2. *IA*, XXI, 157.
3. R. G. Bhandarkar's Int. to Ekāvali.
4. *IA*, V. (19).
5. *Int. to Megha.*
6. For works of Mallinātha, see *CC*, I. 434.
7. *B*, II. 72. Udārakāvya was probably mistaken for Udārarāghava of Kavimallamalla who was a different poet.
8. A poem of this name is printed in Travancore (*Tr. Sans. Series* No. 57). It is in 17 cantos and has good poetry but is anonymous as it is. So is the Manuscript *TC*, III. 3953. The poem begins with the entry of Rāma into Dandaka and relates the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. Can it be Mallinātha's?

In the Travancore State Library, there is a Raghuvīracarita by Bhatta Sukumāra (*Cat*, 186) which is a drama.
9. Rangaswami Sarasvati says it must have been a drama (*JMy*, XV. 272).

rested the Seven Oceans.[1] On returning from the errand, Vikramāḍiṭya asked him what the King of Kunṭala was doing and Kāliḍāsa gave a facitious answer in indirect praise of his King and parody of King of Kunṭala.[2]

Kṛṣṇa in his Bharaṭacariṭa ascribes Seṭubanḍha to a King of Kunṭala.

जडाशयस्यान्तरगाधमार्ग-
मलब्धरन्ध्रं गिरि चौर्यवृत्त्या ।
लोकेष्वलङ्कान्तमपूर्वसेतुं
बबन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेशः ॥

In the introduction to Harṣacariṭa, Bāṇa thus praises Setubandha :

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥

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1. So says Kṣemenḍra :

अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा कुन्तेश्वरदौत्ये—

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणा-
मिह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्त चान्ये ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तम्भविभ्राजमानं
धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

अत्र महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तास्थाने स्वप्रभुसमुचितगौरवपूजार्हमासनमप्राप्य कार्यवशेन भूमावेवोपविष्टः प्रागल्भ्यगाम्भीर्येणैवं ब्रूते, यथास्मद्विधानां वसुधातल एव भुजगपतिभोगस्तम्भप्राग्भारनिष्कम्पे धरासने स्थानं युक्तं, यस्मादिहैव मेरुरचलचक्रवर्ती समुपविष्टः, सप्त महाम्बुधयश्च, तत्तुल्यतैवास्माकमित्यौचित्यमधिकरणपदसंबद्धमेव ॥

2. This passage is in Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, VIII.

नैयायिकी यथा—कालिदासः किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोतीति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्ट उक्तवान्—

असकलहसितत्वात् क्षालितानीव कान्त्या
मुकुलितनयनत्वाद् व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

इदमेवोहयित्वा विक्रमादित्यः प्रत्यूचे—

पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
मयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ? ।

This verse is also quoted in Rājaśekara's Kāvyamīmāṃsā and Bhoja's Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇam.

It is therefore a safe inference that Pravarasena mentioned as the author of Seṭubanḍha was a king of Kunṭala.[1] The ascription of its authorship to Kāliḍāsa by the commentator and the strong tradition in support of it, when considered with the embassy of Kāliḍāsa to the Court of Kunṭala (as described in Kunṭesvara-ḍauṭya), can only suggest that either the poem written by Kāliḍāsa at Vikramadiṭya's direction was dedicated later to Pravarasena, or a poem written by Pravarasena was revised by Kāliḍāsa and this created a talk that Kāliḍāsa was really the author of it.

Who was the King of Kunṭala? Pravarsena was considered by many scholars as a king of Kashmir, who composed the poem in commemoration of the construction of a bridge on the Viṭasṭā.[2] This has now come to be doubted, as in some old manuscripts recently acquired for the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the colophon ascribes the authorship to the Vakātaka king Pravarasena, of Kunṭala.[3] The Kunṭala Kingdom was conquered by Pṛṭhvisena I, and this Pravarasena, it is said, must be Pravarasena II, who came to the throne about the year 400 A. D.[4]

Speaking of the Chamak plates of Pravarasena,[5] Fleet said "The date of the Vakataka inscriptions is determined by the marriage of Rudrasena II with Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Devagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Devagupta of Magadha, the son of Adityasena mentioned in the Dev Baranark Ins. (No. 46, p. 213, Gupta Ins.) and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. From another set of copper plates, it is seen that Ruḍrasena married Prabhāvatigupṭā, a daughter of Canḍragupṭa II

1. So says the commentary of Rāmarāja on Seṭubanḍha:

धीराणां काव्यचर्चाचतुरिमविधये विक्रमादित्यवाचा
यं चक्रे कालिदासः कविकुमुदविधुः सेतुनामप्रबन्धम् ।

2. वितस्तायां स भूपालो बृहत्सेतुमकल्पयत् ।
ख्याता ततः प्रभृत्येव तादृङ्नौ सेतुकल्पना ॥ *Ragu*, III. 354.

3. Kunṭala is the country between the rivers Bhima and Veḍavaṭi, bounded on the west by the Ghats including Shimoga, Chitaldoorg, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur, and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and Nizam's dominions. *Mysore Gazette*, I. 289.

Kunṭala was the empire of the Kaḍambas, and adjoined the territory of the Vākātakas. *EI*, XIII. 299. The Kunṭala kingdom was conquered by the Vākātaka king Priṭhivisena I. See G. J. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of Deccan*, 72-74. See also Buhler, *IA*, XVIII. 24.

4. *JMy*, XV. 272.

5. *Int.* to Gupta Inscriptions.

and his queen Kuberanāgā.[1] They give the genealogy of Rudrasena and the Gupta emperor. If then the term Devagupta was only an appellation, Candragupta (II) Vikramāditya would be the father-in-law of Vakataka Rudrasena II, and mother's father of Pravarasena II.[2]

According to the Puranas, Śrī Gupta dynasty was founded in 2811th year after Yudhistira's coronation, that is, began in 328 B.C., and Candragupta II reigned from 270 to 234 B.C. Alberuni starts the Gupta era from the extermination of the Guptas, 241 years after Saka, that is, 319 A.D. Fleet starts the era in 320 A.D. at the commencement of the Gupta dynasty. V. Smith, Pathak and Shama Sastri likewise start the era with the commencement[3] but from 290, 193-4 and 200 A.D. respectively. Accordingly for Chandragupta II, the latter dates vary from 401 to 282 A.D.

Kalhana mentions two Pravarasenas in 3147 Kali and 3211 Kali (45 and 102 A.D.) respectively[4] and makes the latter almost a younger contemporary of Vikramāditya Śakāri[5] though there was an opinion

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1. See *IA*, (1912) 214 ; *EI*, XV. 41 ; *IA*, XLI. 214. H. Heras, Relations between Guptas and Vakatakas, *JBORS*, XII. 455 ; V. Smith, *JRAS*, (1914), *Annals of B. L. Ins*. I. 31.

2. In *Jmy*, XV. 27. R. Sarasvati says :

"In the Meghaduta Kalidasa describes the feeling of a Yaksha separated from his home and beloved wife. The Yaksha addresses in his love-madness a cloud and requests it to carry his message to his wife. The place where the Yaksha suffers his banishment is called Ramagiri. Does the Meghaduta in thus describing the Yaksha's feelings preserve any personal reminiscences of Kalidasa himself ? A recently discovered copper plate grant of the Vakataka king, Pravarasena, has some interesting details. The grant on the plates is made by Prabhavatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta II and queen of the Vakataka Rudrasena. From the wording of the grant Prabhavatigupta appears to have been more proud of her paternal relations, of the Imperial Guptas, than her husband's family. The Vakatakas were then a dynasty subordinate to the Guptas. The most interesting point in this grant is that it was issued from the feet of the God of Ramagiri. This place Ramagiri is identified with Ramateka in the Central Provinces where the king stayed. It is very certain that this Ramagiri was the place where the Yaksha is supposed to have stayed during his banishment. It is thus proved that Kalidasa stayed in the court of the King Pravarasena for a certain period and that Pravarasena was at the sacred place Ramagiri. It seems to go without saying that Kalidasa was voicing forth his own feelings while describing those of the Yaksha. As an ambassador at the Vakataka court Kalidasa separated from his family must have almost undergone the experiences of a banished person, and it is his own message to his wife that is recorded in the immortal message of the Yaksha communicated through 'the cloud messenger.' "

3. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1923) 9 *et seq.*, for a full discussion by H. Shama Sastri. Panna Lal, *JBORS*, IV. 412 ; R. K. Mukherji, *JIH*, IV. 17 ; S. Krishnasami Iyengar, *JMy*, XV. 153.

4. *Raj*. III. 97, 109.

5. *Ibid*. III. 125.

held in Kalhana's time also that Vikramāḍiṭya who regined in Kali 2268 (24 B.C.) was the real Śakāri.[1]

The uncertainty of the dates ascribed to the Gupta dynasty, the proximity of the years given for Pravarasenas of Kaṣmir and of the Gupta inscriptions, the connection of a king Vikramaḍitya with these Pravarasenas and the mention of construction of setu in the Vitasta by King Pravarsena of Kaṣmir, these still leave a hope that further research may yet bring out some identity, for which at present the difficulty of father's names stands in the way; for King Pravarasena II of Kaṣmir was the son of Meghavāhana and King Pravarasena II of Vakatakas was the son of Ruḍrasena.

33. **Asvaghosa** was son of Ārya Swarṇākṣi and pupil of Pārśva. He was a pious mendicant of Central India and belonged to the order of Sānkeṭikas or Ṭirṭhikas. He declared himself exclusively entitled to strike the great bell or *ghanṭā* of his city and prohibited the Buddhists from touching it, until some one of that religion would refute him in discussion. The venerable Pārsva came to meet him and put him a simple question "What is to be desired in order that the universe may enjoy peace, the sovereign long life, the countries abundance and that people may no longer have to submit to miseries." Aśvaghoṣa was confounded and unable to offer a solution, became Pārśva's disciple and at his instance began to teach the religion of Buḍḍha. His real name is not definitely ascertained. It happened that Kaniṣka, the king of Little Yu-chyi in northern India invaded Magaḍha and demanded the cups of Buḍḍha and Aśvaghoṣa to be given up to him. The king was unwilling to part with the latter, but the nobles of his Court were sorry that the king was setting too high a value on Aśvaghoṣa at the risk of his State. To convince them of his merit the king starved the horses in his stable for one night and asking Aśvaghoṣa to begin his sermons, he offered fodder to the starving horses. The horses stood listening to the sermons with tears in their eyes and would not touch the fodder. Thenceforth he was called by the name of Aśvaghoṣa,[2] or in Chinese *Ma-mine*. But it appears that

1. *Ibid.* II. 5-6.

2. Extract from the Translation of Vassilief's *Der Buddhismus* (Russian Edn.) 210-222. As regards Aśvaghoṣa generally, see Weber, *Abhandlungen d. Konigl. Akadamie d. Wissenchaften Zu Berlin* (1859) 205-64 where the authorship of the Vajrasuci is discussed; *CC*, I. 34; Peterson, *Subh.* 8; Anesaki's *Article* in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (where the question of several Aśvaghoṣas is discussed); Levi's articles in *JA*, (1896), (1897), 1908; *JRAS*, (1908) 100; (1914)

Aśvaghoṣa accompanied Kaniṣka to Kāṣmir and was treated by him with great veneration and in Kaniṣka's Council, he took a leading part.

As a contemporary of King Kaniṣka, Aśvaghoṣa may have flourished at the latest, in the 1st century A.D.[1] His biography was translated into Chinese under the dynasty of Yao-twine (384-417 A.D.) by Kumarāsya.[2] ITsing mentions him as an old teacher and places him before Nagārjuna and Āryaḍeva. He praises his poems and collects his hymns, which were used in the Buddhist ritual.[3]

34. His BUDDHACARITA is a Mahākāvya, with 17 cantos now extant,[4] celebrating the history and teachings of Buḍḍha. From the middle of the 14th Canto, the poem diverges widely from the Chinese translation,[5] probably because Cantos 14 to 17 were lost and had to be made up by poet Amṛṭānanḍa, about the year 1800.[6] His

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748; Beal's *Si-yu-ki*. I. 151; Ui, *Int. to Viseshika Philosophy*; Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* (Calcutta).

1. On Aśvaghoṣa being contemporary of Kaniṣka, see *Journal of Buddhist Text Society*, III. 13; Schiefner's *Taranath*, Ch. XII; Watters, I. 209; II. 104; Baron Staol Holstain, *Was there a Kushana race?* [*JRAS*, (1914), 80]. Levi, *Notes Surles Indo Scythes*, 36; R. D. Banerji, The *Scythian period of Indian History* [*IA* (1908) 25-75], Hoernle, *IA*, X, 324; V. Smith [*EH*, 255-270] thinks that 78 A.D. marks either the accession or coronation of Kaniṣka. Fleet (*JRAS*, 1903, 1905, 1906, 1913) says that Kaniṣka founded the era of 56 B.C. Tradition places Kaniṣka, 700 years after Buḍḍha (*IA*, XXXII. 382). See for date of Kaniṣka, *IA*, XLII, 132, and XLVI, 261. Kalhaṇa places Kaniṣka 150 years after the Nirvāṇa (*Raj*. I. 168-172). Hiuen Tsang (I. 131) placed Kanishka 960 years after Buddha, and Max Muller (*India* 306) 400 years after Buddha. According to Narnandan Prasad [*Mod. Rev.* (1920), 389] and to Foucher [*L'Art greco-bouddhique*, I. 623], Aśvaghoṣa lived in 2nd century A D. So also says Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology on the evidence of stratification of the remains of Taxila. Bhandarkar gives date 278 A.D. The name of Kaniṣka is discussed in *IA*, XIII, 58.

2. *IA*, IV. 141; Max Muller's *India* 312; Naujio, V, 1329.

3. *IA*, (1888), 425. Hiuen Tsang also refers to him (Julien's Translation, II. 214).

4. Ed. by Cowell (Clarendon Press, Oxford). Tr. into Italian by C. Formichi, See *JRAS*, (1914), 105 and *ZDMG*, XLVI, 517-19 for reviews. I Tsing says that the poem was of considerable length about 3000 Slokas [Takakusu, *Rec. of Buddhist Religion*, (lvli, 181, 153)]. For critical notes, by J. S. Spayer, see *JRAS*, (1914), 105. There is a commentary on the 8th canto by Jagannath Prasad.

5. The poem was translated by Sanghavarman into Chinese in 414-421 A.D. and into Tibetan in the 7th or 8th century A.D. and into English (*SBS*, No. 49). The Chinese translation has 28 chapters.

6. The Cambridge Ms. says so: सर्वत्रान्विष्यतोऽलब्ध्वा चतुस्सर्गं च निर्मितम् । Amṛṭānanḍa is mentioned as a poet and author between years 1796 and 1830. See Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature. In the colophon Aśvaghoṣa is called Bhaḍanṭa (venerable).

SOUNDARANANDA[1] is an exquisite poem of 18 cantos. It describes the story of the conversion of King Nanda of the Ikṣvāku race and his redemption from the ocean of worldly pleasures in which he was immersed in the company of his consort Sundarī. Aśvaghoṣa avows that this poem was intended to teach philosophy by the detectable means of alluring poetry. "The Soundarananda has been somewhat neglected by students of Buddhism in the past, surprisingly perhaps, because apart from its interest as an example of early Buddhist poetry, it is," as Mr. Johnston tells us in his preface, "The earliest work presenting to us a logical and carefully thought out description of the path to Enlightenment . . . It enables us to see the force and bearing of technical terms and arguments, which are enunciated in earlier Buddhist literature in a manner liable to cause misconception. Further, as Asvaghosa is generally agreed to have flourished early in the second century A.D., the indications he gives of developments in doctrine deserve consideration."

35. These two poems supplement each other on the life of Buddha. Aśvaghoṣa's plays will be referred to in the chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA. If "to the ordinary critic the fame of Kālidāsa rests on the charm of his similes, Aśvaghoṣa certainly excels him.[2] His vocabulary is very ancient and several of his words have now become obsolete in their

1. Ed. by Haraprasad Sastri. *Bibl. Ind.* (Calcutta), where the introduction gives summary of the poem. Ed. by E.H. Johnson (Oxford) with critical notes and readings.

2. For verses containing parallel ideas, see S. P. Pandit and Nandargikar's Introductions to Raghuvamśa, Haraprasad Sastri's Int. to Saundarananda, *op. cit.* iv-vi and Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya's *Date of Kalidasa* (*All. Un. Studies*, II. 79). For instance, compare the following :

ASVAGHOSA	KALIDASA
तां सुन्दरीं चेन्न लभेत नन्दः सा वा निषेवेत न तं नतभ्रूः । द्वन्द्वं ध्रुवं तद्विकलं न शोभे- तान्योन्यहीनाविव रात्रिचन्द्रौ ॥ *Saunda.* iv. 7.	परस्परेण स्पृहणीयशोभं न चेदिदं द्वन्द्वमयोजयिष्यत् । अस्मिन्द्वये रूपविधानयत्नः पत्युः प्रजानां वितथोऽभविष्यत् ॥ *Raghu.* vii. 14.
वाता ववुः स्पर्शसुखं मनोज्ञा दिव्यानि वासांस्यवपातयन्त्यः । सूर्यः स एवाभ्यधिकं चकाशे जज्वाल सौम्यार्चिरनीरितोऽग्निः ॥ *Buddha.* xiii. 73.	वाता ववुः सौख्यकराः प्रसेदु- राशा विधूमो हुतभुग्ददीपे । जलान्यभूवन्विमलानि तत्रा- त्सवेऽन्तरिक्षं प्रससाद सद्यः ॥ *Kum.* xi. 37.

peculiar meanings.[1] His philosophy was of a high order. He belonged to a school, probably of Yogacara, which preceded the Mahayana school with its theory of Sunyata propounded by Nagarjunā two generations later."[2] "Asvaghoṣha," says Cowell, "seems to be entitled to the name of the Ennius of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry. His style is often rough and obscure, but it is full of native strength of beauty; his descriptions are not too much laboured, nor are they *purpurei pannu*; they spring from the narrative growing from it as natural blossoms, not as external appendages."

On the identity of Aśvaghoṣa with Ārya-Sūra and Mātṛceṭa, scholars are not agreed.[3] These names appear on their reading genuinely distinct proper names and not titles and may designate different individuals.[4] It seems therefore not easy to assign to Aśvaghoṣa all works, in Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan, going under any of these names.

ASVAGHOSA

स हि स्वगात्रप्रभयोज्ज्वलन्त्या
दीपप्रभां भास्करवन्मुमोष ।
महार्हजाम्बूनदचारुवर्णो
विद्योतयामास दिशश्च सर्वाः ॥

Buddha. i. 32.

द्वन्द्वानि सर्वस्य यतःप्रसक्ता-
न्यलाभलाभप्रभृतीनि लोके ।
अतोऽपि नैकान्तसुखोऽस्ति कश्चि-
न्नैकान्तदुःखः पुरुषः पृथिव्याम् ॥

Buddha. xi. 43.

KALIDASA

अरिष्टशय्यां परितो विसारिणा
सुजन्मनस्तस्य निजेन तेजसा ।
निशीथदीपाः सहसा हतत्विषो
बभूवुरालेख्यसमार्पिता इव ॥

Ragh. iii. 15.

कस्यैकान्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ।

Megha. ii. 48.

The extreme similarity of the ideas and diction has given rise to a controversy as to the relative priority of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa.

1. For instance, धिष्ण्य means dwelling; गन्त्री, cart; and धर्मन् custom.

2. It is pointed out in *JRAS* (1914) 747 by Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya that though Aśvaghoṣa preceded Nāgārjuna, he still refers to the theory of *Śunyata* in the Soundarananda.

3. See *Album Kern* (Leiden) 405-8; *IA*, (1903), 345-60.

4. Other works directly attributed to Aśvaghoṣa are *Gandi Stotra* (*Bib. Buddhica*, No. XV. St. Peterburg, [(1913); *JRAS*, (1914), 752]; *Vajrasuci* (Weber, *op. cit.* 205-64). These are in Sanskrit. *Daśadustakarmamārga Sutra*, *Mahāyanaśraddhotpādaśāstra* (Translated by Suzuki, Chikago) and *Sutrālankāra śastra* (Translated into French by Huber, Paris). These are in Chinese. See Nanjo's Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka (Oxford). For a full list of the works in the names of Matriceṭa and Āryaśura, see Thomas *Int. to Kav.* (Bibl. Ind, Calcutta 25-29).

36. "**Buddhaghosa** was a Brahman born in Thaton.[1] He was an inmate of the Kelāsa monastery, and in A.D. 387 he was deputed to Ceylon by King Thini Gyaung (Dhammapala) in order to bring away a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures. At Bassein, he took ship for Tamalitti, the Indian port, and first went to Gaya by the Gangetic route, to obtain drawings of the principal sacred sites. He returned by the same route and proceeded to Ceylon where he stayed for three years. He composed the Visuddimagga while at Anuradhapura, and on his return to Thaton, brought a complete copy of the Pitakas with their commentaries as well as other works in the Telaing characters."[2] This is the account given by James Gray in the Buḍḍhaghoṣuppaṭṭi, but an earlier date is not impossible. The name of Buḍḍhaghoṣa is held in high reverence by the southern Buddhists and he was the propounder of Buddisism as current in the south.

His Padyacudamani, a poem in 10 cantos, discribes the birth, marriage and other incidents in the life of Buddha. The story differs in some details from the narrative in the Laliṭavisṭara and Buḍḍhaçarita. The plot of the poem has thus been summarised by Prof. S. Kuppuswamy Sastri :

"There ruled at Kapila, a king named Suddhodana of the Sakya race, with his queen Mayadevi. As he had no issue, he performed penance. Meanwhile the Lord of the Tusita world resolved at the instance of the Devas to incarnate in this world for enlightening it and entered the womb of Mayadevi. The birth of the son Siddhartha was attended with supernatural phenomena. After the due performance of the natal ceremonies, arrangements were made for his boyish sports, and for his education. In due time as he grew, he was installed as the heir-apparent, and his marriage was thought of. He was formally married to the daughter of the king of the Koliya country. Then the

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1. On Buḍḍhaghoṣa, see B. C. Law, *Life and work of Buḍḍhaghoṣa* (Calcutta); Foulkes, *IA*, XIX. 105-122 and S. Kuppuswamy Sastri, *Introduction to Paḍyacuḍāmani*. Takakusu, *Paramarṭha's Life of Vasubandhu* [*JRAS*, (1905)] says that Samantapāsādika of Buḍḍhaghoṣa was translated into Chinese by Saṅgbabhaḍra in 488 A.D. For Æsopic fable in Buḍḍhaghoṣa, see *IA*, I. 320. For date and legends, see *IA*, XIX. 105.

2. T. Foulkes (*loc cit.*) gives a summary of the dates assigned to Buḍḍhaghoṣa and "it is stated that living in the extreme improbable date they extend from 386 to 557 A.D. and group themselves about the reign of king Mahanama of Ceylon." S. Kuppuswamy Sastri says that the consensus of opinion is in favour of assigning the poet to the latter part of the fifth century A.D. Senavaratne (*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, I. Pt. ii) says Buḍḍhaghoṣa visited Ceylon in 483 A.D.

prince with his wife returned to his own city amidst great rejoicings. The king took particular care to make ample provision for his son's enjoyments in the various seasons of the year. During the autumn the prince practised the use of martial weapons and mastered it in seven days. One day in the spring season when he started for the pleasure garden, he saw on the royal road, as arranged by the Devas, visions of an old man, an afflicted person and a corpse. He was greatly impressed with the sight and questioned the attendants of the chariot. On learning from the charioteer the nature of the ills to which the human body is liable, he desired to return home. On his way back, he perceived some ascetics, who were reported to have found the means of deliverance from the ills of human existence. He again started for the pleasure garden where he spent the day very agreeably in various pastimes. He returned home, where formal rejoicings were conducted. Suddenly he took his resolve to renounce his royal home, travelled 30 Yojanas crossed the river Anavama, dismissed his attendants and put on the ascetic robe. He practised severe austerities and lived by begging his food in the Bimbasāra city. Failing to attain salvation he thought over the means of securing it. During the night he had five dreams and in the morning after making out the significance of these dreams he decided on the means of attaining Nirvana. Sitting under a banyan tree, he received Payasa from a woman, proceeded to the Nairanjara river and ate the food. After spending the day in the dense Sala forst, he went to the Bodhi tree in the evening and seated himself there on a miraculously provided seat. The devas eulogised Buddha; and Manmatha, learning the news, resolved to conquer him. Manmatha's army first delivered the attack but failed to make any advance. Manmatha then made a personal attack which was repulsed. As a last resort he sent his women, who performed dexterous dances before Buddha and tried their utmost to captivate and overpower him. Finding their efforts wholly futile, they ran away. Thus came to be firmly established the supreme sovereignty of the great Siddhartha over the empire of salvation.".

Being a Mahākāvya, the poet adheres to the canons of poetics in describing the various phenomena of nature, such as courses of sun and moon, the seasons, cities, oceans etc. He appears to have studied the works of Kāliḍāsa and Aśvaghoṣa and become so familiar with them that his own verses so closely resemble theirs that without fear of detection they could be interpolated in Kumārasambhava or Buḍḍhacariṭa. Buḍḍhagoṣa is resourceful in finding series of similes and fancies

in description, where the idea is often continuous from verse to verse. In describing the moon, for instance, in the eighth canto all the 22 verses depict the internment of the moon under the sea, the gradual ascent and descent in the horizon and disappearance in the dark fortnight, as an evolution of a child from birth to end. The whole poem reads as a garden of poetic blossoms, where to cull one for show is well nigh impossible.[1]

37. Mentha better known as Bhartṛ Mentha[2] has been held by rhetoricians in high esteem probably higher than Kālidāsa. The word Mentha means elephant-driver and there is a reference to that

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1. Read the following :—

सुधासनाथेन सुधामयूखः कलासमग्रः करपल्लवेन ।
विलिम्पतीव क्षणदासु यस्यां क्रीडागृहाणामुपरिस्थलानि ॥ 1. 14.

यदिन्द्रनीलोपलकुट्टिमेषु प्रविष्टबिम्बां प्रथमेन्दुलेखाम् ।
मृणालखण्डस्पृहया मरालाश्चञ्चूपुटैश्चुम्बितुमुत्सहन्ते ॥ ii. 15.

लीलाचकोररसनाञ्चललिह्यमान-
प्रासाददन्तवलभीकिरणप्ररोहाम् ।
तिर्यक्प्रवृत्तमणितोरणदीर्घरश्मि-
मालावलीगुणितवन्दनमालिकाभाम् ॥ ii. 3.

प्रसन्नमूर्णावलयाभिरामं ज्योतिर्मयं तस्य मुखारविन्दम् ।
भूयिष्ठमन्तर्गतचन्द्रलेखां बालार्कबिम्बश्रियमाततान ॥ iii. 60.

ऊर्णाभिरामा नरपालसूनोर्ललाटभूमिर्नितरां चकाशे ।
वप्रक्रियाभग्ननिलीनदन्तिदन्ताङ्कुरा मेरुशिलातटीव ॥ iii. 61.

रराज तस्या नवरोमराजिरारोहतस्तुङ्गपयोधराद्रिम् ।
शृङ्गारयोनेरवलम्बनार्थमालम्बितेन्दीवरमालिकेव ॥ iv. 23.

वीरुन्मयीं विभ्रममन्त्रदोलामारोप्य भृङ्गीमविगीतगीताम् ।
समीरणैरात्मगरुत्समुत्थैः सानन्दमान्दोलयति स्म भृङ्गः ॥ iv. 18.

सुवर्णकारेण तपात्ययात्मना पयोदपालीनिकषोपलान्तरे ।
निघृष्यमाणा इव हेमराजयस्तडिल्लता भान्ति चकोरलोचने ॥ v. 14.

कृताभिषेकाः प्रथमं घनाम्बुभिर्धृतोत्तरीयाः शरदभ्रसंचयैः ।
विलिप्तगात्र्यः शशिरश्मिचन्दनैर्दिशो दधुस्तारकहारयष्टिकाम् ॥ v. 47.

2. In Aufrecht's Ms. the name is spelt as Bhartṛmedhra (Peterson, *Subh*, 93).

sense in a verse of Rājaśekhara quoted by Jalhaṇa in his Sūkṭimukṭāvali.[1] The anthologies quote the same verse under name Mentha or Hasṭipaka and some of the extant verses give an exquisite description of wild elephants just caught in pits.[2] This confirms a doubt if Mentha was really engaged in that pursuit. Kalhaṇa mentions him as attached to the court of Māṭṛgupṭa of Kaṣmir.[3] If Māṭṛgupṭa's date is taken as 430 A.D., Mentha must have lived about that date. The well-known verse *limpatīva ṭamongāni* which occurs in the Mṛṭchakatikā, in Avimāraka, in Bālacariṭa, and in Kāvyāḍarsa is found quoted in Śārngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi as the joint composition of Vikramāḍiṭya and Mentha and this increases the cloud surrounding the authorship of that verse, but it may suggest that Mentha was connected with the court of a King Vikramāḍiṭya. Mankha in his Śrīkanthacariṭa mentions him with Subanḍhu, Bhāravi and Bāṇa. Rajasekhara calls him an incarnation of Vālmīki, and Bhavabhūti and himself as his later incarnations.[4] This

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1. वक्रोक्त्या मेण्ठराजस्य वहन्त्या सृणिरूपताम् ।
आविद्धा इव धुन्वन्ति मूर्धानं कविकुञ्जराः ॥

2. त्यक्तो विंध्यगिरिः पिता भगवती मातेव रेवानदी
ते ते स्नेहनिबन्धबन्धुरधियस्तुल्योदया दन्तिनः ।
त्वल्लोभान्ननु हस्तिनि स्वयमिदं बन्धाय दत्तं वपु-
स्तं दूरं प्रियसे लुठन्ति च शिरःपीठे कठोराङ्कुशाः ॥

घासग्रासं गृहाण त्यज गजकलभ प्रेमबन्धं करिण्याः
पाशग्रन्थिव्रणानामभिमतमधुना देहि पङ्कानुलेपम् ।
दूरीभूतास्तवैते शबरवरवधूविभ्रमोद्भ्रान्तरम्या
रेवाकूलोपकण्ठद्रुमकुसुमरजोधूसरा विन्ध्यपादाः ॥ हास्तिपकस्य

3. हयग्रीववधं मेण्ठस्तदग्रे दर्शयन्नवम् ।
आसमाप्ति ततो नापत्साध्वसाध्विति वा वचः ॥
अथ ग्रथयितुं तस्मिन् पुस्तकं प्रस्तुते न्यधात् ।
लावण्यनिर्याणभिया तदधः स्वर्णभाजनम् ॥
अन्तरज्ञतया तस्य तादृश्या कृतसत्कृतिः ।
भर्तृमेण्ठः कविर्मेने पुनरुक्तं श्रियोऽर्पणम् ॥ *Raj.* III. 260-2.

See Max Muller's *India*, 314 note.

4. बभूव वल्मीकभवः पुरा कविः
ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्ठताम् ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया
स वर्तते संप्रति राजशेखरः ॥

lends support to the tradition that Mentha verse a long poem Rāmacarita in 100 cantos and it is belleved a copy of it is still available at Benares.

His poem[1] HAYAGRIVAVADHA is lost. The first verse of it is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmsā and Kṣemendra in his Suvṛttatilaka,[2] and another by Raghava in his commentary of Śakuntalā.[3] Many verses are extracted by Bhoja and in the anthologies as Mentha's or Hastipaka's and rightly merit their appreciation.[4]

38. Kumaradasa was a King of Ceylon.[5] He was the son of King Kumāramaṇi who died on the battle field and on that day Kumāradāsa was born. He was bred up by his two distinguished maternal uncles Sri Megha and Agrabodhi with paternal affection.[6]

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1. *PR*, I. 9. Hemacandra in his Kavyānuśāsana (p. 15) mentions it as a poem (*BKR*, 42). For references, see CC, 754. Troyer thought it was a drama (*JBRAS*, XII).

2. आसीद्दैत्यो हयग्रीवः सुहृद्वेश्मसु यस्य ताः ।
प्रथयन्ति बलं बाह्वोः सितच्छत्रस्मिताः श्रियः ॥

3. यं प्रेक्ष्य चिररूढापि निवासप्रीतिरुज्झिता ।
मदेनैरावणमुखे मानेन हृदये हरेः ॥

4. वाचो माधुर्यवर्षिण्यो नाभयः शिथिलांशुकाः ।
दृष्टयश्च चलत्कूका मण्डनान्यन्ग्रयोषिताम् ॥
तथाप्यकृतकोत्तालहासपल्लविताधरम् ।
मुखं ग्रामविलासिन्याः सकलं राज्यमर्हति ॥
न तथा नागरस्त्रीणां विलासा रमयन्ति नः ।
यथा स्वभावमुग्धानि वृत्तानि ग्राम्ययोषिताम् ॥

5. There are poets by the names Kumāra, Kumāradatta, Kumārabbatta and Bhatta Kumāra mentioned in the anthologies. Are these identical?

6. So says he himself in the last four verses of Jānakīharaṇa (*TC*, IV. 4248-9):

नित्यं सद्गुणभक्तिरिंद्रियदमश्रीसंयतः संयतः
शस्त्रद्योतितमूर्ध्नि मुक्तहृदयोऽभीसंगतः सङ्गतः ।
विद्वानस्य कवेः पितार्यहृदयं धीमानितो मानितो
लङ्कैश्वर्यभुजः कुमारमणिरित्यासन्नयः सन्नयः ॥
येनान्यप्रकृतिं निराकृतवता संमानितो मानितो
यस्य स्वाङ्गमभिघ्नतो रिपुभृशं नाशोऽभितः शोभितः ।
श्रीमेघोऽस्य कवेरसौ किल बृहद्वामातुलो मातुलो
दृष्टत्रासजडं द्विषामधिगतत्रासेनया सेनया ॥
श्रीमानेकः शरण्यः परिभवविपदां भाजनानां जनानां
रूपेणानुप्रयातो दिवमतिसुभगं रञ्जयन्तं जयन्तम् ।

Writers on the Indian literary history now take it for granted that Kumāradāsa whose name as such appears in the colophon to the poem is the same as king Kumāra Ḍhāṭusena who ruled over Ceylon according to Mahāvamśa in the year after Buddha's Nirvāna which corresponds, as worked out by European Chroniclers, to A.D. 515-524. In the last four verses of canto 20 of the poem Kumāradāsa gives his father's name as Kumāramaṇi and says that on the day his father died in the battle-field he was born and thenceforward he was brought up by his mother's brothers, Sri Megha and Agrabodhi. In the last verse there is also an indication that as a child he was troubled by disease. What the disease was we are not told; but Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-Mimāmsa instances Kumāradāsa as a poet born blind.[1] Is it possible that the disease was congenital blindness?

39. The Mahāvamśa[2] thus notices the acts of this celebrated Prince :—" After his (Moggalana's) demise, his son, who was known as Kumara Dhatusena, (both) mighty and godlike, became king. He repaired the temple which had been built by his father, held a convocation of (Dhamma) the Baudda Scriptures, and purified the religion. He pleased the priesthood with the four pachchya; and, having done many meritorious actions, passed away in the ninth year. Kittisena his son then became king."

This account given in Mahāvamśa shows that the name of the king was Kumāra Ḍhāṭusena and not Kumāra Ḍāsa, that that king's father was Moggalana and not Kumāramaṇi, that Kumāra Ḍhāṭusena

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भ्राता तन्मातुरस्या शशिधवलयशःकारणानां रणानां
कर्तुं पुत्रोऽग्रबोधिर्जनशिरसि लसद्भासुराज्ञः सुराज्ञः ॥
आदायैनं दशायां स्थितमपि तदहस्स्तनाभ्यां स्तनाभ्यां
तुष्टे तस्मिन्गदानामरिहतपितृके पारयन्तौ रयन्तौ ।
आत्मापत्याविशेषं पुपुषतुरहतप्रेमदान्तौ मदान्तौ
यत्सानाध्यात्स काव्यं व्यरचयदसुरद्विण्महार्थं महार्थम् ॥

These four verses are found in the above manuscript but not in the other manuscript. But the last two lines are found in the poem as originally restored by Dharmārāma as the end of the 25th canto which ought to be 20, for there are only 20 cantos in the complete manuscripts now available This would show that the four verses must have been part of the original poem and not any suspicions later addition.

The colophon in the manuscript is: इति सिंहलस्य कुमारदासस्य कृतौ जानकीहरणे महाकाव्ये विंशतिः सर्गः परिसमाप्तिमगमत् ॥

1. Gaek Ed. page 12.
2. Translated by L. C. Wijesimha, 1889.

was a mighty king and ruled well; that he was not incapacitated by any disease or that his father died on the battle field when he was just born, and that there is no mention there of his maternal uncle Sri Megha and Agrabodhi. The latter names occur 40 years later in the list of kings in Chapter 44 of the Mahāvamśa as the 76th king. After his death after a reign of nine years his son Kittisena succeeded him.[1] It will therefore be observed that the account given by the poet of himself in the poem differs in every respect from Mahāvamśa's description of King Kumāra Ḍhāṭusena. This name Kumāra Ḍhāṭusena when read with his son's name Kittisena shows that the main part of the name was Ḍhāṭusena and the word Kumāra was prefixed to it.

The identity therefore of the poet with that particular king cannot possibly be accepted. The language of the poem which in its merit is very akin to that of Kāliḍāsa and the earliest poets, when read with the tradition that Kāliḍāsa and Kumāraḍāsa were friends, suggests the conclusion that Kumāraḍāsa must have been a far earlier poet than the 5th or 6th century A. D., which is induced by the wrong identification. Even in Ceylon, it is not now generally accepted that the author of the poem was this king of Ceylon.[2]

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1. In the chronological table Part II. Ch. xvii in Wijesimha's Mahawamsa, we have a list of Kings and there we find,

67.	Kumara Dhatusena	515-24 A.D.
74.	Kittisri	560-1 A.D.
76.	Aggabodhi I	564 A.D.

2. Mr. S. Paranartana, Assistant to Archaelogical Commissioner, Ceylon, writes to me so and was kind enough to give this following information, which is at best available now : King Kumāradāsa is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* by the epithet of Kumārāi Dhātusena (Kumāra Dhātusena). But in Sinhalese historical works, this king is always referred to as Kumāradāsa. In the chapter dealing with the history of Ceylon in the *Pujāvali* a Sinhalese work written about 1266 A.D., it is said that Moggallana I's son was Kumāradāsā and that he was a great scholar and a contemporary of Kālidāsa, the Indian poet. Other Sinhalese works such as the *Nikāya Saṁgraha, Saddharmma Ratnākara, Rājaratnākara* and *Rājāvali*, also mention the same. The *Perakumbā Sirita*, a Sinhalese poem composed in the 15th century, attributes to king Kumāradāsa the authorship of the *Jānakiharaṇa*. The identification of Kumāradhātusena with Kumāradāsa, by Turnour and others, is evidently based on these Sinhalese authorities. There is an inscription of King Kumāradāsa at a place called Nagirikanda. In this, the king is styled Maha Kumaratasa raja, the Sinhalese form of Māha Kumāradāsa rāja. This inscription has been published by Muller in his *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon* (No 97) ; but as the first line is somewhat weathered he has not been able to decipher the king's name. A revised edition of this record will be

40. Tradition makes him a contemporary of Kāliḍāsa and the following story is current. Kumāraḍāsa had a fair courtesan and in one of his visits to her he wrote a line कमले कमलोत्पत्तिः श्रूयते न च दृश्यते and promised a reward for the completion of the verse. Kāliḍāsa was then on a visit to the royal court and happened to lodge in the same mansion and seeing the incomplete verse added बाले तव मुखाम्भोजे दृष्टमिन्दीवरद्वयम्. On learning this the courtesan made away with the poet and concealed the body and demanded the reward, but the king suspected that the real poet was elsewhere and made her confess the crime. Aggrieved by the loss of his friend the king consigned himself, in despair, to the fire on the funeral file of Kāliḍāsa.[1]

Perakumba Sirita thus notices both author and work:—"King Kumaradasa, who on the very same day celebrated a three-fold feast in honor of the inauguration of the queen-consort, the installation into office of a number of priests, and the founding of 18 temples and 18 tanks; and who in masterly and elegant strains composed Janakiharana and other (maha kavu) great poems offered his life for the poet Kalidasa." Apart from the merit of this story for the purpoes of chronology, there can be no doubt that Kumāraḍāsa was a devout admirer of Kāliḍāsa and his works.

41. His **Janakiharana**, a poem in 20 cantos describes the story of Rāma and the abduction of Sīṭā by Rāvaṇa.[2]

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published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* at an early date. I attach herewith a transcript in Nagarī of the verses dealing with Kumaradhatusena in the *Mahāvaṁsa*:

तस्सच्चये कुमारादि धातुसेनोऽति विस्सुतो
अहु तस्ससुतो राजा देवरूपो महाबलो
कारिते पितुनाऽकासि विहारे नवकम्मकं
कारेत्वा धम्मसंगीतिं परिसोधेसि सासनं
संतप्पेसि महासंघं पच्चयेहि चतूहिऽपि
कत्वा पुञ्ञानिऽनेकानि नवमे हायनेऽतिगा

Mahāvaṁsa, Ch. 41, *verses* 1-3.

1. *A description of Ceylon* by J, Cordimar, (1907), *Ceylon, ancient and modern*, by an officer of the Ceylon Rifles mentioned in Seshagiri Sastri's *Rep.* II (1899), 20; Nandargikar's *Int.* to *Ragh.* 122. This story is attributed also to Kalidasa's wife, Kamalā, in Bhau Daji's *Literary Remains*, 51.

2. On Kumāraḍāsa and his work, see D'Alwis *Des. Cat. of Sanskrit, Pali and Singhalese Manuscripts* (Ceylon); Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 17 and *CC.* I. 110, Peterson *PR*, IV. 24; *JBRAS*, XVI. 10, and *Int. to Subh.* 24; *BR*, (1897), xxv. Lanmann, *Zum Janakiharana des Kumaradasa* (*VOJ*, VII. 226-34); S. K. De,

The poem was not available for a long time, when Ḍharmārama reclaimed 15 cantos from a Singhalese sanna[1] (paraphrase) of Rāja-sundara and edited the poem so far. Nandargikar and Haraprasad Sastri brought out other editions, but their editions also extended only to 10 and 14 cantos respectively. The 16th canto was edited by Barnett for the London School of Oriental Studies recently. There are now manuscripts of the whole poem in tact and they show two recensions of the poem. In the manuscript recently obtained by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi of Madras, the number of verses in each canto is far more than in the manuscript of the Oriental Manuscripts' Library of Madras and in the published editions.

"The first chapter treats of the history of Dasaratha ; the second, of the visit of Indra, and the gods, to Vishnu in the Nagaloka, after they were defeated by Ravana, and Vishnu's promise to be born in the human world ; the third is on Ritu Varṇanā ; the fourth, on the worship of Agni, and the birth of Rama in the womb of Kausalyā, the Queen of Dasaratha—his education—his departure with Lakshmana on the application of Vasishtha to fight with Rakshasa, etc. ; the fifth gives a description of, and particulars connected with, the jungle-residence of Vasishtha ; the sixth treats of the departure of Rama, etc. to Mithila, where a marriage was concluded for him ; the arrival there

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Some readings of Janakiharana, XVI. (*Bull. of Sch. of Or. Studies, London*, VI. 611-2 ; *Kalidasa in Ceylon* [*JRAS*, (1894) 397] ; *Kumaradasa* [*JRAS* (1901) 578, 253, 128].

Ed. by Dharmarama, Colombo, (1891) ; by Haraprasada Sastri (Calcutta, 1893) ; Nandargikar (Bombay, 1907, 10 cantos only). For quotations of Kumāraḍāsa's verses in the anthologies, and in Ujvaladatta's commentary, see Thomas, *Int. to Kav.* 35 and Peterson, *Int. to Subh*, 25. There is a controversy on the original of the verse, quoted by Kshemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā

अयि विजहीहि दृढोपगूहनं त्यज नवसंगमभीरु वल्लभे ।
अरुणकरोद्गम एष वर्तते वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः ॥

based on the last line, found in Paṭanjali's Mahābhāṣya (T. 283). Seshagiri Sastri (*Rep*, II. 20) says, "The verse is not found in the present edition of Janakiharana and the full stanza as quoted by Kṣemendra is quite different from that quoted in Pada-manjari except the last lines which are identical :

अपनय पादसरोजमङ्कतः शिथिलय बाहुलतां गलाद्दताम् ।
क्वच वदनेंऽशुकमाकुलीकृतं वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः ॥

On this question, see *BR*, 1883-84, 56 and *JBRAS*, XVI. 170. 199 ; Nandargikar, *Int. to Ragh*, 126. It seems as if the last line was taken from Paṭanjali and the rest of the verse was made up by way of *samasyā-pūraṇa*.

1. *Cat. of Colombo Museum Library*, page 11,

of Dasaratha etc.; the seventh on Rama's marriage with Sītā, the daughter of king Janaka; the eighth treats of their honey-moon; the ninth, the departure of Dasaratha and the new married couple to Ayodhya—the battle fought during their journey, etc.; the tenth relates the circumstances attending Rama's expulsion by the infirm Dasaratha, owing to the application for the throne by Kaikeyi for her own son, the invitation of Bharata to Rama, and the abduction of Sita by Ravana; the eleventh contains the fight between Garuda and Ravana to prevent Sita being carried away, the death of Garuda, the flight of Ravana with Sita to Lanka, and the acts of Rama in connection with the battle of Sugriva and Vali; the twelfth gives a description of Autumn or Sarat Varnana, and Sugriva's visit to Rama; the thirteenth records Rama's lament for the loss of Sita, gives description of Varsha, or the rainy season, Sugriva's attempt at consoling Rama etc., the fourteenth mentions the construction of Adam's bridge; and the fifteenth (which is called the twenty-fifth, and which is evidently dificient in matter) gives a glowing picture of (the blessing of) Barce, as opposed to (the ravages of) war; which is introduced as a message sent by Rama to Ravana."[1] The remaining cantos continue the story of Rāmāyana.

Kumāraḍāsa follows Kāliḍāsa in every line of his description and if imitation is not laudable, he is at least a worthy compeer. The poem has been held in high estimation and Jalhaṇa praises him in the name of Rājasekhara as an adept in relating the story of Rāma, next only to Kāliḍāsa.[2]

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1. As summarised by D'Alwis (l.c.) 194.
2. In Suktimukṭāvali :

जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।
कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ॥

For illustration of his language :

यत्र वातायनासन्नवारमुख्यामुखेन्दवः ।
रथ्यासंचारिणो यूनः स्खलयन्ति पदे पदे ॥

उल्लसत्सु कुमुदेषु षट्पदाः संपतन्ति परितो हिमांशुना ।
भिद्यमानतमसो नभःस्थलात् विच्युता इव तमिस्रबिन्दवः ॥

स्त्रियो न पुंसामुदयस्य साधनं त एव तद्धाम विभूतिहेतवः ।
तडिद्वियुक्तोऽपि घनः प्रजृंभते विना न मेघं विलसन्ति विद्युतः ॥

गतापि भर्त्रे परिकोपमायतं गिरं कृथा मा परुषार्थदीपिनीम् ।
कुलस्त्रियो भर्तृजनस्य भर्त्सने वदन्ति मौनं परमं हि साधनम् ॥

42. Bhatti was the son of Śrīswāmin or Śrīdharaswāmin. Bhatti has been identified with Bhartṛhari and Bhatti is said to be a prakritised form of Bhatri. The fact that Bhatti and Bhartṛhari were both grammarians and the tales that sprang up about their connection with

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करोति शीलेन पतिव्रता पतिं गुणस्पृहं वश्यमवश्यमङ्गना ।
पराभवं भर्तुरुपैति दुस्तरं विनष्टचारित्रगुणा गुणैषिणः ॥

उभे वक्षसि वंश्यानां तिष्ठतो रक्तकर्कशे ।
यौवने वनिता वल्कसन्ततिर्वार्धके च नः ॥

नरेन्द्रचन्द्रस्य यशोवितानज्योत्स्ना महीमण्डलमण्डनस्य ।
तस्यारिनारीनयनेन्दुकान्तनिष्यन्दहेतुर्भुवनं ततान ॥

तेनोपयेमे विधिवद्विधेया वह्नेः समक्षं समयं विदित्वा ।
इन्द्रद्विषद्भर्तृनिषूदनस्य माता भवित्री भवतुल्यधाम्नः ॥

नाभिपद्मस्पृशौ येन भीमौ मायाशयालुना ।
पाणिभिः पाटितौ कामं कीटवन्मधुकैटभौ ॥

नृपेण केलीकलहे परस्याश्छिन्नच्युतस्याम्बुजिनीपलाशे ।
हारस्य वीचीकणिकाः समीपे पूर्वस्थिताः संवरणा बभूवुः ॥

क्रीडाविमर्दे वलयस्य भिन्नभ्रष्टस्य चिक्षेप विकृष्य हंसः ।
स्वच्छे जले बालमृणालभङ्गशङ्काहृतः शङ्खमयस्य खण्डम् ॥

फुल्लं यदीदं कमलं किमेतत्तत्रैव नीलोत्पलयोर्विकासः ।
इत्यात्तशङ्कानुसरस्तरन्त्या हंसः सिषेवे वदनं सुदत्याः ॥

न स राम इह क यात इत्यनुयुक्तो वनिताभिरग्रतः ।
निजहस्तपुटावृताननो विदधेऽलीकनिलीनमर्भकः ॥

मुखमाहितधूलि गण्डयोः करघृष्टाञ्जनदानमस्य तत् ।
वदनं सुरदन्तिनो यथा विबभौ दन्तचतुष्टयोज्ज्वलम् ॥

कतरस्तव तात उच्यतामितिधात्रीवचनेन चोदितः ।
रुचिरेण करेण निर्दिशन् जगदीशं प्रमदेन संदधौ ॥

सवेदवेदाङ्गविदो यमव्ययं विदन्ति यत्नेन पदं तपस्विनः ।
स लोककृत्यानि विचिन्त्य कानिचित् तपस्यति स्मेह पुमान् पुरातनः ॥

अति विसृज्य वनातिकृताटना मनुजलोकसमीपनिषेविणः ।
तटिदलातशतैरभिताडिता वनगजा इव सस्वनुरम्बुदाः ॥

पतति वृष्टिरियन्नु निरन्तरं रजतरज्जुशताकृतिरायता ।
जलधरस्य पतद्भुवि मण्डलं स्फटिकदण्डशतैर्नु विधारितम् ॥

kingship and King Vikramārka lent colour to this confusion. But on the literary evidence now available the identity is uncertain.[1] There

नखेन कृत्वा नवचन्द्रसन्निभं विधाय बन्धूकदलं कपोलयोः ।
प्रियाय कोपं समुदाहरत्यसौ परस्य गोपी नखमार्गशङ्किने ॥

स्तनतटनिहितः करोऽवधूतः परिगदिते समधिश्रितश्च मौनम् ।
विहसितमपि सान्त्वने सरोषं प्रणयिजने युवतेरयं हि दण्डः ॥

युवतिमुखगतेन लोचनेन स्फुटमपि मे न शृणोषि जल्पितानि ।
मुखमधुरभुजङ्ग येन सत्यं कुटिलगते नयनश्रवोऽपि जातः ॥

स्वतनुवितरणेन तं प्रलोभ्य द्विपमिव वन्यमिहोपनेतुकामा ।
सखि गजगणिकेव चेष्टितासि स्फुरति हि सज्जन एव मित्रकृत्ये ॥

परिभ्रमन्तो मनुजा महीतले विदूरभावादतिसूक्ष्मदर्शनाः ।
विभान्त्यमी वर्त्मनि शुक्लवाससः मुखाहितान्ना इव कीटपङ्क्तयः ॥

1. Among the commentators, Jayamangala and Harihara call him Bhatti, son of Swamin: श्रीस्वामिसूनुः कविर्भट्टिनामा रामकथाश्रयं महाकाव्यं चकार । Kandarpa Cakravartin calls the work Bhatti and author Bhartṛhari: अत्र तावन्महामहोपाध्यायश्रीभर्तृहरिकविना शब्दकाण्डयोर्लक्षणं । Nārāyaṇavidyāvinoda makes the author Bhartṛhari, son of Śrīdharaswāmin: अत्र कविना श्रीधरस्वामिसूनुना भर्तृहरिणा सर्गबन्धः । Bharaṭamallika names the author Bhartṛhari: भर्तृहरिनामकविः श्रीरामकथाश्रयं महाकाव्यं चकार ।

Colebrooke (*Essays*, II. 116) says "The author was Bhatrihari, not, as might be supposed from the name, the celebrated brother of Vikramaditya but a grammarian and poet who was son of Sridhara Swami, as we are informed by one of his scholiasts, Vidyavinoda" Professor Aufrecht, in his *Bodlian Catalogue*, (p. 175b) speaks of Bhartrihari, "*cujus liber grammaticus, minime vero Bhattikavyam memoratur,*" but in his notices of the *Praudha-manorama* (p. 132 b), and of the *Sarasvatikanthābharana*, he cites Bhatti, and in the last named work both Bhatti and Bhatrihari have been separately cited.

Two verses attributed to Bhartṛhari in Subhāṣitāvali are shown as Bhattaswamin's or Bhartṛswāmin's in Śarngdharapaddhati. Jayamangala calls the work Bhartṛ Kāvya and author Bhartṛ. Aufrecht says Bhatti, called also Bhartṛswamin or Bhattaswamin or Swāmi Bhatta, was the author of Bhatti Kāvya and was the son of Śrīdharaswāmin or Śriswāmin. Bhattti is said to be a prakritised form of Bhartṛ. Mitra (*Notices*, VI. i. 145) says Bhatti is a diminutive of Bhatta. Kṣemendra and Vallabhadeva quote distinctly from Bhatti and Bhartṛhari (See Peterson, *PR*, I. 9; *Subh.* 73-4). Bhau Daji, Seshagiri Sastri, Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909) 112] and Kielhorn (*IA*, III. 218) distinguish them B. C Mujumdar [*JRAS*, (1904), 397] and probably Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909), 112] identify Bhatti with Vatsabhatti of the inscriptions. But Mujumdar [*JRAS*, (1903) 759] seems to waver and withdraw. See also Keith [*JRAS*) (1909) 435]; S. Ray, *Introduction to Edn.* Calcutta; R.C. Dutt, *Civ.* I. 25; A.B. Keith, *CSL*, 53; Weber, *SL*, 196; S. K. De, *SP*, 50; Jacobi, *Sitzungeber d.*

are other stories which make Bhatti son of Bharṭṛihari or brother of Bharṭṛhari,[1] a minister of Vikrama or Vikramarka.[2] The stories are many: (i) A Brahmin named Chanḍraguptạ had four wives, one of the Brahmin caste, another of the Kshatriya, the third of the Vaisya, the fourth of the Sudra caste. They were called Brahmani, Bhanumati, Bhagyavati and Sindhumati. Each of the four bore him a son. Vararuci was born of the first wife, Vikramarka of the second, Bhatti of the third and Bhartrihari of the fourth. Vikramarka became King, while Bhatti served him in the capacity of prime-minister. (ii) There is yet another version, that Bhattarka, a king of Valabhi, was the real Bhatti and Bhartrihari a poet of his Court, composed his poem Rāvana-vadha and let it pass in his patron's name.[3] (iii) Bhatrihari was himself a king. Once a Brahmin brought to him a present of a priceless fruit, he gave it to his queen, and she gave it to her paramour. The discovery of this infidelity made him distrust the world and he left the household and turned an ascetic. It is said this is indicated in his composition of the three Śaṭakas in a verse in his subhāṣiṭa[4]:

सा रम्या नगरी महान् स नृपतिः सामन्तचक्रं च त-
त्पार्श्वे तस्य च सा विदग्धपरिषत्ताश्चन्द्रबिम्बाननाः ।
उद्वृत्तः स च राजपुत्रनिवहस्ते वन्दिनस्ताः कथाः
सर्वं यस्य वशादगात्स्मृतिपथं कालाय तस्मै नमः ॥

In the last verse of his Rāvaṇavaḍha he mentions his patron King Śri Ḍharasena of Valabhi.

काव्यमिदं विहितं मया वलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।
कीर्तिरयं भवतादतो नृपस्य क्षेमकरः क्षितिपो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥

"May this poem, written by me in Valabhī, the protected of the Great King Srīdharasena, be to the glory of the king, since the king is the well-doer of the people."

Valabhi was the capital of Saurastra (Gujrat) Kingdom and has been identified with Walleh.[5] There were four Ḍharasenas, the first

Preussischen Akademie (1922), 216; Anderson, *Some account of Bhatti Kavya* [*JBRAS*, III. ii. 20].

On Bharṭṛhari, see Kielhorn, *IA*, XII. 226; K. P. Pathak, *Bharṭṛhari and Kumarila*, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 213; *Was Bharṭrihari a Buddhist? Ibid.* XVIII. 341; and Telang, *Int. to Satakas*, and *IA*, IX·308. On his Vakyapadiya see *IA*, III. 285

1. Bhau Daji, *JBRAS* (1862) 214.
2. Bohlen, *Pref. to Satakas*, 6.
3. Seshagiri Sastri, *IA*, I. 319.
4. M. Suryanarayana Sastri [*Lives of Sanskrit Poets*, Telugu], 85.
5. *IA*, I. 130.

about Valabhi Samvat 183 and the last 330. Valabhi Samvat appears to be identical with Gupta Valabhi Samvat[1] and the epoch of the Gupta era varies according to different scholars, 167, 190, 319 A.D.[2] It is not possible to say which of these four Dharasenas was the patron of Bhatti and it is likely Bhatti flourished in the 4th or 5th century A.D.[3]

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1. See *IA*, XV. 187 and XIII. 160, when these terms are used, indicating identity of meaning.

2. The Gupta era is placed by different writers in different years, (see *IA*, XV. 338) by Cunningham in 167 A.D., by Bayley in 190 A.D. and Alberuni in 319 A.D. For his Kaira grant, see Fleet, CII. 134, 93 dated Gupta Valabhi 330 which according to Fleet is 319-20, plus 330 or 649-50 A.D. See also Tod's *Rajasthan*, I. 705; Bhandarkar, *EHD*. 18; Dosabai's *History of Guzarat*, 325; Lassen (See Max Muller, *India*, 351) says that Bhatti's patron was Dharasena II. [*IA*, VII. 68, VIII. 301, XV. 187, dated *Val. Sam*. 252.] The name Bhatti is found in two grants of Dhruvasena I (*Sam*. 221) and Dhruvasena III (*Sam*. 334) as Superintendent of the Kitchen (See Archaelogical Survey of India, 86-96; Trivedi's Int. to Edn. xxi).

3. The following grants and inscription with dates will be useful for research.

Dhruvasena I	*IA*, V. 204	*Val. S*, 207
	,, IV. 104	,, 216
Guhasena	,, VII. 266	,, 240
	,, V. 206	,, 268
Dharasena I	,, VI. 9	,, 269
Dharasena II	,, XV. 187	*Gupta Val. S*. 252
	,, XIII. 160	*Val. S*. 252
	,, VII. 68, 72 ,, VIII. 301	,, 252, 270
Dharasena IV	,, I. 45	,, 272
	,, VII. 73 ,, XV. 335	,, 330
Dharasena IV	,, I. 45	,, 286
and Śilāditya I	,, XIV. 327	,, 272
Silāditya I	,, IX. 237 ,, XI. 305 ,, XI. 327	,, 290
Dhruvasena II	,, VI. 12	,, 310
Kharagraha II	,, VII. 76	,, 337
Silāditya II	,, XI. 305	,, 352
Śilāditya V	,, VI. 16	,, 441
Śilāditya III (Dhruvabhatta)	,, VII. 79	,, 447

See also *JBRAS*, VII. 116; VIII. 230. For the geneology from Bhattarka, see C.V. Vaidya's *History of Medieval India*, I. 250. But on the dates given in these inscriptions, the order of these kings requires reconsideration.

For a discussion regarding Valabhi chronograms, see *IA*, VII. 303.

There is a tradition that one day when Bhartṛhari was lecturing on grammar, an elephant passed between him and his pupils and as a result of the evil omen, the lectures had to be suspended for a year. Bhartṛhari could not forbear so long and resorted to the device of teaching grammar through the medium of poetry and at the end of the year, the poem was complete.[1] True or untrue, the method so adopted has really served to achieve the end and to this day, a study of Bhatti helps the teaching of language with felicity.

43. Bhattikavyam is a work of great renown.[2] In four parts, Prakīrṇa, Prasanna, Alankāra and Ṭiñanṭa, it illustrates the grammatical formations according to the aphorisms of Pāṇini, figures of speech and other rhetorical devices; but often we see verses of real poetic merit.[3] In Canto X, there are illustrations of Alankāras[4] and from their number and their significance, it is conjectured that Bhatti came after Bhāmaha.[5]

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1. S. Ray, *Int. to Edn.*, viii.

2. Ed. Bombay [*BSS*, 56, 57], Madras and Calcutta. On works ascribed to Bhatti, see *IA*, XI. 235.

3. हिरण्मयी साललतेव जङ्गमा च्युता दिवः स्थास्नुरिवाचिरप्रभा ।
शशाङ्ककान्तेरधिदेवताकृतिः सुता ददे तस्य सुताय मैथिली ॥

न तज्जलं यन्न सुचारुपङ्कजं न पङ्कजं यत्तदलीनषट्पदम् ।
न षट्पदोऽसौ न जुगुञ्ज यः कलं न गुञ्जितं तन्न जहार यन्मनः ॥

अध्यैष्ट वेदाँस्त्रिदशानयष्ट पितॄनताप्सीत् सममंस्त बन्धून् ।
अजेष्ट षड्वर्गमरंस्त नीतौ समूलघातं न्यवधीदरींश्च ॥

पपात राक्षसो भूमौ रराट च भयंकरम् ।
तुतोद गदया चारिं तं दध्रावाद्रिणा कपिः ॥

4. For the list of alankāras illustrated in Canto X, see *JRAS*, (1929), 830 *et. seq.*

5. On this question there is a difference of opinion. It mainly turns on the two verses:

काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।
उत्सवः सुधियामेव हन्त दुर्मेधसो हताः ॥

Bhāmaha, ii. 20,

and

व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवः सुधियामलम् ।
हता दुर्मेधसश्चास्मिन् विद्वत्प्रियतया मया ॥

Bhatti, xxii. 34.

44. Daśānanavadhakāvyam of Yogīndranātha Tarkacūḍāmaṇī embraces the same theme.[1]

There are commentaries on Bhattikāvyam by [Kandarpacakravartin Bharatasena, Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda, Puṇḍarikākṣa, Kumudanandana, Puruṣottama, Rāmacandra-vācaspati, Ramānanda, Hariharācārya],[2]

" Even if these, which, like scientific treatises, can be understood only by commentaries, be poems, it is only a festival to those who have a fine intellect, but alas undone are the dull-witted."

" This poem is explicable by a commentary: It is, however, sufficient that it will be a festival for the intelligent, and it is because I like the wise, that I have not thought much of the dull-witted."

Which of these could be the earlier ? Either Bhāmaha criticised Bhatti [Jacobi, *ZDMG*, lxiv, *sb. der preses A.AD.* (1922), 210·3 ; Keith, *SL*, 51] or Bhatti wrote in anticipation of the rhetorical objection as already set out by Bhāmaha. The former seems more likely. S. K. De, [*SP*, 50]. H. R. Diwekar [*JRAS* (1924), 830] says " It is not thus a boast, but rather an excuse. If a poet is to boast of his poem as being a hard nut to crack, he will boast that the learned and not the dull-witted will find it difficult. To puzzle the dull-witted is not a thing to be proud of, and this is why Bhatti gives vidvatpriyatā as an excuse for that. It will, therefore, be not wrong if it is said that the verse of Bhāmaha, whose conception of a poem is अविद्वदङ्गनाबालप्रतीतार्थं प्ररूढवत् । must be the original, and the verse of Bhatti, was also accepts that conception, is based on Bhāmaha's words. The word *eva* which signifies a pratiṣedha (contradiction), and the reason vidvatpriyatā put forward makes this position quite clear in the minds of the readers."

For striking resemblances between Bhāmaha and Bhatti compare also :

i. स्वविक्रमाक्रान्तभुवश्चित्रं यन्न तवोद्धतैः ।
को वा सेतुरलं सिन्धोर्विकारकरणं प्रति ॥

Bhāmaha, ii. 10.

and

बुद्धिमान् राक्षसो मूढश्चित्रं नासौ यदुद्धतः ।
को वा हेतुरनार्याणां धर्मे वर्त्मनि वर्तितुम् ॥

Bhatti, x. 27.

ii. यथेवशब्दौ सादृश्यमाहतुर्व्यतिरेकिणोः ।
दूर्वाकाण्डमिव श्यामं तन्वी श्यामा लता यथा ॥

Bhāmaha, ii. 31.

and

योषिद्वृन्दारिका तस्य दयिता हंसगामिनी ।
दूर्वाकाण्डमिव श्यामा न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला ॥

Bhatti, v. 18.

1. Ed. Calcutta.
2. For these commentaries, see *IO*, 544-5 ; *CC*, I. 418.

Bharaṭa or Bharaṭamallika,[1] Jayamangala,[2] Jibānanḍavidyāsāgara,[3] Mallināṭha,[4] Śrīḍhara,[5] Śankarācarya.[6]

45. Bhatti's example has been fruitful in similar compositions. In Rāvaṇārjunīyam[7] in 27 cantos, Bhūma or Bhaumaka[8] relates the story of Kārṭavīrya and illustrates almost the whole Aṣṭaḍhyāyi of Pāṇini. He is quoted by Jayāḍiṭya in his Kāśika and by Kṣemenḍra in Suvṛṭṭiṭilaka and may have lived about 7th century A.D. In Mss. available in Malabar the author's name is given as Bhosa and the colophon runs as इति श्री वलभीवास्तव्यभट्टभोसविरचिते. There is a commentary on it by Parameśwara.

Similarly in Lakṣāṇāḍarśa, Mahâmohopāḍhyāya Ḍivākara,[9] narrates in 14 cantos the story of Mahabhāraṭa, with expressions illustrative of grammatical rules of Panini.[10]

46. Kāśīnāṭha's Yaḍuvamśakāvyam, describing the history of Yaḍus,[11] Pāṇinisūṭroḍāharaṇam, of unknown authorship dealing with the story of Bhagavatam[12] illustrates the aphorisms of Pāṇini. So also

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1. Ed. Calcutta. *DC*, XX. 7788. He was the son of Ambasṭha Gaurānga Mallika and lived about 1800. He mentions Kavikalpaḍruma of Bopaḍeva. See ***Mitra***, VI. 144 ; *CO*, I. 399.

2. Ed. Calcutta. Jayamangala's definitions of Alankaras in Canto X. show him to be older than Mammata (see Trivedi's *Int. to Edn*). There is a criticism of this commentary, *TC*, IV. 5467.

3. Ed. Calcutta 4. Ed. everywhere. 5. *DC*, XX. 7787.

6. *CC*, I. 418, quoted in Māḍhaviya Dhāṭuvṛṭṭi.

7. Ed. Bombay. *BKR*, 62 ; Trivedi's *Int.* (*op. cit.*)

8. There is an Angada nātaka by Bhubhatta (*B*, II. 116 ; *CC*, I. 4) which seems to be a mistake for Subhata. Bhimata (*CC*, I. 413) and Bhima Kavi (*IA*, XXXI. 229) are different. The other variants seen in Mss. are Bhima Bhatta, Bhu Bhatta, Bhumabhatta. See Peterson, *Subh.* 83. There are verses quoted in Śārangaḍharapaḍḍhṭi.

9. *TC*, IV. 5664. Kavindrācārya, also known as Devakara son of Vaidyeśvara and Guṇavaṭi of Bhāradvāja goṭra lived in the court of King Kṛṣṇaraya of Vizianagar and wrote the poem *Bhāraṭāmṛṭam* in 20 cantos (*TC*, IV. 5502). His brother Maḍhusuḍana wrote *Dhurṭacariṭabhāna*.

10. The following colophon will show the object of the poem :

इति लक्षणादर्शे पाण्डवचरिते महाकाव्ये पाणिनीये कुटादिभूवादि पादद्वयलक्षणसङ्ग्रहः पाण्डवनिवासो नाम प्रथमस्सर्गः ॥

11. *Nep, Cat*, II. 220 ; *Oudh*, II. 55 ; *PR*, III. 395. Kāsināṭha was son of Śankara and Rohiṇī.

12. *TC*, IV. 4543. A commentary on it by Vāsudeva of the Court of King Ravivarma of Malabar.

are Subhadrāharaṇam (in 20 cantos) of Nārāyaṇa, son of Brahmadaṭṭa of Kudalūr-mana of Malabar[1] and Vāsudevavijayam of Vasudeva,[2] treating of the marriage of Subhadrā and story of Kṛṣṇa respectively. Nārāyaṇa's Ḍhātukāvyam is a sequel to the latter, in illustration particularly of verbal forms, as dealt with by Bhīmasena's Ḍhāṭupāthaṃ and Mādhava's Ḍhāṭuvriṭṭi.[3] Vākyāvali illustrates in four cantos grammatical peculiarities, figures of speech, prosody and poetical tricks.[4] Śrīcihnakāvyam in 12 cantos relates the life of Kṛṣṇa, the first eight cantos were written by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka in illustration of Vararuci's Prākṛṭaprakāśa and the rest by his pupil Ḍurgāprasāḍayaṭi, in illustration of Ṭrivikrama's Prākṛṭa grammar.[5]

47. Bhattara-Harichandra,[6] is praised by Bāṇa in his Harṣacariṭa. It is said that he wrote a romance Mālaṭī. He may therefore be assigned to the 5th or 6th century A. D. In Saḍukṭi-Karṇāmṛṭa (5139) he is mentioned as an "enchanting poet" and classed with great poets.[7] His verses are quoted in the anthologies.[8]

Harichandra,[9] a Jain poet of the Digambara sect, was the son of Ārḍraḍeva and Rāḍhā and brother of Lakṣmaṇa of the Kāyasṭha Sanomaka family. He bore the title of Sarasvaṭīpuṭra.[10] He is mentioned by Rājaśekhara in his Karpūramanjarī.

1. *TC*, III. 3883, There is a commentary by the author himself for 16 cantos. He is different from Nārāyaṇa Bhattaṭṭiri, who wrote Nārāyaṇīyam in 1587 A.D. See *JRAS*, (1900), 763 and *Int. to Narāyāṇiyam* (Tr. Sans. Series).

2. Ed. Bombay, Kāvyamāla. Part X. See on this author, *post.*

3. *DC*, XX, 7744. There is a commentary probably by the author himself.

4. *Kup. Rep.* (1919), 39.

5. *TC*, V. R. No. 4156.

6. Hulzsch (*JMy*, XII, 318) denies and Peterson is not certain about his identity (*PR*, II. 77) with the other Haricandra.

7.
सुबन्धौ भक्तिर्नः क इह रघुकारे न रमते
धृतिर्दाक्षीपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हृदयम् ।
विशुद्धोक्तिः सूरः प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिरः
तथाप्यन्तर्मोदं कमपि भवभूतिर्वितनुते ॥

8. *ZDMG*, XXXVI. 269; *Subh.* 161.

9. He is called Hariscandra] by Lakṣmaṇa in his Commentary in Vāḍirāja's Yośoḍharacarita (*IC*, III. 3824.)

A poet Haricandra, son of Ruḍrapandiṭa, lived in the court of Bhillama III of Devagiri and composed an inscription in 1025 (Saka ?) (*IA*, XVII. 120; XXIII. 129).

Another Haricandra known as Vaidya Haricandra, an ancestor of Maheśvara, author of Viśvakośa, was a poet and he is quoted in Subhāṣiṭvāli. See *Auf. Bod. Cat.* 187, 357; *Sesh. Rep.* II. 45-6, Peterson, *Subh.* 136; *Bāna, His predecessors and Contemporaries*, (*JBRAS*, XVI. app. II. p. 111).

10. *PR*, II. 77.

His ḌHARMASARMABHYUDAYAM[1] is a poem in 21 cantos describing the life of Ḍharmanāṭha, the fifteenth Ṭīrṭhankara from his birth to nirvāṇa. The hero was born as the son of Mahāsena of Ikṣvāku family and king of Raṭnapura by his wife Suvratā. His verse is full of melody and his expression noted for its lucidity.[2]

In his JIVANDHARACAMPU[3] he relates in 13 lambhas the story of a Jaina prince Jīvanḍhara, son of king Saṭyanḍhara as related by Suḍharmā to King Śrenika. The language is charming and takes rank with the best of its kind. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri mentions a drama, Jīvanḍharacaritam by Haricanḍra.

48. Bharavi, known also as Ḍāmoḍara, was the son of Nārāyaṇaswāmin of Kausika goṭra. His ancestors lived at Ānanḍapura in N.W. India and migrated later into the country of Nāsikya[4] (Dekhan). Once accompanying the local prince Viṣṇuvarḍhana[5] on a hunting expedition, in dire distress, he was obliged to eat meat and he set out on pilgrimage to expiate the sin. On his way he made acquaintance with Ḍurvinīṭa[6] (a Ganga prince). Having heard his glory sung by a

1. Ed. Bombay.
2. He himself says so in his concluding verse :

सकर्णपीयूषरसप्रवाहं रसध्वनेरध्वनि सार्थवाहः ।
श्रीधर्मशर्माभ्युदयाभिधानं महाकविः काव्यमिदं व्यधत्त ॥

3. Ed. Tanjore ; *DC*, XXI. 8219, T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri says that he lived after 900 A. D. on the analogy of story and language and with Vāḍībhasimha's Kṣaṭracudāmaṇi.

Other works about Jīvanḍhara edited by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Tanjore, are Guṇabhaḍra's Jīvanḍharacariṭram, and Vāḍībhasimha's Gadyacinṭāmaṇi. On the story of Jīvanḍhara, by E. Hultzcsh, see *JMY*, XII 317.

4. The word probably means Peninsula. Dandin uses this word in the sense of South India where Kāncī is situated.

5. Viṣṇuvarḍhana here referred to might be Kubja Viṣṇuvarḍhana of the inscriptions. He was the younger brother of Saṭyāśraya Pulakesin II who ascended the throne in 608 A.D. As a general under the latter he captured Vengi from the Pallavas and conquered king Harṣavarḍhana. He was viceroy of a province with the capital at Piṣṭapura, now Pithapuram in Godavari District. Later, he declared his independence of his brother and founded the dynasty of Eastern Chalukyas. On Pulakesin and Viṣṇuvarḍhana, see V. Smith, *EH*. 425, 436; *Rep. of Epigraphy* (Madras) G. O. No. 574, 11th July 1905 ; Keilhorn, *EI*. VIII. App. 11. For grants of Viṣṇuvarḍhana I (E. Chalukya) see *IA*, XIX. 303 (539-40 Saka=608-9 A.D.) and XX. 15 (632 A.D,) and of Viṣṇuvarḍhana V, see *IA*, VII. 186 (540 Saka=668-9 A.D.) and VII. 191 (581 Saka=659-60 A.D). *JAHS*, I. 86.

6. Durvinīṭa was the son of king Avinīṭa of Kongani and daughter's son of Punnasaraja. Durvinīṭa was disinherited by his father and in his banishment wandered

Gaṇḍharva in a couplet, king Simhaviṣṇu,[1] of Kānchī invited the author of it and that was Bhāravi. There he lived happily in the company of the royal prince Mahenḍravikrama, the son of Simhaviṣṇu. He had a son Manōraṭha and Ḍandin, as we shall see, was the son's son of Manoraṭha. This is the account given in the Avanṭisunḍarikaṭhā.

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over distant countries. He was a great scholar and wrote a commentary on 15 cantos of Bhāravi's Kirāṭārjunīya, a Sanskrit version of the Bṛhatkaṭhā and the work called Sabḍāvaṭāra. See,

श्रीमत्कोङ्कणमहाराजाधिराजस्य, अविनीतनाम्नः पुत्रेण शब्दावतारकारेण देवभारती-निबद्धबृहत्कथेन, किरातार्जुनीयपञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन...

[*My. Arch. Rep.* (1916) 36]; also *EC* (Tumkur) 23, *14*, XLII. 204.

On the genuineness of these inscriptions doubts were expressed but there is no reason to suspect a forgery. There is a learned discussion by R. Narasimhachar. Durvinīta is mentioned in Nṛpaṭunga's Kavirājamārga as a great Kanarese author.

1. Simhaviṣṇu was the Pallava king who ruled between 575 and 600 A. D. at Kānci. He vanquished the Malaya, Pandya, Chola etc. kings and took possession of the banks of the Kāverī. His son was Mahenḍ avarman or Mahenḍravikramavarman I (600-625 A. D.). He bore the titles Śatrumalla and Avanī-bhājana. He was the author of the Maṭṭavilāsa-Prahasanam, a farce known after his own title Maṭṭavilāsa (Ed. Tr. Sanskrit series, No. 55). In this play are described the drunken revelry of a Kāpālika with his female companion, his quarrel with a hypocritical Śākya Bhikṣu for alleged theft of a bowl, the mediation by a degenerate Pāśupaṭa and the final recovery of the bowl from a madman.

The geneology from Simhaviṣṇu is given by V. Venkayya in *Mod. Rev.* VIII. 185 in this order:—Simhaviṣṇu—Mahenḍravarman I—Narasimhavarman—Mahenḍravarman II—Paramesvaravarman (defeated Chalukya Vikramaditya)—Rajasimha—Mahenḍravarman II and Paramesvaravarman II—Nandivarman (about 760 A. D).

In the Mamandoor inscription we find ... गवदज्जुकमत्तविलासादि ... and the rest of the inscription is mutilated. If ... गवदज्जुक means भगवदज्जुक, the coupling of it with मत्तविलास would mean that their author was the same. There is also a broken line in the Avanṭisunḍarī kaṭhā स च तथा गृह्यमाणगन्धमादनप्रभृतिभिः श्रीवरकृतैःसंस्कृतप्राकृतानां च ...

Śrīvara is the general name of Pallava kings, used in inscriptions. It is possible that this verse may refer to a work called Ganḍhamāḍana by Mahenḍravikramavarman. See also the following verse of Rājasekhara quoted in Jalhana's-Sukṭimukṭāvali.

शूरः शास्त्रविदे ज्ञाता साहसाङ्कः स भूपतिः ।
सेव्यं सकललोकस्य विदधे गन्धमादनम् ॥

Here the word Sāhasānka may refer to this king.

For relevent inscriptions, see *EI*, IV. 152 and *SII.*, I 29-30; and Venkayya, *Inscriptions in the Trichinopoly cave* (*Arch. Sur. Annual* 1903-4, 270 ff.); G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*(Pondicherry), 68, and *The Pallavas* (Pondicherry), 39; *Pallava Antiquities*, I. Ch. ii; T. Ganapati Sastri, *Int. to Maṭṭavilāsa-prahasana.*

There is a doubt whether Bhāravi and Ḍāmoḍara were identical and Bhāravi was another name of Ḍāmoḍara. Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā-sāra is a version in verse of Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā in prose and the version is almost a faithful reproduction. In Kaṭhāsāra (123) the verse is

दामोदर इति श्रीमानादि ...वाभवत् । स मेधावी कविर्विद्वान्भारविः प्रभवं (वो?) गिराम्-
अनुरुध्याकरोन्मैत्रीं नरेन्द्रे विष्णुवर्धने ।

The corresponding prose passage in Kaṭhā as printed by M. R. Kavi is mutilated and indistinct.

यतः कौशि ...व पुण्यकर्माणि. ...विष्णुवर्धनाख्ये राजसूनौ प्रणयमन्वबध्नात् ।

G. Harihara Sastri has made an extract of this passage from another manuscript obtained from the Department of Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Trivandram.

यतः कौशिककुमारो (दामोदरो) महाशैवं महाप्रभावं प्रदीप्तभासं भारविं रविमिवेन्दु-
रनुरुध्य दर्श इव पुण्यकर्माणि विष्णुवर्धनाख्ये राजसूनौ प्रणयमन्वबध्नात् ।

That is, this passage reads Bhāravi and the adjectives attached to it in the objective declension so that the word becomes an object of the verb *anuruḍḍhya.* Harihara Sastri says "what we learn from the prose and metrical versions is that Bharavi was a saivaite (*mahasaiva*) and great poet (*girāmprabhavah*) attached to the Prince Viṣṇuvardhana and that Ḍāmoḍara, who was also endowed with poetical gifts of a high order, secured the friendship of the Prince through the medium of Bharavi."[1] This does not however affect the date to be assigned to Bhāravi.[2]

Besides these synchronisms, the name of Bhāravi is mentioned in the Aihole inscription[3] of Pulekesin II, dated Saka 556 (=A.D. 634). Bhāravi may therefore be taken to have lived on either side of the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

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1. *IHQ*, III. 169.

2. S. K. De, (*IHQ*, I. 31, III. 162) concurs in this view. S. K. De, assigns Bhāravi to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th Century A.D.

3. *IA*. V. 67-71 where the whole inscription is published.

येनायोजि न वेश्म स्थिरमर्थविधौ विवेकिना जिनवेश्म ।
स विजयतां रविकीर्तिः कविताश्रितकालिदासभारविकीर्तिः ॥

'May this Ravikirti, who has obtained the fame of Kalidasa and Bharavi who followed the noble path of poetics be victorious! May he flourish for ever, who in his great wisdom had this temple of Jina constructed, as firm as rock itself on a costly and new model."

For a discussion of this inscription, see page 63 supra, and *IA*, VI. 73, XVI. 109; *CII*, III. 79 note.

49. Stories of Bharavi's poverty and affluence are current in a variety of versions. Pargankar gives a version:

"Bharavi was ground by poverty and being ever immersed in poetic life, was often troubled by the furious remarks of his wife. She once reproached him for his dullness in as much as he did not stir himself about money, and the poet, goaded by necessity and the constant reproaches of his wife, did set out to try his fortune to seek royal support. When he had gone a few miles, he saw a beautiful tank. Fatigued by the labours of the journey, he stopped there and wrote the following verse on a lotus-leaf:

सहसा विदधीत न क्रियामविवेकः परमापदां पदम् ।
वृणुते हि विमृश्यकारिणं गुणलुब्धाः स्वयमेव संपदः ॥—*Kirata*, II. 30.

The king of the country who happened to be on the very spot as as he had left his palace for hunt, was so much delighted with it that he ordered the poet to see him in his palace at a particnlar time and then galloped off. The poet, mean-looking and dressed in rags, found no admittance to the royal presence, and had in despair to go back. The king, however, had the verse painted in gold in his private chamber. A year silently passed, when the king set out with his chosen few to hunt, declaring that he would return after a week. On the second night, however, his camp not being far off, he rode alone to his private chamber and to his extreme wonder and rage, found the queen lying with another person on his bed! Suddenly he drew out his sword and was about to strike both dead, when the verse in golden letters atracted his attention. His rage abated and he resolved to awaken both and tell them of their heinous offence and then to pass the sentence of capital publishment on them. But what was his surprise when, on awakening them, he was told that the youth was no other than his son, who being stolen away by a nurse from cradle, was discovered that very evening! The king, immediately in tears thanked God that he had not rashly murdered his wife and his only son the sole heir to the throne. It need hardly be added that the king afterwards sought out the author of the verse that had so curiously preserved the life of his son, and rewarded him suitably."[2]

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1. The verse was so popular that it is frequently quoted in Sastric discussions. Prabhākara in his Bṛhati (I. 1.) redicules his opponent's want of sense by the 2nd line.

2. For another version, see M. Suryanarayana Sastri, *Life of Sanskrit Poets*, (Telugu) Amalapuram, 92-6.

50. Kiratarjuniyam [1] is his only poem known to us. In eighteen cantos, it describes the fight between Arjuna and Śiva in the garb of a mountaineer. On the advice of Vyāsa to seek celestial arms by penance, Arjuna engages himself in severe penance in the Himālayas. Śiva comes to meet him as a Kirāṭa, wild-hunter, and a mighty boar which came to attack Arjuna is slain. Both Arjuna and the disguised god claim the merit of having slain the animal and a quarrel is picked up and fight ensues. When fighting in the air Arjuna holds the god by the feet and on his appeal, Śiva reveals himself and blesses the warrior with the gift of arms with which he was to win back his lost kingdom. The poem bears Lakṣmī-paḍa-anka.[2] The poem displays a vigour of thought and language and a lofty eloquence of expression rarely equalled in Sanskrit literature.[3] In a well-known verse in Saḍukṭi Karnāmṛṭa his words are said to possess a natural grace.[4] On account of the beauty of a particular verse, the poet became known as Chaṭra Bhāravi.[5]

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1. Ed. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and elsewhere and in Harward University Series No. 15, with a German translation by C. Cappeller, [reviewed in *JRAS* (1917) 869 by F. W. Thomas]. Translated into English (Cantos) 1 to 4) by B. N. Nandi (Calcutta); (cantos 1 to 5) by Subrahmanya Sastri, Madras; (cantos 1 to 10) by L. R. Pangarkar, Bombay; (cantos 1 to 3) by M. R. Kale, Bombay. Cantos 1 to 3 by M. R. Kale with an elaborate introduction; Cantos 1 to 10 by Pangarkar (with an introduction). Abridged in verse in Dutt's *Lays of Aacient India*.

On Bhāravi generally, see Peterson, *Subh.* 79. R. C. Dutt, *CI*, II. 287-92; Bhau Daji, *JBRAS*, IX. 315; Bhandarkar, *JBRAS*, XIV. 24; Fleet, *IA*, V. 67, VIII. 237; *JBRAS*, XVIII. 148; *JRAS*, (1917), 869; Jacobi, *VOJ*, III. 144; Colebroke, *AR*. X. 389. Kieth (Ck. 51) places him before Bāna. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, *The Age of Bharavi and Dandin*, *JMy*. XIII. 670-88; *JOR*, (1927) 193, *Sah*. XVI. 86, Blau's Bibliography appended to Edn. in Harward University series.

2. R. V. Krishnamacharya collects such marks or *ankas* in several poets (*Sah*, XVIII. 223).

3. It was Māgha's ambition to view with Bhāravi and both chose their plots from the Mahābhāraṭa. For parallel passages, see C. Capeller, *l.c.*

There is this traditional verse:

तावद्भा भारवेर्भाति यावन्माघस्य नोदयः ।
उदिते च पुनर्माघे भारवे र्भा रवेरिव ॥

4. प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिरः

See the verse quoted, *supra*.

5. उत्फुल्लस्थलनलिनीवनादमुष्मादुद्धूतः सरसिजसंभवः परागः ।
वात्याभिर्वियति विवर्जितः समन्तादाधत्ते कनकमयातपत्रलक्ष्मीम् ॥

Kirāta, V. 39.

See *Sah*. XVIII. 82 for similar titles.

His work is compact and meaning-leaden. "He is a hard-thinking poet, in whom we feel at work a certain intension of will." [1]

This poem has been the standard text book for ages for students of literature. The first three cantos are particularly hard and came therefore to be known as pāṣāṇaṭrayam and in the 15th canto, there are verses in a variety of meanings and alliteration.

51. In the richness of a creative fancy, in true tenderness and pathos, says R. C. Dutt, and even in the sweetness and melody of verse, Kālidāsa is incomparably the greatest poet. But neverthless Bhāravi boasts of a vigour of thought, and of language, and lofty elequence in expression, which Kālidāsa seldom equals. Bhāravi's dramatic expression is the subject of approbation when Śāradāṭanaya says:—

तादात्म्यं भावरसयोर्भारविः स्पष्टमूचिवान् ।

Mallināṭha describes Bhāravi's language as *nārikelapāka* and says that the sweetness of his poetry is enveloped in a garb of apparent ruggedness.[1] The saying of pandits ranks Kalidasa's similes along with Bharavi's pregnant expressions.[2]

52. There is a prose abidgment by a Pandit Ayurveda Bhushana M. Duraiswami Iyengar.[2] The same story of the fight between Arjuna and Śiva [3] is related in the Śankarānanḍa Campū of Gururāma[5] in Pārṭhalīla[4] a poem of unknown authorship and is dramatised in the Kiraṭārjunīyavyāyoga of Rāmavarma,[6] and in Ḍhananjayavijayavyāyoga of Kançanācārya.[7]

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1. Bhāravi's अर्थगोरवम् is proverbial. Kṛṣṇakavi in his Bharaṭa Cariṭa (Tr. Sans. Series) wrote:

प्रदेशवृत्त्यापि महान्तमर्थं प्रदर्शयन्ती रसमादधाना ।
सा भारवेः सत्पथदीपिकेव रम्या कृतिः कैरिव नोपजीव्या ॥

Colebroke's *Mis. Essays*; 84, Manning's *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, II. 134-5.

2. नारिकेलफलसंमितं वचो भारवेः सपदि तद्विभज्यते ।
स्वादयन्तु रसगर्भनिर्भरं सारमस्य रसिका यथेप्सितम् ॥
उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।

2. Ed. Madras.
3. In the cave temple of Mahabalipuram, there is sculpture representing Kirāṭa and Arjuna. See *Kalā*, I.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8303.
5. *TC*, III. 3450.
6. Ed. *Sahridaya*, IV.
7. Ed. *Karyamala*, Bombay.

53. There are commentaries on the poem by Mallinātha,[1] by Vidyāmādhava[2], by Mangala,[3] by Devarājabhatta,[4] by Rāmacandra,[5] by Kṣitipālamalla,[6] by Prakāśavarṣa,[7] by Kṛṣṇakavi,[8] by Citrabhānu,[9] by Ekanatha,[10] by Jonarāja,[11] by Harikāntha,[12] by Bharatasena,[13] by Bhagīrathamiśra,[14] by Peddabhatta,[15] by Allāda Narahari,[16] by Haridāsa,[17] by Kāśinathā,[18] by Dharmavijayagani,[19] by Rajakunda,[20] by Gadāsimha,[21] by Dāmodaramiśra,[22] by Manoharaśarman,[23] by Mādhava,[24] by Lokānanda,[25] by Vankidāśa,[26] by Vijayarāma or Vijayasundara,[27] and Sabdārthdīpika,[28] and Prasanna Sahityacandikā of unknown authorship,[29] by Nṛsimha,[29] by Ravikīrtī,[29] by Śrīrangadeva,[30] by Śrīkantha,[31] by Vallabhadeva,[32] by Jibananda Vidyāsāgara,[33] by Kanakalālaśarma and by Gangābharamiśra.[34]

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1. Ed. everywhere.
2. *DC*, XX. 7769; *TC*, III. 3924. He was in the court of Bhulokamalla Someśvara III who ruled about 1125 A.D. See V. Smith, *EH*, 437.
3. *TC*, III, 3820.
4. *DC*, XX. 7682; *TC*, II. 2594; III. 3319, 3331 He was son of Kṛṣṇadvaipāyanabhatta.
5. *MR*, X.
6. *PR*, IV. 22; *CASB*, 47; *IO*, 543.
7. *DC*, XX. 7703; *Taylor*, I. 1174.
8. *DC*, XX. 7701.
9. Ed. *Tr. San. Series* No. 63 with a short instroduction by T. Ganapathi Sastri. The commentary is very elaborate but embraces only 3 cantos and is therefore called Traisargika. He says that his object was only to show the standard of what a commentary should be and that he did not therefore proceed further. Nothing is known about Citrabhānu, but he is also the author of two poems Bhāratodyota and Bhāgavatodyota There is one Citrabhānu, father of Bāṇa, but he is a different person.
10. *P*, 9.
11. *BR*, (1887). It was composed in 1418 A.D. the reign of Zainulabdin of Kaspuni (1422-72 A.D.). Jonaraja is the author of a Rājatarangiṇi *BP*, 51, 233, 366 (A.D. 1449).
12. *CASB*, 47; *IO*, 543.
13. *IO*, 343.
14. *IO*, 384, 543-5.
15. *DC*, XX. 7873.
16. *P*, 9,
17. *DC*, XX. 7883.
18. *Kh*, 65; *Hulz*, III. 4.
19. *L*, 3806.
20. *Rep*, VII; *L*, 2806.
21. *L*. 2140.
22. *L*, 2936.
23. *L*, 2293.
24. *Op*, 2798.
25. *Bhr*, 137.
26. *L*, 1614,
27. *BP*, 278, 488,
28. *Op*, 5938, *TC*, IV. 5597.
29. See *Sah*. XIV. 104.
30. *DC*, XX. 7885; *TC*, IV. 5588.
31. *TC*, IV. 4722.
32. TC, IV, 5649, 4716.
33. Ed. Calcutta.
34. Ed, Benares.

54. Magha is one of the most popular among Sanskrit poets. Mediaeval tradition[1] has recorded that he was patronised by King Bhoja of Dhar. Pressed by want the poet sent his wife to that king's court with a verse[2] describing the rising sun but indirectly deploring the sports of chance. Delighted with its merit the king gave her a present of money, but on her way back the generous woman distributed it among the wandering beggars whose needs she thought were worse than her own. So she came home just as she left it, with a further throng of beggars behind her. The poet saw the scene and became desperate. He cursed poverty in a few verses and drooped down dead on the spot. The king heard the story and with great grief himself performed the poet's funeral ceremonies. To preserve his memory he named the village Bhinnamala.[3]

Māgha was the son of Daṭṭa or Daṭṭaka.[4] His grand-father Suprabhāḍeva was the minister of king Śrī Varmalāṭa[5] whose capital was the city of Śrīmāla in Guzarat. Māgha was a great grammarian[6] and his knowledge of grammar and lexicon is often apparent in his poem.[7] He is mentioned by Somaḍeva,[8] Rājaśekhara,[9] Ānanḍavarḍhana[10] and by Bhoja.[11] Nṛpaṭunga who became king in 1814 A. D. refers to Māgha in his Kavirājamārga[12] as an author of

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1. Bhallāla's Bhojacariṭra; Meruṭunga's Prabanḍha-Cinṭāmaṇi and Prabhācanḍra's Prabhāvaka cariṭa. For a full account, see Durgaprasad's Int. to Śiśupālavaḍha (Bombay).

2. कुमुदवनमपश्रि श्रीमदम्भोजषण्डं त्यजति मदमुलूकः प्रीतिमांश्चक्रवाकः ।
उदयमहिमरश्मिर्याति शीतांशुरस्तं हतविधिललितानां हा विचित्रो विपाकः ॥
Śiś. XI. 64.

3. Probably because Māgha was a poet of Malwa. There is a village named Binna Malava now known as Binnamala on the boundary line between Guzarat and Marwar.

4. Peterson gives the name as Vattaka or Sarvāśraya, (*Int. to Subh.* 88).

5. See the description of the poet's family given by himself at the end of Śiśupālavaḍha.

6. Durgaprasad (op. cit. 3 note) gives the colophon of a manuscript which reads *Śri-Bhinnamālava-vāsṭavya-Daṭṭaka-soonor-mahāvaiyākaraṇasya Māghasya kṛitau.*

7. It is a saying नवसर्गगते माघे नवः शब्दो न विद्यते

8. In the Kāvyamimāmsā (composed about 900 A.D) *Gaek Or. Series* Int. xxii.

9. In his Yaśasṭilaka-campu (composed in 960 A.D.). See *PR*, 1383–84, 45.

10. Contemporary of Avanṭivarman, king of Kashmir (857 to 884 A.D.). See his Dhvanyāloka, 114, 115.

11. In the Sarasvaṭī-Kanṭhābharaṇa (Sis. IX. 6.). See *CC*, I. 446.

12. Int. to K. B. Pathak's Edition. Māgha is also referred to in a Canarese inscription *IA*, V. 46) dated Saka 1102=1180 A.D.

acknowledged excellence and ranks him with the immortal author of Śakuntala. These references distinctly prove that the tradition of Māgha being a contemporary of Bhōja connot possibly be true.

In a well-known verse of Śiśupālavadha,[1] Māgha refers to the two grammatical treatises the Kāśikāvṛiṭṭi and its commentary the Nyāsa. The Kāśikāvṛiṭṭi was the joint production of Jayāḍitya and Vāmana, and according to ITsing Jayāḍiṭya died about 661 A.D..[2] The real difficulty in determining Māgha's date lies in the obscurity of the correct name of the king he refers to in his geneology. It is possible that the correct reading is Varmalāṭa.[3] This king Varmalāṭa is mentioned in an epigraphic record dated Sam. 682 (625 A.D.)[4] and in collation with the references to and by the poet aforesaid we may not be wrong in relying on this inscription as giving the real clue to Māgha's age. Māgha was the grandson of Suprabhāḍeva, the minister of this king. He may therefore be placed in the latter half of the 7th century A.D.[5]

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1. अणुत्सूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना ।
शब्दाविद्येव नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा ॥

2. MaxMuller, *What can India teach us?*, 346; English Translation of ITsing's work, chap. xxxiv, 176. ITsing does not however refer to the commentary Nyāsa and from this silence K. B. Pathak (*JBRAS*, xx, 303) concludes that Jinendrabuḍḍhi did not flourish during the interval of 44 years that elapsed between Jayāḍiṭya's death and that of ITsing's departure from India in A.D. 695. He therefore places the composition of Nyāsa in the first half of the 8th century and consequently assigns Māgha to the latter part of it, but it must be remarked that the *argumentum ex silentio* cannot be of much merit and to the mind of ITsing the commentary might not have struck as important as the original work. But Kielhorn adds "An interpretation of this verse to denote the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuḍḍhi is based solely on the outward form of the word and its proximity to the word *Vriṭṭi* and would completely disregard the meaning and context of the poet's interesting and scholarly statement. Jinendrabuḍḍhi had freely copied from Haradaṭṭa's Padamanjarī and this would make Jinendra much later than Māgha because that poet is quoted by name more than once in the Padamanjarī"; *JRAS* (1908), 499.

3. The name appears in several forms Dharmanābha, Dharmanāḍa, Dharmalābha, Dharmaḍeva, Gharmalāṭa, Carmalāṭa, Varmalākhya, Varmanāma and Nirmalānṭa, varying according to the scribe's ingenuity. Prabhācanḍra mentions the name as Varmalāta.

4. See Keilhorn's article in Gottinger Nachrichten, (1906), Part II, 143-6; *JRAS*, (1906), 728.

5. Prabhācanḍra mentions Siḍḍharṣi (xiv, 10–16) as the first paternal cousin of Māgha. Siḍḍharṣi was the author of Upamiṭibhāvaprapancakathā composed in Sam. 962. Relying on this Dr. F. Klatt assigns Māgha to the beginning of the 10th century A. D. Durgaprasad refers to Ānanḍavarḍhana's quotation and disposes of Prabhāvaka-cariṭa as based on pure hearsay and as of no authority. He agrees with

55. The only work of Māgha that has come down to us is the ŚIŚUPĀLAVADHA.[1] A Mahākāvya of 20 cantos, it relates the episode in the Mahābhārata of Kṛṣṇa's slaying of Śiśupāla. The Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhisthira is described and in it Śiśupāla's misbehaviour, the immediate cause of the conflict, is well delineated. The last three cantos are devoted to the description of the actual warfare. As a classical poem it has always maintained its popularity and though the thoughts are sometimes voluptuous, a profound learning is everywhere apparent.[2] His ideas reflict his life and the sufferings he had to undergo are often alluded to with a tinge of the consolation of fatalism.[3] The anthologies[4] quote some verses under Magha's name. These are not traceable in any known work and it is possible that Śiśupālavadha was not the only poem of his composition.

Some of his fancies are quite original and it was one of them[5] that brought him the name of Ghantā-Māgha. We connot be certain of the line of his religious persuasion, though the invocation in the

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Prof. Jacobi who cannot place Māgha later than about the middle of the 6th century; (*VOJ* IV. 61, 236). R. C. Dutt assigns him to the 12th century (*Civ.* II, 294) and M. Duff (*Chronology*) to about 850 A. D. Macdonell (*SL.* 329) gives as the ninth century, undoubtedly before the 10th century A. D. Weber, (*IL.* 196 note) places Magha prior to Hālayudha of the 10th century A. D. (see *IStr*, I. 193). Taranatha in his *Encyclopaedia* quotes a line of Udbhata, *Tāvaṭ bhā Bhāravor bhāṭi yāvan-Māghaysa nodayah.* Udbhata was a contemporary of Jayāpīda, king of Kashmir (779-813 A. D.) But Dr. Klatt cannot discover this line in Udbhata's work and draws attention to the gloss by Taranatha himself on the word Udbhata where Taranatha says that the line is of unknown authorship. See also Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, xxvii 72; *CC*, I, 446; *JBRAS*, XVI. 176; Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1897, pp. xviii and xxxix; F. Thomas, *Int. to Kav.* 69 (where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected).

1. Bhīmasena in his commentary Sudhāśekhara on Kāvyaprakāśa says that Māgha was only the purchaser of the authorship of the book from some poet whose name has been suppressed. He says Māgha was a Vaisya and gives this work as an illustration of a poem composed for money (*arthakrite*). See Vamanacharya's *Int. to Kāvyaprakāśa* (Bombay), 9. Prabhāvakacarita also calls Māgha's uncle Subhankara as 'Sreṣthi', (xiv. 15).

2. He illustrates Śabda-citra in Canto IV, with metrical puzzles of a very complex character.

3. See for instance, *Sis.* xvi, 64.

4. *Subhāṣitavali* (Int. 87, 89); *Aucityavicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra: बुभुक्षितैः &c. See Durgaprasad (*op. cit.* 6).

5. उदयति विततोर्ध्वरश्मिरज्जावहिमरुचौ हिमधाम्नि याति चास्तम् ।
वहति गिरिरयं विलम्बिघण्टाद्वयपरिवारितवारणेन्द्रलीलाम् ॥ *Sis.* IV, 20.

Siśupālavadha indicates that he was a votary of Viṣnu. He must have all the same been much in the company of Buddhists and had a great regard for the teaching of Buddha. He describes his grand-father Suprabhādeva as prime minister to a king "who listened to his advice with as great respect as the enlightened public received the words of the revered Buddha" and with a similar desire he compares Hari with Bodhisatva and the allies of Śiśupāla with the host of Māra or the Satan of the Buddhist legend.[1] To a certain extent he adopted the style of Bhāravi, but in general merit Māgha takes a higher place.

There are commentaries on Siśupālavadha by Caritravardhana,[2] Pedda Bhatta,[3] Devarāja,[4] Haridāsa,[5] Śrīrangadeva,[6] Śrīkantha,[7] Bharaṭasena,[8] Candraśekhara,[9] Kavivallabha Cakravarṭi,[10] Lakṣmināṭha,[11] Bhava(ga)daṭṭa,[12] Vallabhadeva,[13] Maheśvarapancānana,[14] Bhagīraṭha,[15] Jibānanda Vidyasāgara,[16] Garuda,[17] Ānandadevayāni,[18] Divākara,[19] Bṛhaspti,[20] Rājakunda,[21] Jayasimhācārya,[22] Mallinathā,[23] [Śrirangadeva and Padmanābhadaṭṭa, Vrisākara, Rangarāja, Ekanātha, Bharaṭamallika, Gopala][24] and one Anonymous.[25]

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1. See the concluding verses in cantos II and XV. 58.
There is a tradional anonymous verse to say so.

तावद्भा भारवेर्भाति यावन्माघस्य नोदयः ।
उदिते च पुनर्माघे भारवेर्भा रवेरिव ॥

2. *Tanj. Cat*, VI. 2506.
3. *DC*, XX, 7893.
4. *DC*, XV. 7382.
5. *DC*, 7883. He was son of Viṣṇudāsa and Muladevi. His grandfather Śakṭimiśra and the son of Jyeṣtha of Rudra family and of Kāśyapagoṭra and resident of Lābhapura. Haridasa quotes Kāvyadarpaṇa.
6. *DC*, XX. 7885; *IC*, IV. 5588.
7. *TC*, III. 3904; IV. 4729. He was Varior by caste and lived in Jayasimhamangala on the banks of Dakṣiṇagangā in Malabar. All the members of his family were known by the name of Śrīkantha.
8. *IO*, 3222·3; *L*, 3176.
9. *IO*, 3232, 32 23; *L*, 3040.
10. *IO*, 635.
11. *IO*, 173.
12. *K*, 62.
13. Ed. Kasi Sanskrit Series, Benares, *TC*, IV. 4714, 5649.
14. *IO*, 3222·3.
15. *L*, 1632.
16. Printed, Calcutta.
17. *B*, 296.
18. *B*, 294.
19. *NP*, 151.
20. *IO*, 3222.
21. *Cu*, 2287.
22. Cochin State Manuscripts.
23. Printed everywhere.
24. *Sah*, XIX. 208.
25. *Tanj. Cat*, VI. 2510 (7th canto only.)

56. Sivaswamin[1] was a poet of the court of King **Avantivarman** who ruled over Kashmir between 855 and 884 A.D.[2] He was a follower of Buddha and an ardent admirer of his religion. His only poem KAPPHANABHYUDAYAM opens with an invocation to Buddha. In twenty cantos it describes the expedition of Kapphana, the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha, against the country of king Prasenajit of Śravasti and in the course of the march through the Malaya mountains several seasons are passed and parties of lovers do not miss pleasant excursions in regions of sylvan beauty. Though successful in his expedition, Kapphana turns philosophical and renouncing his worldly attachments he becomes a pious follower of Buddha. The poem in general follows the plan of Śisupālavadham and Kirātārjunīyam and verbal beauties of composition such as yamakas and bandhas are not rare.[3]

The following verse illustrates his prolific writings in Sanskrit though most of them have now become extinct:

वाक्यं च द्विपदीशतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
त्र्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश ।
कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान्बहून्
विश्राम्यत्यघुनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिवस्वामिनः ॥

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1. He is also known as Bhattasivaswāmin or Bhattaśri-Śivaswāmin.

2. मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः ।
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात्साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ॥ *Raj*, V. 34.

3. For analysis of the poem, see *SR*, II (1899) 40, see also *BR*, (1897), xviii; Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, xxvii, 92; *CC*. I. 654, Peterson's (*Subh*. 129). Thomas (*Kav*. iii) collects all quotations in the anthologies. Rayamukuta and Sarvānanda quote fragments, not traceable in this poem. For the beauty of his poetry see the following:

दिव इव निस्सृतैर्गिरिनदीभ्य इवोच्छ्वसितैर्भुव इव संप्लुतैः क्षितितलादिव चोल्लसितैः ।
जलधिजलोद्भवैरिव ककुभ्य इवोत्फलितैस्तिमिरकुलैरनीषदुदमेषि मषीमलिनैः ॥

वेणीषु मूर्छामिव संप्रयाताः कपोलयोर्लीनमिवादधानाः ।
स्मितेष्विवोच्छ्वासमिवोद्वहन्तो विलासिनीः शिश्लिषुरिन्दुपादाः ॥

धृतसन्धिरसौविचित्रवृत्तिर्विदधानः स्फुटशुद्धपात्रयोगम् ।
मधुवारविधिः सनायकाङ्को ववृधे नाटकवन्नितम्बिनीनाम् ॥

विनयं विनयन् स्मितानि पुष्णन्नयनानि भ्रमयन् वचांसि धून्वन् ।
मुखराणि विभूषितानि कुर्वन्वरवेवो ववृधे मदो वधूनाम् ॥

मुहुरविशदा विस्रम्भार्द्रा मुहुः स्मृतमन्यवो मुहुरसरलाः प्रेमप्रह्वा मुहुर्मुहुरस्थिराः ।
वितथशपथोपालम्भाज्ञा मुहुर्मधुरा मुहुः परिववृधिरे निष्पर्यन्ता मिथो मिथुनोक्तयः ॥

57. Jinasena was the pupil of Vīrācārya and was at the head of those who were proficient in the fragment of the sacred texts left after the time of Subhadra and Lohārya, sages who were conversant with the ācārānga of the Śvetambara Jain religion.[1] Vīrācārya and Jinasena converted the Rāstrakūta king Amoghavarṣa[2] into Jainism and the king abdicated his throne in favour of his son in 875 A.D. Vīrācārya was an illustrious mathematician and alludes to the king in the prasasti of Gaṇiṭasārasangraha.[3] Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra was the preceptor of king Kṛṣna II, Akālavarṣa.[4] Among his works Harivaṁśa[5] was composed in the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja I,[6] grandfather of Amoghavarṣa, in 793 A.D. and Pārśvābhyudaya,[7] in 814 A.D. Of Ādipurana,[8] 42 chapters were written by Jinasena and the last five were completed by his pupil Guṇabhadra according to his instructions as Uṭṭarapurāṇam. This was consecrated by his pupil Lokasena in the reign of Raṣtrakūta king Kṛṣna II, Akālavarṣa, on 23rd June 897 (Saka 828).

Parsvabhyudaya is a poem in imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghasandeśam. The last lines of the verses of the latter are taken and the first three lines are added. The poem deals with the story of Pārśvanāṭha, the 23rd Ṭirṭhankara.[9]

Jinasena's poetry is of a high order and often equals if not surpasses the beauty of Kālidāsa's expressions.[10]

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1. See Padmasundara's Rāyamallābhyudaya, *PR*, III. and *IA*, XX. 349, App. 256 (which contains a praśasti at the end of Harivamśa). See also *BR* (1883-84) 118; *PR*, IV. 167-177, xli; K. B. Pathak, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 223-6; Bhandarkar, *EHD*, Sup. 1.

2. For his inscriptions dated Saka 765, 765, 788, 789 A.D., see *IA*, XII. 215; XIII. 123, 183, 215. See Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, 407; K.B. Pathak's paper in *IA*, XIV. 101 and XV. 141.

3. See his Āṭmānuśāsana, verse 103.

4. For his inscriptions dated Saka 822 and 831, see *IA*. XII. 220, 222, *IA*, XV. 141.

5. Printed Bombay.

6. For his inscriptions, dated Saka 675, see *IA*, XII. 238.

7. Ed. by K. B. Pathak, Poona.

8. Printed, Indore in 3 Vols. There is a doubt if Ādipurāṇa and Harivamśa are by two different Jinasenas.

9. For fuller account, see under Meghasandeśa in the Chapter on Laghukāvya *post*.

10. For instance, the following :—

एलालवङ्गसंवाससुरभिश्वसितैर्मुखैः । स्तनैरापाण्डुभिः सान्द्रचन्दनद्रवचर्चितैः ॥
सलीलमृदुभिर्यानैर्नितम्बभरमत्सरैः । स्मितैरनङ्गपुष्पास्त्रस्तबकोद्भेदविभ्रमैः ॥
कोकिलालापमधुरैर्जल्पितैरनतिस्फुटैः । मृदुबाहुलतान्दोलसुभगैश्च विचेष्टितैः ॥

58. **Ratnakara**[1] was the son of Amṛṭabhānu[2] and descendant of Rajānaka Ḍurghata, who lived at Gangāhraḍa. He began his poetic career in the reign of King Cippata Jayāḍiṭya[3] and became famous during the reign of his successor, King Avantivarman, who ruled over Kashmir between 858 and 884 A.D.[4] He bore the title of Viḍyāpaṭi Vāgīśvara. He was praised by Rājaśekhara as a poet of vast learning and imagery[5] and is popular with rhetoricians.

His HARAVIJAYA is a long poem of 50 cantos describing the tales relating to Siva.[6] From the beauty of a particular verse he has been known as Tāla-Raṭnākara.[7]

लास्यैः स्खलत्पदन्यासैर्मुक्ताप्रायैर्विभूषणैः । मन्द्रमञ्जुभिरुद्गीतैर्जितालिकुलशिञ्जनैः ॥

तमालवनवीथीषु संचरन्त्यो यदृच्छया । मनोऽस्य जह्रुरारूढयौवनाः केरलस्त्रियः ॥

क्वचिच्छुकमुखाकृष्टकणाः कणिशमञ्जरीः । शालिवप्रेषु सोऽपश्यद्विटैर्मुक्ता इव स्त्रियः ॥

सुगन्धिकलमामोदसंवादिश्वसितानिलैः । वासयन्तीर्दिशः शालिकणिशैरवतंसिताः ॥

पीनस्तनतटोत्सङ्गगलद्घर्माम्बुबिन्दुभिः । मुक्तालङ्कारजां लक्ष्मीं घटयन्तीर्निजोरसि ॥

सरसोऽब्जरजःकीर्णसीमन्तरुचिरैः कचैः । चूडामाबध्नतीः स्वैरग्रन्थितोत्पलदामकैः ॥

दधतीरातपक्लान्तमुखपर्यन्तसङ्गिनीः ॥

1. Raṭnasimha, who wrote Pradyumnacarita Mahākāvya in Samvat 1671, when Hemasoma was chief Suri of the Tapagaccha is a different person—see *PR* IV. List of authors, and *PR*, *V*. 163.

2. This person is different from the poets Amṛṭadaṭṭa (a court poet of Shahabuddin of 1352 A.D.) and Amṛṭavardhana, and Amṛṭadeva quoted in the Subhāṣiṭāvali. See Peterson *Int. to Sbh.* 3, 4.

3. He bore the title of Bāla Bṛhaspaṭi and Raṭnākara calls himself Bṛhaspaṭyanujīvin, "a servant of young Bṛhaspaṭi" (See *Raj.* IV. 675). He reigned 832-844 A.D. Between him and Avanṭivarman there were three minor kings of the Karkota dynasty. See Buhler, *KR*, 42 and Peterson *Int. to Subh.* 96.

4. मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः ।
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात्साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ॥ *Raj.* V-34.

5. मास्म सन्तु हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
इतीव सकृतो धात्रा कविरत्नाकरोऽपरः ॥

as quoted in Hārāvalī and Sūkṭimukṭāvalī.

6. Printed, Benares with Alaka's commentary. For a full account of the poem see Buhler's *KR*, 42, and Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXXVI. 373. M. Duff (*Chronology*) gives date for Raṭnākara as 840-860 A.D.

7. सन्ध्याप्रवृत्तहरबाह्यगृहीतकांस्य-
तालद्वयेन समलक्ष्यत नाकलक्ष्मीः ॥—Haravijaya, XIX. 5.

There is a commentary on it by Vallabhadeva,[1] an incomplete commentary by Alaka,[2] son of Rājānaka Jayānaka, which stops in the middle of 46th canto. Alaka was a contemporary and pupil of Raṭnākara. Haravijaya was left unfinished by Raṭnākara and completed by Gaṇapaṭi. It is possible therefore from the limit of Alaka's commentary to say that so far Raṭnākara wrote too.[3]

Vakrokṭi-Pancāśikā is a small poem of fifty verses, being an imaginery dialogue between Śiva and Pārvaṭī, of ingenious intricacy,[4] and Ḍhvanigāḍhāpancikā is a similar poem.[5]

59. Abhinanda was the son of Śaṭānanda.[6] Soddhala, in the introductory verses to his Uḍayasunḍarī, praises Abhinanḍa and Rājaśekhara.[7] The sequence, it is very likely, shows that Rājaśekhara came after Abhinanḍa.

Soddhala lived mostly in the first half of the 11th century A.D. Abhinanḍa mentions his patron King Hāravarṣa Yuvarāja by whom he was well honored and in appreciation of his talents the King accorded to him a seat on his throne.[8] Abhinanḍa and Soddhala class King Hāravarṣa along with famous royal patrons of letters, Vikrama, Hāla and Sri Harṣa. In the various verses in Rāmacariṭa, Abhinanḍa refers to king Hāravarṣha Yuvarājadeva as the son of Vikramaśīla, a scion of the house of King Ḍharmapāla of the Pāla dyanasty.

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1. Stein's *Kash. Cat*, page 76.

2. He is not to be confounded with Allata, who completed the Kavyaprakāśa of Mammata. See Stein *Int. to Raj.* xxvi.

3. *PR*, I. 13; *BKR*, 45.

4. Printed Kavyamala, Bombay. There is a commentary on it by Vallabhadeva, son of Anandadeva. See *MR*, X., *PR*, I. 14. The poem has रत्नाङ्क.

5. See *PR*, IV. civ; *CC*. 491. *BKR*, 42, 66, See also Stein *Int. to Raj.* (footnotes to V. 34).

6. So says Abhinanda himself

7. तथा तूर्णं कवेः कस्य निर्गतं जीवतो यशः ।
हारवर्षप्रसादेन शातानन्देर्यथाधुना ॥

Abhinanḍa, son of Jayanṭa, and author of Kāḍambari Kaṭhāsāra is a different poet. Buhler wrongly identified these two poets (*IA*, II. 102). They were sons of different persons. Aufrecht distinguished them (*CC*, 216) see also, Konow's Int. to Karpuramanjari, 197. Is this Śaṭānanḍa identical with the rhetorician Rudrata Śaṭānanḍa, author of Kāvyālankara ?

8. So says Soddhala

स्पष्टं यदत्र युवराजनरेश्वरेण यद्दुष्करं किमपि येन गिरः श्रियश्च ।
प्रत्यायनं स्फुटमकारि निजे कवीन्द्रमेकासने समुपवेशयताभिनन्दम् ॥

In the Pāla dynasty of Bengal King Ḍharmapāla was famous and he had two sons Ṭribhuvanapāla and Ḍevapāla. In the Monghyr grant,[1] Ṭribhuvanapāla is mentioned as the Yuvarāja, but Ḍevapala succeeded his father and became famous in the second half of the 9th century A.D. K. S. Ramaswami Siromani compares verses in this grant with verses in the Rāmacariṭa, to show the puririty of ideas and expressions relating to King Ḍevapāla and concludes rightly, that king Ḍevapala was the King Hāravarṣa Yuvarājaḍeva.[2] He says "The question may be raised as to how a king of the Pala Dynasty, instead of bearing a name ending in Pala, should prefer to the called Hāravarṣa a name quite foreign to the Pala tradition. The reason for this is not difficult to discover. It is well known that Dharmapala married a Rastrakuta princess known by the name of Kamadevi. Rastrakūta princes were very fond of adopting names ending on "Varṣa" and it is very probable that king Devapala during his stay in his maternal uncle's household was known by the name of Hāravarsa, while his elder brother Tribhuvanapāla was Yuvaraja in the Court of his father Dharmapāla." Abhinanḍa must have therefore lived in the earlier half of the 9th century A.D.

His RAMACARITA[3] is profusely quoted by Bhoja, Mammata and Mahima Bhatta and must have therefore very soon attained high celebrity. It is a long poem relating the story of Rāmāyaṇa. In the Baroda edition recently published the editor says that "These four cantos have two definite recensions, one attributing the authorship to Abhinanda and the other to Bhimakavi a fairly unknown author. But this latter definitely says that Abhinanda left the work incomplete and it fell to his lot to complete the book by adding four more cantos. Most of the 36 cantos which are undoubtedly Abhinanda's own contain besides the subject-matter of the poem additional verses written obviously in praise of his patron king and describing the merits of his own composition." The ease of narration, the melody of versification and the grace of poetic fancy are apparent everywhere.[4]

1. *IA*. XXI, 258.

2. *JOR*, *III*, 57 *et seq*. which contains a learned discussion on this identification.

3. Ed. by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri Siromani in Gaek. Or. series. The manuscript in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts library breaks of in the 40th canto (TC, IV. 5371). There is a manuscript with M. R. Kavi of Madras which stops with the 67th verse in the 50th canto.

4. There is a Rāmacariṭa by Kaśīnaṭha (*IO*, 1184, *CC*, I. 105), and another by Sanḍhyākarananḍin (Ed. by Haraprasad Sastri for Asiatic Society of Bengal).

60. Abhinanda also called Gaudābhinanḍa, was the son of Jayanṭa. His ancestors lived in the Gauda Country until one of them named Sakṭi went to Kashmir and married there in the town of Darvābhisāra. Sakṭi's grandson Sakṭiswāmin was a minister under King Laliṭāḍitya Muktāpida of the Karkota dynasty,[1] who ruled at Kashmir about the year 726 A.D. From Sakṭiswāmin, Abhinanḍa was the 5th in descent. Jalhaṇa in his Sūkṭimukṭāvali mentions Abhinanḍa as a contemporary of Rajaśekhara, and Abhinanvagupṭa quotes him in his Locanā.[2] From these references it appears that this Abhinanḍa lived in 9th century A.D.[3] But Jayaṇta, the father of Abhinanḍa, ridiculing in Nyāyamanjarī, the *śṛingāra* idea in Kuttinīmaṭa of Ḍamoḍaraguptа incidentally mentions Śankaravarman as the King of Kashmir in his time (Nyā p. 279). Śankaravarman ruled from 884 A.D. This allusion brings down Abhinanḍa to a generation later, to the first half of the 10th century. His Kaḍambarī-Kaṭhāsāra[4] epitomises in 8 cantos the story of Bāṇa's Kadambari in verse. His poetry has been held in high estimation by later rhetoricians.[5]

61. Padmagupta, otherwise known as Parimala Kāliḍāsa,[6] was the son of Mṛgānkaguptа. He was a poet of the Court of King Munja of the Paramara dynasty, who, among several other titles, bore also the name of Navasāhasānka.[7] His literary activity extended through the last and first quarters of the 10th and the 11th centuries. He was a devotee of Śiva. He was an admirer of Kāliḍāsa and in descriptive imagery, he

1. These facts are given by the poet himself in the introduction to his Kāḍambarīkathāsāra.

2. See Kavyamala Edition, p. 142. But he mentions further Jayanṭa as the author of the poem.

3. On Abhinanḍa, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 6, 27 ; *CC*, I. 24 ; *PR*, IV. 7; (1887-91) 21 and F. W. Thomas, *Int. to Kav.*, 20-22, where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected.

4. Ṭrivikrama, pupil of Sakala Viḍyāḍharacakravartin wrote a poem Kāḍambarisāra in 17 cantos in about the 14th century (*TC*, IV. 4292).

5. Rāyamukuta in his commentary on Amarakośa and Kṣemenḍra in his Suvṛṭṭaṭilaka quote him and Someśvara in his Kirtikaumuḍi (I. 26) eulogises him.

6. *DC*, XXI, 85-79 ; See Burnell's *Tan. Cat.* 163 ; Peterson's *Int. to Subh.* 51.

7. King Munja bore the names, Vākpaṭirāja I, Sahasānka, Sinḍhurāja, Uṭpalarāja, Śrīvallabha, Pṛṭhvīvallabha, Amoghavarṣa. He ruled between 974-994 (977) and was finally defeated and beheaded by Taila II of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyan. See Prabanḍhacinṭamaṇi (*Tawney's Tr.*); V. Smith, *ED*, 30-6 ; 395, 431 ; also Buhler, *EI*, I. 222 294, 302 ; Fleet, *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, 432; Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 214 ; Haas, *Dasarupa*, *CUS*, xxii, note 4 ; Elliot, *Carnatadesa Inscriptions*, I. 370, 415 ; *IA*, XII. 270 ; XXI. 167 ; XIX. 23 ; XIV. 160 ; He was himself a great poet and for his verses collected from anthologies, See F. W. Thomas *Int. to Kav.* 103.

was a successful second to him. It is possible that his influence extended through the reign of King Bhoja,[1] the successor of King Munja, and that the poet of the name of Kāliḍāsa, so often said to be a friend of that king is Paḍmaguptа himself, as shown by his alias Parimala Kāliḍāsa. His only poem that has come down to us is NAVASAHASANKACARITA. In 18 cantos it describes the marriage of his king Sinḍhuraja, with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā. In one of his hunting excursions he shoots a deer with a golden chain on its neck. The deer escapes. It is a pet of Śaśiprabhā and from the mark on the arrow, she recognises the name of the king. So in pursuit of the deer, the king in his turn sees a swan on a lake, with a pearl necklace hanging in its beak and when he takes hold of it, he sees the name of Śaśiprabhā engraved on the pearls. Thus the love dawns, Śaśiprabhā sends her maiden in search of the necklace and she interviews the king. To get at her the king is asked to invade Nāgaloka, capture and kill the demon Vajrānkuśa at his capital at Bhogavaṭī and bring the golden lotus from his pleasure pond. This the king easily accomplishes and the lovers are married.[2]

Among later references to Paḍmaguptа are some by Bhoja in his Sarasvaṭī-Kanthābharaṇa, by Kṣemenḍra in his Auciṭyavicāracarcā, by Mammata in his Kāvyaprakāśa and by Varḍhamāna in his Gaṇaraṭnamahoḍadhi. Some of the verses quoted there as Padmagupta's are not found in the Navasāhasānkacariṭa. From some of these verses,[3] it is inferred that the theme of another poem must have been that expedition into Gujarat despatched by Ṭailapa under a general of the name of Basapa against Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty at Anhilapattana.[4]

Paḍmaguptа's language is highly embellished and though oftentimes he appears an imitator of Kalidasa, whom he holds in high esteem, his expression is original and verse melodious.

62. Bilhana was born at Koṇamukha[5] near Pravarapura, the capital of Kashmir. He was the son of Jyeṣthakalasa and Nagaḍevī. His

1. He ruled between 1018-1063 A.D. See for a fuller account under Bhoja.

2. Ed. *BSS*, No. 53. For an elaborate account of the poem, See Buller *IA*, XXXVI. 149, based on Zachariae's Essay in German; also Macdonell, *SL*, 331.

3. See Petersons' *Int. to Subh.* 51—53; Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXXVI, 517.

4. On Mularāja who lived about 973 A.D., see *EI*, X. 76, *JRAS*, (1909) 269. He was killed by a Chouhan Raja Vigraharāja II. See *JRAS* (1913) 266, 267, 269; V. Smith *EH*, 381.

5. This is the modern village of Khunmoh 3 miles north-west of Pampar. See Cunningham, *AG*, 98; *BKR*, 40 and Stein's *Int. to Raj.*

grandfather was Rājakalasa and his great grand-father was Muktikalasa. His family belonged to the sect of Madhyadesi brahmins of Kauśika gotra. His father wrote a commentary on Mahābhaṣya. His brothers Iṣṭārama and Ānanda were poets. Educated in Kashmir and particularly proficient in grammar and poetics, he commenced a tour. At Mathura he stayed for some time engaged in playful disputations with the learned of Brindāvan. He visited Kanouj, Prayag and Benares. He was received well in the Court of King Kṛṣṇa of Ḍāhala (Bundelkhand) and in that Court probably composed a poem in honour of Rāma.[1]

He intended to see Bhoja of Dhar, but he could not. He went to Anhilwid in Gujarat, but he was not heartily welcomed there and he complains of this indifference.[2] He offered his devotions at Somnath and setting out southward, he visited Rameśwara. On his way back, he reached the Court of Kalyan, where Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127 A.D.)[3] admired his learning and made him his Vidyāpati, or Director of Instruction, and his parosol when he travelled on elephants through Karnāta land, was seen borne aloft before the king.[4] Of the Kings of Kashmir Ananta had been dead and he probably knew Kalasa. He lived to see Harṣa (1084-1101 A.D.).[5] From the last verses of Vikramānkadevacarita and some other verses attributed to him,[6] which are really characteristic of his self-conscious spirit, it is conjectured that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramāditya and had to leave his territories probably on an order for confiscation of his estates. This may account for the incomplete narrative of Vikrama's history in Bilhaṇa's poem, for it stops with his Chola war and does not refer to the expedition beyond the Narbada in 1088 A.D.[7]

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1. So he says

तं पौलस्त्यं विदलितवतः स्तुतिनिष्यन्दशीताम् ।
सीताभर्तुर्व्यरचयदसौ राजधानीमयोध्याम् ॥ *Vik*. xviii, 94.

2. *Vik*, XVIII. 97.

3. See *I.A*. VIII. 10 (Saka 999); VIII. 21 (Saka 1013); VI 137 (Saka 1018) X. 249 (Saka 1030).

4. *Raj*, VII. 937.

5. *Raj*, VII. 1781 *et. seq.* and *JBRAS*, III. 203-11.

6. सर्वस्वं गृहवर्ति कुन्तलपतिर्गृह्णातु तन्मे पुन-
र्भाण्डागारमखण्डमेव हृदये जागर्ति सारस्वतम् ।
रे क्षुद्रास्त्यजत प्रमोदमचिरादेष्यन्ति मन्मन्दिरम्
हेलान्दोलितकर्णतालकरटिस्कन्धाधिरूढाः श्रियः ॥

7. *JRAS*, IV. 15.

63. His VIKRAMANKADEVACARITAM is a poem in 18 cantos, describing the glory of King Vikramāḍiṭya Ṭribhuvanamalla of Kalyān. "The main theme of this laudatory poem is royal wars and royal marriages. The poet begins with a short account of the Chalukya race and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Tailapa; he dwells at some length upon the exploits of Vikramaditya's father and describes with all customary amplifications, the conquests of Vikramaditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Someswara II, his defeat and capture of his younger and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas."[1]

His KARNASUNDARI,[2] a play in four acts after the manner of Raṭnāvali, must have been composed in the Chalukya Court. It describes the secret intrigues of a Chalukya prince Karṇaḍeva, son of Bhīmaḍeva, with Viḍyāḍhara princess and their evential marriage with the consent of the queen.

His ŚIVASTUTI is a small poem in praise of Śiva.[3]

64. His CAURAPANCASIKA,[4] is a poem of fifty verses of amatory import, attributed to Bilhaṇa. By itself it describes only the recollections of a lover of the company of his darling princess. But in some manuscripts, there is an introductory part, relating its romantic origin.[5] Bilhaṇa was the tutor of Canḍralekha or Śaśikalā, the daughter of King Vairisimha of Guzarat. The pupil fell in love with the teacher and the intrigue went on undiscovered. When at last when the secret was out and Bilhaṇa was condemned to death by the incensed father and taken to the place of execution, he repeated these verses in remembrance of the graces of the princess and the joys of her company. The executioners were moved and when they conveyed to the king the last invocation of Bilhaṇa,[6] the King was moved and the result was a pardon and restoration to favour and a formal bestowal of the hand of the princess.

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1. For a full account of Bilhaṇa and this poem, see Bubler's Int. to Edn. and *IA*, V. 317; *IA*, V. 321; *IA*, X. 317. Durgaprasad's Int. to Karṇasunḍarī (Bombay); Peterson *Int. to Subh*. 66, where verses quoted in the anthologies are collected.

2. Ed. Bombay (Kavyamala, No. 7).

3. *CMy*, 235. There is a Bilhaṇasṭavam (*T.C.* II. 136). Are these identical?

4. Ed. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and elsewhere. See Colebroke, *Mis. Es.* II, 95; Boblen, Introduction to Edn. Berlin; *BKR*, 48, *C Bod*, No. 245.

5. See Bilhaṇacariṭa, *TC*, II. 1196. 2622. Ed. by V. Venkatrayasastri, Madras.

6. पञ्चत्वं तनुरेतु भूतनिवहे स्वांशा मिळन्तु ध्रुवं
धातस्त्वां प्रणिपत्य सादरमिदं याचे निबद्धाञ्जलिः
तद्वापीषु पयस्तदीयमुकुरे ज्योतिस्तदीयाङ्गणे
व्योमस्त्याच तदीयवर्त्मनि धरा तत्तालवृन्तेऽनिलः ॥

A similar story is told of a poet Caurasunḍara and in the Bengali version Caurapanchāśikā is attributed to that poet Sundara.[1]

It is apprehended that Caura was not identical with Bilhana, though many scholars have fallen into that error[2] and this suspicion has almost become a certainty, when we see that Bhoja quotes two verses from Pancāśikā in his Śṛngāraprakāśa and Jakkana, a Telugu poet, in his Vikramārkacariṭa praised Bilhana and Cora distinctly among several poets.

This introductory part is certainly a later compilation, for it contains verses of different authors put together to suit the description, though indeed it is an admirable collection. King Vairisimha of Anhilvid died in 920 A.D.,[3] long before Bilhaṇa was born. The name of the heroine and the king are given in many manuscripts as Yāminīpurṇaṭilakā and Maḍanābhirāma, King of Laksmīmanḍira, capital of Pāncālaḍesa. Bilhaṇa himself in his autobiographical passages never alluded to his long sojourn and relationship with any king of Guzarat or Pancāla.

There are commentaries on Pancāśikā by Ganapaṭiśarma and Ramopādhyāya[4] and by Basaveśwara.[5]

65. Vasudeva[6] was the son of Ravi and desciple of Bhāraṭaguru called also Mahābhāraṭa-Bhattāṭri. He lived at Viprasaṭṭama (Papanathur) in Travancore. Tradition in Malabar gives the following story about his early life. "He used to be particularly interested in listening to the texts of *Puranams* and *Shastras* repeated by the pupils of his master. As he could not for want of education pronounce words distinctly, his associates used to taunt him by calling him Vathu, a lisping form of Vasu his correct name. One day, as usual, while he was coming back from a temple at Tiruvīlakkāvu, where he had gone to worship, it rained heavily and the ferryboat, on which he was to cross an intervening stream which was in high floods, was on the other shore.

1. *CASB*, 64. Ed. Kavyasangraha, Calcutta. Bāṇa's mention in Harṣacariṭa does not refer to any poet of that name, but only a general abuse of plagiarists.

2. See for instance, Peterson, *Subh.* 66; Durgaprasad's Introduction to Karṇasundarī where the whole story is given.

3. See Forbes, *Rasmala*, I. 42.

4. *IOC*, VII, 1523.

5. *TC*, II. 1622.

6. For other Vasudevas, see Index and article on *Rāmakathā—A Study* by K. R. Pisharoti, *Bull of Or. Studies*, V. iv.

Bhattaṭiri retraced his steps to the temple, where he spent the whole night. It was raining heavily and he had only one wet cloth on his waist. In despair he appealed to his favourite deity who gave him some fuel and fire to warm himself and a bunch of plantain fruits to appease his hunger with. After eating of the fruits he became by inspiration a poet of a high order. The sweeper woman who came early in the morning to the temple learnt from him where he threw away the rind of the fruits and ate it herself. She also became a poetess."[1] He eulogises his patrons King Kulaśekhara and King Rāma and lived in the 9th century A.D.[2]

In YUDHISTHIRAVIJAYA, a poem in 8 aśvasas in ārya metre King Kulaśekhara is mentioned as the reigning king. It describes the story of Mahābhārāṭa from the hunting sports of Pāṇdu to the coronation of Yuḍhisthira after the war.[3] There is a commentary on it by Sokkanāṭha, son of Acciambā and Suḍarśana of Sattanur near Śrirangam.[4]

ŚAURIKATHODAYA, and ṬRIPURADAHANA mention the name of the ruling King as Rāma. The former narrates the life of Kṛṣṇa from birth to the conquest of Bāṇāsura as related in Harivamsa.[5] There is a commentary on it by Nīlakantha, son of Iśāna of Mukṭisṭhala.[6] The latter describes the story of destruction of the Three Cities by Siva.[7] There is a commentary on it by one who calls himself son of Niṭyapriya.[8]

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1. Travancore State Manual, II. 427.

2. This King Kulaśekhara cannot be the author of the Mukurḍamālā which must have been the work of a far earlier author, who was the famous Kulaśekharālwār, the saint of the Vaiṣṇavas. The patron of Vāsuḍeva must have been the author of the dramas Subhaḍrāḍhananjaya and Tapaṭīsamvaraṇa (*Tr. San. Ser*). On several Kulaśekharas, see article by A S. Ramanatha Ayyar, *Tr. Arch. Jl. Vol.* V. *pt.* 2.

For detailed information, see under Kulaśekhara in the chapter on Nāṭaka *post.* Tradition gives to the saint 28th Kali, Parabhava. Keralotpaṭṭi mentions Vāsuḍeva as contemporary of Kulaśekhara Perumal, whose death it gives as 333 A.D., For the identification of Kulaśekhara and Rāma, see A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, *Nalodaya and its author* (*JMy*, XIV. 302-11).

3. Printed Kāvyamālā, Bombay. There the poet and his patron are wrongly said to have lived in Kashmir.

4. *DC*, XX. 7808.

5. *TC*, II. 2589.

6. *DC*, XX. 7886. This was written during the reign of the Rāmavarma and Goḍāvarma.

7. *TC*, II. 2589.

8. *TC*, III. 3873.

All these three poems are illustrations of Yamaka composition.[1] It has recently been suspected whether Vāsuḍeva was also the author of the similar composition Naloḍaya atttributed to Kāliḍāsa.[2]

66. Dhananjaya was son of Vāsuḍeva and Śrīḍevī. He was a Jain. By his time Ḍvisanḍhāna, or poem of double entendre narrating different tales in the same expression became, as it were, a generic name. Ḍandin inaugurated it and his poem of that name is mentioned by Bhoja in his Śringāraprakāśa, but it is not now available. Subanḍhu adapted the device to prose and his Vāsavaḍaṭṭā indicated the heights to which a poet can work upon the innate excellence of Sanskrit vocabulary, to express his imagery in brief punning phrases. Ḍhananjaya followed and he narrated the story of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābharaṭa at a time in his Ḍvisanḍhāna[3] in measures at once fluent and heavy. He is conscious of his merit and deems himself almost a combination of Vālmiki and Vyāsa, who, with Ḍandin, were in his mind the only three poets. He classes his work as one of the three gems, as unblemished as Akalanka's Nyāyaśāsṭra and Pūjyapāḍa's Vyākaraṇa. He praises Ānanḍavarḍhana and Raṭnākara, is eulogised by Somaḍeva and Jalhaṇa and is quoted by Varḍhamāna. He must therefore have lived in the 9-10th centuries A.D..[4] He also wrote a lexicon Ḍhananjayanāmamālā.[5]

1. See for instance:

i कीर्तिमदभ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय भिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यभिता ॥

ii बबन्धुरेव बन्धुरे स्ववर्त्मनि स्थितिं जनाः ।
पिनाकिनापि नाकिनाममोदि मोदकारिणा ॥

2. This view has been elaborately propounded and may very likely be correct by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar in *Naloḍaya and its Author*, *JMy*, XIV. 362. In a manuscript of Malabar (*DC*, XX. 7886, R. No. 1852) all these three poems are found written together.

3. Ed. by Śivaḍaṭṭa in Kāvyamālā, Bombay with a preface.

4. M. Duff (Chronology) identifies Dhananjaya with Śruṭakirṭi Ṭraividya and gives him the date 1130 A.D. Śruṭakirṭi is mentioned in an inscription (*IA*, XIV. 14) dated Saka 1045. But this identification seems to be wrong as Pampa says that Śruṭakirṭi's work though embracing the subject of Rāmāyaṇa and Māhābharaṭa was a Gaṭapraṭyāgaṭa (read to and fro) poem. In the Introduction to Kavyāvaloka, (*Bib. Car.* 4) Śruṭakirṭi is mentioned as the author of a Rāghavapānḍavīya; this Pampa and Meghacanḍra were contemporaries and Meghacandra's son wrote work in Saka 1076 (*IA*. XIV. 14).

5. E. V. Veeraraghavachariar (*JAHS*, *II*. 181) places Dhananjaya between 750-800 A.D. and Kavirāja as earlier than Dhananjaya in 650-725 A.D. Bhandarkar [*BR* (1894) 20] says Dhananjaya borrowed the idea from Kavirāja.

5. Printed, Bombay.

67. Atula's MUSIKAVAMSA is a poem of 15th cantos. About Atula nothing more is known. The poem relates the story of a long line of kings that ruled over the Muṣika kingdom, which according to Keraloṭpaṭṭi was South Travancore. When Paraśurāma was slaughtering the Kṣaṭriyas a queen of a king, who was killed, hid herself in a mountain cave. One day, a rat as big as an elephant entered the cave and when it threatened to devour the queen, fire arose from her eyes and burnt the rat. The soul of the rat appeared in the form of the Parvaṭarāja with his attendants and the Parvaṭarāja astonished at his own change said that he had been cursed by sage Kuśika to become a rat and his curse thus came to an end at her view. The queen continued to live in the cave and brought forth a male child. The Purohit who was all this time helping the queen educated the boy. When Paraśurāma was performing a sacrifice and was on the look out for a Kṣaṭriya to act at a particular ritual, this boy was taken to him and pleased him, he made him the king of Musika coming under the name of Musika Rāmaghata because he was consecrated with potful of water. He killed Māḍhavavarman, the king of Magadha, in battle and married his daughter Bhaḍrasena. He installed the son of Māḍhavavarman on the throne of Magadha. Rāmaghata had two sons. The elder Vatu was made king of Haihaya and the younger Nandana of the Cola kingdom. He returned to forest and spent the rest of his days in retirement. Then follows a long line of kings and their story, ending with Śrikantha, Valabha and his son. In the time of Srikantha the poet lived and composed his poem[1]. In canto 14, it is stated that king Valabha joined the king of Kerala in opposing the advances of Cola King towards Kerala. It is thought likely that the Cola King referred to was Rajendra Choladeva I, who ruled in 1014-1046 A. D. In cantos 12 and 14, the temple of Buḍḍha at Śrimulavasa is described as on the verge of ruin an account of the inroads of the sea. This temple was in a flourishing condition and had royal grants in 868 A.D.[2] It is conjectured that that the poem must have been composed in the 11th century A.D.

68. Ksemendra[3] surnamed Vyāsaḍāsa, was the son of Prakāśenḍra and grandson of Sinḍhu. His father was a great patron of Brahmins

1. *Tr. Arch. Series* 87 et. seq. In the Mahakula inscription (*IA*, XIX. 7) it is stated that King Kirtivaraman I (489 to 567) ruled over the kings of Kerala, Muṣaka &c. See *JMy*, XXI. 62.

2. *Ibid.* I. 193-5, II. 116.

3. On Kṣemenḍra, see Buhler (*BKR.* 45), *JBRAS* (1877), XII. Extra No. *JBRAS*, XVI. 167. *PR.* I. 4, 75; *JA. serie*, VII. 400; VII. 216. M. Duff (*Ind. Chr.*)

and expended three crores in various benefactions. He was himself a devotee of Śiva but latterly, under the teachings of Somācārya, it is said he became a Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavaṭa. He studied under Abhinavaguptạ[1] and was in the court of King Ananṭa of Kashmir (1029-1064 A.D..[2] He wrote many works, and among them are some independent didactic poems and narrative abstracts of older poems.[3]

His Rājāvālī is a history of Kashmir like Kalhaṇa's Rājaṭarangiṇi. Bṛhaṭkaṭhāmanjarī,[4] Rāmāyaṇamanjarī[5] and Bhāraṭamanjarī[6] are epitomes of Bṛhaṭkaṭhā, Rāmāyaṇa and Māhābhāraṭa.

Among his works known only by name are Śaśivāmśa-mahākāvya. Amṛṭarangakāvya, Avasarasāra, Mukṭāvalī, Lāvaṇyavaṭī, Ḍeśopadeśa, Pavanapancāśikā, and Paḍyakāḍambarī ; and among his known and printed works are,[7] Avaḍāna-Kalpalaṭā, Nīṭikalpaṭaru, Lokaprakāśakośa, Sevyasevakopaḍeśa, Nīṭilatā, Vinayavallī, Ḍarpaḍalana,

gives the date Loka 12-41 and A. D. 1037 and notes the dates of some works. Brihaṭkaṭhāmanjari (Loka 12), Samayamāṭṛkā (Loka 25), Daśāvatāra Cariṭa (Loka 41). Laukika era commenced in year 25 Kali or 3075--6 B.C. A Laukika century commenced in 1025 A.D. See Stein's *Int. to Raj* ; Macdonnel (*SL*, 290, 376) calls Kṣemenḍra contemporary of Somaḍeva.

1. Kṣemarāja, the author of Sāmbapancāśikā-vivaraṇa says he was a pupil of Abhinavaguptạ. He may probably be identical with Kṣemenḍra (*PR.* I. 11). But Buhler (*BKR.* 46) says otherwise. He identifies him with Kṣemenḍra, author of Spanḍanirṇaya. Kṣemenḍra son of Yaḍusārman of Guzarat and author of Hasṭijanaprakāśa is a different person.

2. The king is referred to in the concluding verses of Suvṛṭṭaṭilaka and other poems. He was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhar :—

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।
सूरी तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्यं द्वावास्तां कविबान्धवौ ॥ Raj. VII. 255.

3. For a list of his works, see S. Levi, *JA*, (1855), 309. Peterson's *Int. to Subh.* 27.

4. Printed, Bombay. *DC*, XXI. 8165. See the paper on it by Levi, *JA*. (1886), Feb-April. Buhler (*IA*, I. 302) fixes Somaḍeva 1063-82 A.D. and makes Kṣemenḍra his contemporary. Levi does not agree and says that Kṣemenḍra's work was anterior to Somaḍeva's Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara and that the latter was written as a direct criticism upon or it is a kind of reply addressed by Somaḍeva to Kṣemenḍra. This being assumed, Levi refers to a quotation from Bṛhaṭkaṭhā in the Daśarapa and differing from Hall concludeds that the latter work is posterior to the Bṛhaṭkaṭhā and anterior to Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara.

5. Printed, Bombay.

6. Printed, Calcutta.

7. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Parts I, IV, and VI, Bombay. *C. Bod.* 38b and *Berl. Cat.* No. 804.

Munimaṭamīmāmsā and Kavikanthābharaṇa.[1] Ḍaśāvaṭāracariṭa gives the story of the incarnations and the story of Buddha is related according to the Buddhist works. Kalāvilāsa[2] in 10 parts describes several arts with illustrations from traditional tales.

69. CARUCARYA[3] is a century of moral aphorisms, easily expressed, each with a sanction of the orthodox kind appended, which gives a quaint and pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in the Kashmir of his time. Chaṭurvarga Sangraha,[4] is a concise exposition of the four great motives of human activity, duty, wealth, love and salvation.

SUVRTTATILAKA[5] is a treatise on metrics and is valuable in literary history, for its quotations from several works with the names of their authors.[6] In three chapters, it describes the collection of metres, their faults and merits and their proper application.[7] The particular merit of this composition is that the illustrations seem at once to the eye and the ear as a versus memorials both of the character and of the name of the particular metre.

In SAMAYAMATRKA, "one of his most original poems which is intended to describe the snares of courtesans, he gives us among other stories an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kankali, through the length and breadth of Kaṣmir. The numerous places which form the scene of her exploits can all easily enough be traced on the map. More than once curious touches of true local colour impart additional interest to these references. To Kṣemendra's

1. On this work, see S. K. De, *SP*. II. 361, and T. Schonberg, Wien.

2. It contains the story of Muladeva alias Karṇisuṭa referred to by Bāṇa and Subandhu. On Muladeva, see page.

3. Ed. Bombay, Kāvyamāla, Part II. *PR*, I. 4; *JBRAS*, XVI. Extra No. For instance there is the version of the proverb, "The early bird catches the worm."

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते पुरुषस्त्यजेन्निद्रामतन्द्रितः ।
प्रातः प्रबुद्धं कमलं श्रयेत श्रीर्गुणाश्रया ॥

4. Ed. Bombay, Kāvyamāla, Part V. *PR*, I. 5.

5. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Part I. Bombay, *P.R*. I. 5-11.

6. Among the authors mentioned are Abhinanda, Bhatta Indurāja, Uṭpalarjāa, Kalaśaka, Kāliḍāsa, Gandinaka, Cakra, Tunjina (King, *Raj*. II. 16), Dipaka, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, Parimala, Bāna, Bhartṛi Mentha, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhuti, Bhāravi, Mukṭākaṇa, Yaśovarman, Ratnākara, Rājaśekhara, Rissu, Lata Dindina, Bhatta Vallata, Viraḍeva, Sāhila, Bhatta Śyāmala, Śri Harṣadeva, Bhatti, Bhaumaka.

7. Kṣhemendra says that Abhinanda excelled in Anustubh, Pānini in Upajāṭi, Bhāravi in Vamśasṭha, Raṭnākara in Vasanṭaṭilaka, Bhavabhuṭi in śikharini, Kāliḍāsa in Mandkāränṭā and Rajaśekhara in Śārdulavikriḍiṭa.

poem we owe, for instance the earliest mention of the Pir Pantsal Pass (*Pancaladhara*) and its hospice (*matha*). There, too, we get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade which still follows that route with preference. Elsewhere we are taken into an ancient Buddhist convent, the Krtyasrama Vihara, where Kankali's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal."

LOKAPRAKASA "supplies us with the earliest list of Kasmir Paraganas. Besides this we find there the names of numerous localities inserted in the forms for bonds, Hundis, contracts, official reports, and the like which form the bulk of Prakasas II and IV. The Pargana list as well as these forms contain local names of undoubtedly ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. Some of the latter in fact belong to places which were only founded during the Muhammadan rule."

By far the most valuable work of Kṣemendra is the AUCITYAVICARACARCA.[1] It is a book on literary criticisms and treats of rhetorical style. His enunciations of literary canon are accompanied by discussions. He has no regard for individual fame or dignity and he deals out praise and censure as a true critic. His illustrations are sometimes his own and often taken from eminent poets, whose names he gives.[2] These illustrations form as it were an anthology. When he gives the date of composition for instance, Samayamāṭṛkā as the 25th year of the Kashmir Cycle, or 1050 A.D. he furnishes a regular land-mark in the history of Sanskrit literature.

70. Hemacandra was born at Dhanduka in Samvat 1145 (1088 A.D.) and was the son of Chachiga Sresthi and Pāhinī. When his father was away, a monk Ḍevenḍrasūri of the Vajra Śākha asked his mother to give away the child then 5 years old, to be brought up in the monastic order. The mother parted with him very willingly and he was initiated under the name of Changdevu. His father was put out at the news

1. Ed. Kavyamala, Part I, Bombay. See also Peterson's paper, *JBRAS*, XVI. 167-180; S. K. De, *SP*, II. 356-61.

2. Among the poets mentioned there, are Paḍmaguptа *alias* Parimala, Dharmakirṭi, Rājaśekhara, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, Chanḍraka, Medhāviruḍra, Mālava Kuvalaya, Śyāmala, Mātṛgupṭa, Pravarasena, Muktāpīda, Yaśovarman, Uṭpalarāja, Amaruka, Kumāradāsa. Cakrā, brother of Mukṭākaṇa and contemporary of Ratnakara, Bhallata, Vamana, Varāhamihira, Yaśovarmadeva, Māgha, Bhatta Ṭauṭa, Gangaka, Dīpaka, Parivrājaka, Śri Vakra, Harṣa.

The lost work Kunṭesvaraḍautya by Kāliḍāsa referred to. He also refers to three plays by himself, and Chiṭrabhārata, and Lalitaraṭnamālā.

and discovered the son, when it was too late, all-engrossed in his ascetic serenity. To demonstrate his powers he set his arm in a blazing fire and his father found to his surprise the flashing arm turned into gold. Thence came the appellation Hemacanḍra. He studied under Ḍevacanḍrasūri of Pūrṇaṭalliyagaccha.[1] He was consecrated in Sam. 1154 and made a suri in thirteen years later. At the court of Anhilvid in Guzerat he spent many years under the patronage of kings Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094–1143 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla.[2] He was in fact a minister at the royal durbar and by his influence Jainism became the state religion. Viharas 1400 in number, were built and laws against consumption of meat and cruelty to animals were enacted. Though a Jain by adoption, his reverence for the brahmin was not anything less. He was a genius of great versatility and his works embrace every field of literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit.[3] He was the originator of a new school of grammar.[4] His works contain 35,000,000 lines in all and he was called the Omniscient of the Kaliyuga. Great Soul that he was, he passed away by self-starvation in 1173-4 A.D.[5]

His KUMARAPALACARITA, a poem of twenty-eight cantos, describes the history of the Anhilvid dynasty, particularly of Kumārapāla. The first twenty cantos are in Sanskrit and the last eight are in Prakrit, and

1. He was the author of Śāntināṭhacariṭa in Prakrit, (See *Jess. Cat.* 46; *PR*, I. 65).

2. On Kumārapāla, see Mangol inscription dated Sam. 1202 in *List of Antiquarian Remains* (Bombay) 180. Kielhorn, *KR*, (1880) 110 gives the date of a Ms. of Kalpacurni as Samvat 1218 as in the time of Kumārapāla. See also Meruṭunga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi (Tawny's Translation, Calcutta, V. Smith, *EH*. 181) and E Dosabhai, *History of Guzarat* (Ahmedabad) 33-36. An account of Kumārapāla is contained in the Prakrit Kavya Kumārapāla Praṭibodha, (Ed. Gak Or. series, Baroda) of Somaprabhācarya, about whom see *post*.

1. On Hemacanḍra generally, see Peterson, 5th Rep; A.K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I. 189-204 (which says that he died in samvat, 1229. 1174 A.D. in 84th year); *Lassen, IAlt.* III, 567, 1195; IV. 803 ff., S.K. De, *SP*, I. 203. Colebrooke, *Mis. Es.* II. 206 ff; Pattavali of Upadesa-Gaccha (mentioned as the contemporary of Sri Kakka Suri, Sam. 1154) Buhler, *Uber das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemacandra*; M. Duff, *Chronology*; Aufrecht: *CC.* 763; *Bod Cat.* 170, 179, 180, 185a; *ZDMG.* xliii 348; *IA*, IV. 71, VI. 182. *BKR.* 76. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, 184, 287. Jacobi (*Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, VI. 591) gives Hemacandra's dates as 1086, 1089-1173. R Shamashastry, *JMy*, XIII. 568-72 and Chandraprabhasuri's Prabhavakacharita (Chapter 22) give an account.

2. See Peterson, *PR*. IV. 6, I. 63 *Subh*. 189. All works of Hemacanḍra are preserved in Patan Library. For a list of his works, see Int. to Kavyānuśāsana, (Kavyamala).

3. See Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*.

this continuation has given it the name of Dvyāśrayakāvya.[1] The portion that is in Prakrit was intended to illustrate his aphorisms of Prakrit grammar and comprises the six different dialects of the Prakrit language.[2] Some say that the poem was begun by Hemacandra in 1160 A.D., and left unfinished by his death, and was later completed by Abhayatilakagaṇi in 1255 A.D., but the latter says expressly that he is the author of the gloss only.

In Triṣastiśalākāpuruṣacarita, a long poem, he describes the lives of Jaina Saints.[3] So is his Sthavirāvalīcarita.[4] Chandonuśāsana is a work on metrics.[5]

Kāvyānuśāsana with a commentary on it called Alankāra-cudāmaṇi, in eight chapters, is a valuable work in literary history.[6] It discusses the poetical theories of Bharata, Lollata, Dandin, Śankuka, Mammata, Bhattanāyaka and refers to several works of which some are not extant.[7]

Among his works on Lexicography[8] are Deśīnāmamāla,[9] Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi,[10] and Anekārthasangraha,[11] and Nighantuśeṣa.[12]

1. Edited, Bombay, *BSS*, No. 60, with an Introduction by S. P. Pandit. See *IA*, XVIII. 341. There is a commentary on some chapters by Abhayatilakagaṇi (composed in *Sam*. 1312) and on one chapter by Purṇakalaśagaṇi (composed in Sam. 1307). There is another Kumārapālacarita by (Jinasimhasuri ?) Jayasimhasuri (see Kirtane's Int. and Cat. of Bikaneer State Library); *BR*, (1883-4).

2. On the treatment of Prakrit by Hemacandra, see C.D. Dalal, Int. to Bhavisattakatha (Gaek. Or. Series), 63-65. Jinamandana, pupil of Somasundara, wrote Kumārapālaprabandha in prose and verse in Samvat 1492, [*PR*. IV. 82.]

3. Ed. by Jacobi, *Bib. Ind. PR.*, V. 4. For a summary and extracts, see *CSC*, (1909), 108 *et. seq*,

4. Printed, Bombay.

5. *PR*, V. 134.

6. Printed, Kāvyamālā, Bombay. *DC*, XXII, 8636. See *JBRAS*, XII.

7. These are Rāvaṇavijaya and Harivijaya (Sanskrit poems) Abdhimathana (apabramsa poem), Bhīma-kavya (Gramya apabramsa poem); Līlāvātī (as a Padyamayi kathā) Śādraka (Sudraka-katha ?) a parikatha; Damayantīkathā of Trivikrama, and Hayagrīvavadha of Mentha.

At p. 97, Hemacandra quotes a conversation between Citramāya and Rāma, as from a drama Unmattarāghava. This is not traceable in Bhaskara's Unmattarāghava, and the work quoted must therefore be a different one.

8. See Int. to Kalpadrukośa (Gaek. Or. Series).

9. Called also Rajāvaiī. Ed. by Pischel, Bombay.

10. *PR*. III. *App*. 53, 103 with a commentary by the author (l.c. 109, 154), Ed. by Bodhlingk and Rieu, St. Petersburg.

11. With a commentary by the author's pupil Mahendrasuri, *PR*, III. 51; *App*. 89. Ed. by Zachariae, Vienna.

12. *PR*, V. 23. It is a botanical glossary.

Syāḍvāḍamanjarī[1] and Jinenḍrasṭoṭra,[2] are hymns in praise of Varḍhamāna. Śabdānuśāsana[3] is a treatise in Sanskrit grammar, of which the Prakrita grammar is in the eighth book. Yogaśāsṭra[4] is a companion of Jain doctrines. Lingānusāsana is a treatise on gender.[5]

71. The history of Kumārapāla is narrated by Somaprabhācārya in his Prakrit poem Kumārapāla-praṭiboḍha-Mahākāvya.[6] Somaprabha was a pupil of Vijayasimha and was fifth in descent from Municanḍra and Munadeva in the pontifical line. His father Śrīpāla,[7] was a poet and friend of Siḍḍhipāla, a colleague of Hemacanḍra at the Anhilvid Court. The poem gives an account of Kumārapāla's conversion into the faith of Jina[8] at the teaching of Hemacanḍra and was composed at Patan in Sam. 1241 (1195 A.D.). It ends with a praśasṭi in Sanskrit. His other works are Hemakumāracariṭa,[9] and Sumaṭināṭhacariṭa,[10] and Śalānṭakāvya.

72. **Mankha** known also as Mankhaka or Mankhuka was born in Kaṣmir.[11] His father was Viśvāvartha. His brother Alankāra,[12] also a

1. *PR*, IV. 127, III. *app*. 206. Weber, 1st. II. 940.

2. Bhau Daji's *Int.* (*op. cit.*) xviii. A commentary on it is dated 1292 A.D. *PR*, V. 110.

3. Called also Siḍḍha-Hemacanḍra. Ed. by Pischel, Halle. For an account of the work and literature that grew around it, see *Peterson*, *PR*, I. 14; Weber, *ISt*. II. 208 254. Pischel *De Gramaticis Pracriticis*; Lassen's *Institute Linguae Pracriticae* (Bombay). Bhau Daji, *JBRAS*, IX. 224.

4. With a commentary by the author. *PR*, II. 65. Ed. partly by E. Windisch, *ZDMG*, XXVIII. (1874) 185 ff; Weber *IL*, 297-note. So is his Pramāṇamimāmsā, (*PR*, V. 147).

5. Ed. by Franke, Gottingen.

Of the Culukya dynasty, the praśasṭi gives the following Kings; Mularāja (*Sam.* 993—1053), Cāmundarāja (*Sam.* 1053—1966), Durlabharāja (*Sam.* 1066—1075), Bhīmaḍeva (*Sam.* 1075—1120), Karṇaḍeva (*Sam.* 1120—1150), Siḍḍharāja *alias* Jayasimha (*Sam.* 1150—1199), and Kumārapāla (*Sam.* 1199-1230).

6. Ed. by Muniraja Jinavijaya (*Gaek Or. Series*). *PR*, IV, V, Index of authors. The author gave it the name *Jina-dharma-praṭibodha*.

7. The poet was honoured by Jayasimha with the title of Kavīnḍra. He is quoted in Śārngadhara-Paddhati as Śrīpāla Kavirāja. See *PR*, V. 38.

8. The same story is given in the Śānṭināṭhacariṭam of Devasuri, in Sanskrit verses, *PR*, I. 59.

9. *PR*, V. 24.

10. It describes the life of Sumaṭināṭha, the 5th Tirṭhankara and is written mainly in Prakrit. It is preserved in the Bhandar of Patan.

11. On Mankha generally, see Durgaprasad's note in *Kāvyamālā*; *BKR*. 50 (where an account of the poem is given) and Peterson *Subh*. 83 and 106. The poem has कर्णिकारांक, says Jonarāja.

12. Known also as Lankana and referred to in *Rāj*. VIII-2658.

poet, was a minister of kings Susala and Jayasimha of Kaṣmir. King Jayasimha[1] ruled from 1127 to 1159 A.D. Mankha went to Konkhan as ambassador. His other brother Śṛngāra held the office of Bṛhaṭṭantrāḍhipaṭi. Ruyyaka was his guru.[2] Maṇkha wrote his poem ŚRIKANTHACARITA about 1140 A.D.[3] In 25 cantos it describes the destruction of the Three Cities by Śiva. The last canto is particularly interesting and it gives the names of some poets, predecessors or contemporaries.[4] The whole of the 1st canto is devoted to benediction and every deity has a salutation. Many of the verses have a double meaning and in spite of his wonderful mastery of language he lacks lucidity of expression and is a hard author for the scholiast. A commentary on the poem by Jonaraja[5] helps however towards an appreciation. There is a dictionary called Mankha Kośa current in Kashmir.

Alankārasarvasva is a gloss on Ruyyaka's Alankâra aphorisms and is his work.[6] Besides commenting on the Kārikās of Ruyyaka, Mankha appears to have himself written some Alankāra Suṭras. In Mankhukasuṭrodāharaṇa these Sūṭras have been illustrated by a pupil of his, probably Samuḍrabanḍha, who also commented on Alankārasarvasva. In these illustrations King Ravivarmabhūpa is praised.[7]

73. Sriharsa[8] was the son of Srihīra and Māmalladevi. His father was a poet of the court of King Vijayacanḍra of Kanouj. Disappointed in a poetic competition there with Uḍayana, Hīra retired from public

1. See *Rāj*.
2. *Śrikanthacariṭa*, XXV—30.
3. Ed. *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay. In the colophon he is called Rājānaka Śri Mankhaka.
4. Murāri, Rājaśekhara, Jalhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Bilhaṇa, Alakaḍaṭṭa, Ānanḍa (son of Śambhu), Paḍmarāja. Jalhaṇa referred to here is the author of the poem Somapālavilāsa and is different from the author of Sukṭimukṭāvali of the same name (*JBRAS*, XVII. 57). The latter is called Ācārya Bhagadaṭṭa Jalhaṇa. See Durgaprasad's note in Śrikanthacarita, page 347. Śambhu, the father of Ānanḍa, is the author of Anyokṭimukṭālaṭā and Rājendrakarṇapura [*Kāvyamālā*, Bombay]. See *Ibid*, note at page 351.
5. He was a contemporary of king Jainulabdin (1417 to 1467 A.D.) During this reign he composed the second Rājaṭarangiṇi, the continuation of Kalhaṇa's work. He has also written commentaries on Kirāṭārjuniya and other poems.
6. See Trivandrum Sanskrit Series with Introduction by T. Ganapathi Sastri. In this book the name of the poet is given as Mankhuka.
7. He also refers in this work to Viḍyacakravarṭi's commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa, *TC*, IV. 4307.
8. The correct name is Śrīharṣa and not Harṣa; see the last line of the poem श्रीश्रीहर्षकवेः कृतिः

gaze and with a request to his son to avenge the disgrace he soon passed away. Śrīharṣa at once set out to study and with the aid of the *Cintāmani-mantram*[1] kindly communicated to him by a venerable sage he attained the summit of his learning in a few years. He came again to the royal court and was received with distinction. There at the request of that king[2] he wrote his Naiṣadhīyacarita. The work met with wide approval in the various assemblies of Kaṣmir[3] and was honoured by the personal appreciation of Sarasvatī. He was dignified with the title of Narabhāratī. The jealous queen, who called herself Kalābharatī, would not tolerate this presumption. Unable to bear her persecutions, Śrīharṣa spent the rest of his life in ascetic serenity on the banks of the Ganges.

This is the account that Rājaśekhara gives in his Prabandhakośa.[4] Jayantacandra, son of Vijyacandra ruled over Kanouj in the latter half of the 12th century A.D..[5] It is elsewhere said by Rājaśekhara himself casually that the first manuscript of the Naiṣadha was brought into Gujerat by Harihara during the reign of Vīradhavala aud his minister Vastupāla made copies of it and gave it a deserved publicity.[6] Candu Pandita in his commentary Dīpikā composed in Sam. 1353 (1296 A.D.) calls the poem new and refers to the existence of the only commentary of Vidyādhara before him.[7] Śrīharṣa must therefore have flourished in the latter half of the 12th century A.D..[8]

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1. Naiṣadha, Canto 1,concluding verse.
2. Rājasekhara gives the date of composition as about 1174 A.D.
3. Canto XVI, concluding verse.
4. Composed in 1348 A.D.,
5. *IA* XV, 11-12. Grant dated Samvat 1225 (A.D. 1169). Various details given as his surname Panjula, contemporary of Kumārapāla, his dynasty destroyed by the Musalmans &c. show that Jayantacandra was the same as Jayacandra, who reigned at Kānyakubja and Benares between 1168-1194 A D.
6. See the lives of Somesvara and Vastupāla, *post*. Int. to Naranārāyananda (Gaek. Or. Series), vii.
7. काव्यं नवम्. See Sivadatta's Int. to Naiṣadha (Bombay) 15.
8. Buhler (*JBRAS*. X. 33, XI. 279-87; *IA*. I. 30), Ram Das Sen (*IA*, III. 81), P. N. Puraniya (*IA*, III. 29) and Sivadatta (*op. cit.* 1-15) adopt this view. F.E. Hall and K.T, Telang (*IA*, 297, 353 and II, 71) and Bhandarkar (*IA*, XLII, 83 note) assign him to the 9th or the 10th century on the ground that verses from Naiṣadha are quoted by Bhoja in the Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa and that Vācaspatimiśra of the 11th century has written a criticism of Śrīharṣa's Khandanakhandakhādya. Śivadatta assures us that there are no such quotations from Naiṣadha in the Sarasvatīkanthabharaṇa (see Index of authors quoted Auf. *CC*.) and that the Vācaspatimiśra referred to must be some late author. Aufrecht gives four persons of that name and eight of the name of

74. NAISADHIYACARITA, OR NAISADHA shortly is a Mahākāvya of great repute in India. It describes the story of Nala, king of Niṣaḍha, his love to Ḍamayantī, princess of Viḍarbha, his message through the swan, the intrusion of the Ḍikpālas, the marriage after Swayamvara and the sojourn of the lovers at the royal abode. The extant work contains twenty-two cantos but tradition carries it further to the length of sixty or one hundred and twenty.[1]

The poem as it is now available and has been commented upon stops with the marriage of Nala and Ḍamayanṭī. The rest of Nala's history, as the name should indicate, is not in it. Nilkamal Bhaṭṭacarya shows how the last four verses are spurious and says that Śrīharṣa finished his poem but the rest of it is lost to us. "If a continuation of the Naisadha is admitted, we must either say that the sequel is lost, or that the poet could not finish the book. But when we look into two facts it is well nigh clear that the book was finished; one, the mention of the Naiṣaḍha in the Khandanakhandakhāḍya[2] and the other, the appreciation of the Naisaḍha by scholars in Kashmir (*Vide* the concluding verse of Canto 16). For, by the first, though the priority of the Naisaḍha up only to the end of the 21st Canto (which forms the subject of the poem referred to there) is conclusively proved, yet it would be too much to suppose that the author could think of leaving

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Vācāspaṭi (See Sivadatta. *op. cit.* 11-12). F. S. Grouse relies on the order of poets enumerated in Canda's Pṛṭhvirajarasau composed in the 12th century, in which Śrī-harṣa is mentioned before Kāliḍāsa (*IA*, II. 213) and argues that Rājaśekhara's story is incorrect. He places Śrīharṣa in the 10th century A. D. But Telang remarks (*IA*, III. 81) that Srīharṣa alludes to Kāliḍāsa's works in his Khaṇḍanakhanda-khāḍya. All the particulars necessary to show that Rājaśekhara's account must be true are collected by Śivaḍaṭṭa. Ram Prasad Chanda (*IA*, XLII, 83, 186) says that Rāja-śekhara mentions the name as Jayanṭacandra and not Jayacandra and calls him the son and not the grandson of Govinḍacanḍra, King of Vāranāsi. M. Duff (*Chronoloy*) gives the date 1150 A.D. and makes him contemporary of King Jayacanḍra of Kanouj whose initial date falls between 1163 and 1177 A.D. and of the Chalukya King Kumārāpāla of Guzerat (1143-1174 A.D). Macdonel (*SL*, 330) and R.C. Dutt (*Civ*, II, 294) adopt this date.

1. In canto 17, Kali vows that he would separate Nala and Damayanṭi but the extant poem stops with the marriage and the pleasures of their conjugal life. Sriharṣa says as usual that the 22nd canto was finished and there are four more verses added, in praise of his own work. The last verse appears to be an unnecessary repetition. The four verses must have been later interpolations, the real poem ceasing with the canto enumerating verse. It is therefore not improbable that the rest of the poem is lost to us, unless we imagine that Śriharṣa left the work incomplete. In fact many manuscripts do not contain these four verses at all. See *DC*, XX. 7758.

2. तथाहमकथयं नैषधचारितस्य परमपुरुषस्तुतौ सर्गे ॥

book unfinished at an advanced stage reaching up to the close of Canto 22 (up to which it is available) and beginning another so different in character and so stiff and bulky as the Khandanakhanda. As for the second, the appreciation of a Mahakavya is not possible when there is only a portion of it (viz. 22 Cantos) there. For besides poesy, it requires character-sketch, correlation of the parts, and many others for consideration. This, therefore, is our final conclusion that the sequel also was written, but is now lost; and this is probable too, for, a good many of our poet's works whose names we find are lost to day. In connection with the above conclusion of mine, I may casually remark, that in my solicitude to learn whether tradition lent any support to my view I referred the matter to many of my friends and acquaintances, and, among them, to Pandit Ramagopal Smritibhūṣaṇa of Benares, whereupon the last gentlemen emphatically supported my view and said that many years back he had witnessed with his own eyes a manuscript of the sequel in Uriya character with an Uriya pupil of his named either Damodar or Rudranārayan (he did not recollect which). He also quoted two verses (one in full and the other in part) belonging, he said, to the same :

i. वदन्ति चेच्चन्द्रमसं सुधारसं न पीयते तैः किमु नायिकाधरम् ।
सुरापगाम्भः पिबता जनेन किं रसोत्तरं नीरधिनीरमुच्यते ॥

ii. उत्तुङ्गस्तनपर्वतादवतद्गरङ्गेव हारावली रोमालिं प्रतिपद्यते

The late revered Mahāmahopaḍhyāya Rākhāladasa Nyāyaraṭna too is reported to have used to quote a half verse which, he said, belonged to the Naisaḍha, but is not found in the twenty-two cantos current of the poem.

सस्मार न स्मरमनाः प्रियदूतभूतं तत्रामरालयमरालमरालकेशी ।''[1]

It is hoped that it is still lurking in some corner of Bengal and may one day be restored to us.

The ideas though at times far-fetched, are yet fine and true. In fancy and imagery, his descriptions see no limit.[2] His vocabulary is

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1. Essays in Sarasvati Bhavana series, Benares, III.,150. There he argues that Sriharṣa was a Bengali.

2. नैषधं विद्वदौषधम् is a proverbial expression. Sriharṣa seems to have wantonly made his composition hard: ग्रन्थग्रथिरिह......This however is one of the four concluding verses which might be an interpolation.

extensive but the language lacks lucidity and the reader can rarely approach the poem with confidence. Śrīharṣa inaugurated a new model of poetic composition.[1] He was a logician, and philosopher and the ideas of those sciences are often imported into his descriptions.[2] He has no particular regard for the artificial precepts of poetics and in many instances rhetoricians discover faults of composition.[3]

75. Śrīharṣa mentions several works of his authorship, but his poems have not come down to us. His Vijayapraśasṭi was a panegyric of king Vijayacanḍra, father of Jayanṭacanḍra[4] and Chinḍaprasasṭi, of King Chandas, the Chinda Chief of Gaya.[5] Gauḍorvīśakulapraśasṭi and Sāhasāṅkacariṭa were probably of similar import.[6] Arṇavavarṇana is obviously a description of the beauties and traditions of the ocean.[7] His Khaṇḍanakhandakhāḍya is a destructive critique of the views of Uḍayana, Śivabhaktisiḍḍhi, a religious work devoted to the worship of Śiva and Sṭhairyavicārṇaprakaraṇa, a disquisition on philosophy.[8] Amarakhandana, a critique on Nāmalingānuśāsana, is also attributed to Srīharṣa. A number of lexicographers are mentioned in it.

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1. See Cantos VIII, IX, XIX and concluding verses.

2. See canto X, concluding verse; XI, 129; III, 64.

3. These are noticed in proper places in Nārāyaṇa's commentary. There is a tradition that when Sriharṣa was at Kasmir, the poem was shown to Mammata and he humorously remarked that he was then writing his Kāvyaprakāśa and this poem saved him the trouble of finding illustrations for his chapter of Kāvyaḍosa (or faults of poetry). See also article entitled Naiṣḍhacariṭa-aucityacarcā by Sivakamesvara Rao, in *Mimānsā*, I. 5 (Tenali, 1922) and *Jl. of Sam. Sah. Bar*, Vol. XIII.

4. Vijayacanḍra ruled 1155 9 AD. Ram Prasad Chanda says that this refers to King Vijayapāla of the Praṭihāra dynasty of Kanouj (Inscription dated 960 AD.) Bhandarkar (*BR*, 1907) mentions that in an old catalogue of Jayasalmir Bhandara a poem named Vijayapraśasti is referred to. But it is not found in the published catalogue in Gaek. Or. Series.

5. In some editions, the name of the work is given as *Chandas-prasasti*. Rama Prasad Chanda says that this refers to Lalla of the Chinda family, whose Dewal Praśasti is dated 992 AD.

6. Rama Prasad Chanda says that the latter refers to the paramount king Sinḍhurāja of Malwa and that the former to King Mahipāla I of Gauda.

7. Bhandarkar says that this was not a description of the ocean, but of King Arnorāja of the Chahamana dynasty of Sambhar, contemporary of king Kumārapāla (A.D. 1139). There is a stuti describing the vanquishment of Arṇaraja by Kumārapāla (see *Jes. Cat.* 61.)

8. See concluding verses, Cantos V, VI, XVIII. Dvirupakośa also goes under the name of Śriharṣa (Ed. Arsha Press, Vizagapatam).

76. There are many commentaries on the poem by Ānanḍa Rājānaka,[1] Īśānaḍeva, Uḍayanācārya,[2] Gopināṭha,[3] Jinārāja,[4] Narahari,[5] Candupandiṭa,[6] Cāriṭravarḍhana, Nārāyaṇa,[7] Bhagīraṭha,[8] Bharaṭamallika or Bharatasena,[9] Bhavaḍaṭṭa,[10] Muṭhurānāṭha,[11] Mallinātha,[12] Mahāḍeva,[13] Viḍyāvāgīśa, Śeṣa Rāmacanḍra,[14] Srīnāṭha,[15] Vamsīvāḍana, Viḍyāḍhara,[16] Viḍyāraṇya Yogi, Viśveśwara,[17] Srīḍaṭṭa, Saḍānanḍa,

1. Author of Kāvyaprakāśa-niḍarśana. see *PR*, I. 21, II. 15 IV. Index of authors, *BKR*, 10; *Dc*, 181.

2. Distinct from Uḍayana, the author of Kiraṇāvali, etc.

3. Commentator on Kāvyaprakāśa, Daśakumāracariṭa and Raghuvamśa.

4. Also called Jinaraja Hari (*CBRI*, Kathawate's collection, No 452).

5. *Ibid*, No. 483 Narahari says he was born in Śaka 1298 (1376 A.D.) and was son of Mallināṭha different from the well-known commentator. He became an ascetic and assumed the name of Sarasvaṭiṭirtha. His father was a native of Ṭribhuvanagiri in the Cuddapah district, in Madras Presidency. See Nandargikar, *Int.* to *Ragh*, 3.

6. A. E. Gough's *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 130. Candupandita was the son of Aliga, a Nagara Brahmin of Dholka near Ahmedabad. He wrote a commentary on Rigveda. He composed his commentary in Sam. 1513 or 1486 A.D., during the time of Sanga, Chief of Dholka.

7. Ed. Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay. He was the son of Narasimhabhatta, who bore a title Veḍākara.

8. Commentator on other poems and Kāvyāḍarśa.

9. *CSC*, VII. 39.

10. *CSC*, X. 396. Commentator on Śiśupālavadha.

11. Commentator on Kuvalayānanḍa, Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa, Hārāvali, Prabodhacanḍroḍaya and author of Subhāṣiṭamukṭāvali.

12. Printed everywhere "Vaisyavamsa-sudharnava is one of the most interesting works written by Mallināthasuri under the orders of Rājādhirāja Rāja Paramesvara Virapraṭāpa Prudhadevaraya of Vijayanagar to determine whether or not the words such as Vaisya, Nagaravanik, Vanija, Vani, Vyapari, Uruja, Tritiyajati, Svajatiyabhedaja, Uttarapatha, Nagaresvara, Devatopasaka, found in an inscription in Kanchi (Conjeevaram) mean a Vaisya, as distinguished from one who is called Komati. From this it follows that Mallināthasuri lived at the court of Praudha Pratapa Devaraya 1419—1446 A.D. and that he was one of the judicial officers in the empire of Vijayanagar." [*Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927), 26].

13. Commentator on Ānanḍalahari.

14. *PR*, II. 16, 81, IV. 27. *Tanj. Cat.* 2550. *Cat. Bod*, 206. He belonged to the Śeṣa family of Benares and was probably the same as the son of Lakśmiḍhara. See under Seshakṛṣna *post*.

15. *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2556. Probably the same as the Telugu poet Śrīnāṭha who translated Naiṣaḍha into Telugu in the 15th century A.D.

16. *CBRI*, Kathawate's Colln. No. 454; *Jess. Cat. (GOS)*, 13, 16.

17. *TC*, III. 390; *Tanj. Cat.*, 2556.

Gaḍāḍhara,[1] Lakshmaṇabhatta,[2] Govinḍamisra,[3] Premacanḍra,[4] Śrīḍhara,[5] Paramānanḍa Cakravarṭi,[6] Sarvagna Māḍhava,[7] Viḍyā Sriḍharaḍevasūri,[8] Peḍḍubhaṭṭa,[9] Venkata Rangānātha.[10] Some of these have been mentioned by Aufrecht in his catalogue.

77. Story of Nala.—The name of Nala, king of Niṣaḍha, goes back to Vedic antiquity.[11] The Nalopākhyāna, or the episode of Nala, is related by Bṛhaḍasva to Yuḍhisthira in the Mahābhāraṭa.[12] King Bhīma or Kundina announced the svayamvara of his daughter Ḍamayanṭī. Several princes assembled and the Gods themselves were not indifferent. It was however a foregone fact that Ḍamayanṭī was enamoured of Nala, king of Niṣaḍha. Inḍra and other guardians of the quarters were anxious to press their suit and they prevailed upon Nala to carry their message of love to Ḍamayanṭī, but the errand was in vain. The bridal of Nala and Ḍamayanṭī was a joyous affair. They spent some years of pleasant company and the disappointed Gods would not forget the slight. They induced Kali to get hold of Nala and bring him to ruin. Possessed by the evil genius, Nala played at dice and lost his all. He wandered out in the woods with his bride, ill-clad and ill-fed and at last unable to suffer the sight of her suffering, he abandoned her while asleep and went his own way. She lamented in vain and after much distress reached the court of her father at Kundina. In trying to rescue a serpent from a wild conflagration, the serpent, no other than Kali himself in that form, bit Nala and he became deformed. He entered the service of the king of Oudh as a charioteer,

1. This commentary is noticed by Bhandarkar. Gaḍāḍhara gives an account of Śrīharṣa and says that he wrote his Naiṣaḍha in the Court of Govinḍacanḍra at Benares and not as Rajaśekhara says, in the Court of Jayanṭacanḍra. Gadaḍhara's account would therefore place Śriharṣa half a century earlier.

2. *PR*, IV. 27. *Kash. Cat.* 69. He also wrote a poem Paḍyaracanā.

3. *Kash. Cat.* 70.

4. *TC*, IV. 4538. He was called Nyāyavāgīśa.

5. *TC*, V. 4720.

6. *DC*, 175.

7. He was the son of Nārāyacārya of Vasisṭhagoṭra. He seems to be the daughter's son of Keśava, the author of Kāmaprābhṛta, *TC*, III. 3897, 5900.

8. He was the son of Sāviṭrī and Keśava of Vasisṭhagoṭra of Warkobhatta family. He and his brother Govinda were poets of the Court of Sālvamalla. *TC*, III. 3943.

9. He was the son of Kapardin and grandson of Mallināṭha of Kolachala family. See *DC*, XXI. 8212.

10. The manuscript is with the Proprietor, Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.

11. It is mentioned in the Vājasaneyi Samhita. See Weber's *IL*, 132.

12. Vana Parvan, chapters 49-70.

and from the story of his skill in his art, Ḍamayanṭī recognised in him her lost lover. Soon they were united. His deformity disappeared. He played at dice again and regained his kingdom. For the rest all was well.[1] The story is very popular in India and there is not a household where its narration does not serve as a real solace in many a grievous calamity. Tradition has likewise accorded to it a religious sanctity and a recapitulation of Nala's tale destroys sin and ill luck.[2]

78. Naloḍaya of Kāliḍāsa, Nalābhyuḍaya[3] of Vāmanabhatta Bāna, Dāmayanṭi-kaṭhā of Tṛivikrama, Ḍamayanṭīpariṇaya of Cakrakavi, Raghavanaiṣaḍhīya of Haradaṭṭa, Āboḍhākara of Ghanaśyāma, Kalividambana of Nārāyaṇasāsṭrin, Nalacaritanātaka of Nīlakantha and Nala-Hariścanḍrīya of unknown authorship are noticed elsewhere.

79. Sahrdayananda is a poem of 15 cantos and covers the whole story of Nala.[4] The author Kṛṣṇānanḍa was a Kayastha of Puri of Kapinjala family and was a Mahapatra or minister probably to the local king. His poetry is very charming and in this respect contrasts very favourably with the work of Śriharṣa, on which tradition says he wrote also a commentary. He calls himself the master of Vaiḍarbharīṭi and is not far wrong in his own estimate. He is mentioned in the Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa[5] and must therefore have flourished about the 13th century A.D.

80. Uttara-Naisadha,[6] a poem of 16 cantos by Vanḍārubhatta (or Arur Bhattattiri), describes the later life of Nala, it replaces in a measure the lost portion of Śriharṣa's poem and must be regarded as a sequel to it. Vanḍārubhatta or Vanḍāruḍvija Māḍhava lived about in the Kollam year 1010 (1825 A.D.) He was the son of Nīlakantha and Śrīḍevi and a brahmin of the aduthiruppadū sect, of the family of Arur in the village of Peruvana. He was educated by the queen Subhadrā and was tutor to the then prince of Kotilinga or Cranganore. He was

1. See Macdonel's *SL*, 296. Nalopākhyāna, *ed.* with translation by M. Williams.

2. कर्कोटकस्य नागस्य दमयन्त्या नलस्य च ।
ऋतुपर्णस्य राजर्षेः कीर्तनं कलिनाशनम् ॥

3. There is a drama of this name, (*DC*, XX. 7848; XXI. 8379) referred to as the work of King Raghunāṭha of Tanjore, in the prologues to the drama of Rajacuḍāmaṇi Dikṣiṭa. There is a manuscript *TC*, VI. 4787 of a drama of this name complete in 8 acts but the name of the author is not given. It remains to connect it with either Raghunāṭha or some other author.

4. Printed, *Kāvyamāla*, Bombay, and Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam (6 cantos only).

5. Nirnaya Sagara Press Edn. page 429.

6. *DC*, XX. 7692. See *JRAS*, (1901), 163.

patronised by queen Manoramā. He had an initiation into the Bālāmanṭra, a charm, probably as effective in promoting the power of poesy as the Chinṭāmaṇi-manṭra of Śrīharṣa. He came to Cochin and at the court of the king composed his work. As a mark of appreciation, the king bestowed on him a munificient pension. For this composition Śrīharṣa's poem was the model. The closing verses of each canto take a similar form and indicate the number of the canto that ends there. There are many instances, where he has adopted the style of Śrīharṣa, but it must be said to his credit that his poem is more lucid than the original he sought to follow.

Kalyāṇa-Naiṣaḍha celebrates the marriage of Nala and Ḍamayanṭī in 7 cantos for the delectation of King Ravivarman. The author's name is not known.[1]

81. An excellent poetic summary of the Naiṣaḍha[2] is contained in the Sāraśaṭaka of Kṛṣṇa Rāma. There is another summary called Āryānaiṣaḍha by Pandit A. V. Narasimha Chari, Triplicane, Madras. Praṭinaisadha is a poem by Viḍyāḍhara and Lakṣmaṇa, composed in Samvat 1708, during the reign of the Moghul emperor Shah Jahan.[3]

82. The story of Nala has also been dramatised. MANJULA NAISADHA[4] is a drama in seven Acts by Venkata Ranganāṭha. The author was an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Vizagapatam and bore the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. He lived between 1822 and 1900 A.D. He was an exponent of the rational basis of the tales in Indian mythology. Among his several works,[5] must be mentioned a gigantic Encyclopodia of the Sanskrit Language and Literature which has not yet found an editor. In a particular scene of this drama, a charmer is introduced and by the merit of his magic was he presented before Nala the condition of Ḍamayanṭī's pining love in the company of her friends.

83. BHAIMIPARINAYA is a drama in ten Acts by Rāmaśāsṭri of Mandikal. He is the chief Pandit of the court of Mysore. His father

1. *TC*, IV. 4310.

2. Naiṣaḍhacariṭa Sara is prefixed to Sivadatta's Edition. Kṛṣṇārāma was a Pandit of the court of Jaipur, of great merit. He was the writer of other poems, Āryālankāraśaṭaka, Chandascharitamandana, Kacchavamśa, Jayapuravilāsam.

3. BR. II. (1907).

4. Ed. Arsha Press, Vizagapatam, 1896.

5. Among his other works is a small poem, Angaladhirājya-Svāgata, Kumbhakarṇavijaya, two grammatical treatises, a philosophical work, and two incomplete commentaries on the Naiṣaḍha and Anargharāghava.

Sri Rāma occupied a similar position during the days of Kṛṣṇāraja II. The plot of the drama covers the whole story of Nala and in depicting the succession of events, the arrangement of the scenes displays an original talent. To describe the wanderings of Nala after the desertion of Damayanṭī the author introduces an *Anṭar-Nāṭikā*, and its effect is very impressive.[1]

84. Nalānanḍa Nataka[2] of Jīvabuḍha in seven acts relates the story of Nala. Jiva was the son of Koneri, who, though a brahmin, became a ruler. He belonged to the Upaḍraṣṭṛ Vamṣa, the family to which Pandiṭarāya Jagannāṭha belonged and lived about the end of the 17th century A.D. Nalavilāsa[3] is a similar drama in seven acts by Rāmacanḍra a pupil of Hemacandra. Nalacariṭanāṭaka of Nīlakantha,[4] Nala-Ḍamayantīya, of Kalipada Tarkācārya of Calcutta,[5] Anarghanala-cariṭramahānāṭaka of Suḍarsanācārya of Pancanaḍa,[6] and Nalabhūmi-pālarūpaka of unknown authorship embrace the same theme.[7]

85. Ḍamayantīkalyāna is a drama probably in five acts by Ranga-nāṭha of which only a fragmantary manuscript is available. It was enacted during the festival of Sri Parameśvara in the town of Sucinḍram in Travancore on the bank of the Ṭāmraparṇī.[8] Another drama of this name in 5 acts by Nallan Cakravarṭi Sathagopācārya was to be staged at the festival of Paḍmāsahāya, probably of Śrīrangam.[9] Śathagopācārya traces his descent from Uruputhuri Achan, one of the seven desciples of Nāḍamuni, the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya. He was of Vaṭṣagoṭra and flourished about the end of the 18th century A.D. and among his descendants are men of repute and scholarship. Among his other works now extant are Kalyāṇagirimāhāṭmya, Śrīnivāsasṭava, and a musical poem in praise of God Śrīnivāsa of Kalyāṇagiri.[10]

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1. Ed. Government Press, Mysore. His other works are Meghapraṭisanḍeśa (a sequel to Kāliḍāsa's Meghasanḍeśa) and Kumbhābhiṣekacampu (*Sah.* XXI.)

2. *BTC*, 168, nos. 10635, 5284.

3. Ed. *Gaek. Or. Series*, Baroda. On this author, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama *Post.*

4. Printed, Balamanorama Press, Madras.

5. Printed, by Samskṛta Sāhiṭya Parishat, Calcutta.

6. Printed, Choukamba Office, Benares.

7. *CC*, III. 60.

8. *TC*, IV. 4202.

9. Ed. Srirangam with the commentary and preface of Vadhulam Tattai Srinivasachariar and an English introduction by A. V. Gopalachariar. It is not known whether the drama referred to in *CC*, I. 416 is the same.

10. These works are now with the author's descendants N. C. Narasimhachariar, High Court Vakil, Karur and K. T. Parthasarathi Ayyangar, Mirasidar, Velur.

86. Kaviraja was the son of Kīrṭinārāyaṇa and Canḍramukhī and a brahmin of Gauṭama Goṭra. Kīrṭinārāyaṇa was the generalissimo of the forces of Kāḍamba kings of Vānavasi,[1] and Kavirāja himself was a poet of the court of king Kāmaḍeva of the Kāḍamba dynasty.[2] This king was a Mahāmandaleśvara and ruled over the provinces of Hangal, Banavāsi and Puligere or Lakshmesvara. He was a feudatory of the Western Calukya king Someśvara IV,[3] and began to rule about the year 1104 Saka.[4] The city of Hangal was beseiged by the Hoysala king Vira Ballala II and after some vicissitudes the Kadambas were completely subjugated and their territory annexed. The later history is not traceable. Tradition says[5] that the founder of the Kāḍamba dynasty, king Ṭrineṭra,[6] was a worshipper of the god Śiva installed at Jayanṭīpura and brought with him 12000 brahmins of 32 gotras from Ahicchaṭra[7] whom he settled in the Agrahāra of Sthānugūdhapura. From the fact that Banavāsi in the North Canara District is still known as the Jayanṭīkṣeṭra, and Kavirāja refers to this immigration of the

1. These details are given in his Parijāṭaharaṇa (R Ns. 2960) where he gives his name as Kavirāja only. This is also confirmed by the colophons of the Rāghava-Pāndavīya, where it is said कविराजकविराजकृतौ. It is therefore seen that Kaviraja was not a cognomen. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamimāmsā uses the name Kavirāja to denote a class of poets, who are good in various languages or in several species of composition. But the term is also used as a proper name. There was a Kavirāja among the ancestors of Rajaśekhara himself. (See *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I. 13). There was another Kavirāja, friend of Jayaḍeva (author of Giṭagovinḍa) who was probably Dhoyi, the author of Pavanaduṭa. There was a Kavirāja, probably of the Ganjam District, who wrote Kavirājasṭuṭi in praise of Kṛṣṇa and Mṛgayācampu describing the hunting expedition of a king named Viciṭravikrama who ruled at Kalati in Ganjam, Madras Presidency. (*TC*, IV. 4815, 4784).

2. This dynasty must be distinguished from the Kāḍamba dynasty, whose capital was Palasika. Among those kings were Santivarman, Kakusṭhavarman etc. The date of their first king is given by Rice as 538 A.D. They were Jains in religion. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1923), 26-7, *Ibid*, (1926), 16.

3. He was also called Ṭribhuvanamalla etc. See V. Smith, *EH.* 437.

4. J. F. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency* p. 84 ff. Inscription No. 90 in *The Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, compiled by J. F. Fleet (London) gives the same information. Inscriptions No. 106 and 107 are also useful. One of them is dated in the 16th year of king Kāmaḍeva, Nala samvatsara, Saka 1118 (1196–97 A.D.). This gives 1103 Śaka (1181-82 A.D.) as his initial date. See *Gaz. of Bom. Presy*, I. ii. 563.

5. *P.S. and O.C. Inscriptions (op. cit.)* No. 221.

6. Mayuravarman I was probably another name.

7. Cunningham identifies it with modern Ramnagar, and Lassen with Farokhabad, in the United Provinces.

Brahmanas from the Maḍhyaḍesa[1] we may safely conclude that the Kāmaḍeva of his eulogy must be of the line of Bānavāsi. Lastly in his introduction to the Canarese Pancaṭanṭra,[2] Ḍurgasimha praises several Sānskrit poets, of whom all were brahmins, except Ḍhananjaya, the jain author of another Rāghavapāndavīya. This naturally makes us presume that if Ḍurgasimha had known Kavirāja and his work he would have substituted there his name for Ḍhananjaya. Ḍurgasimha was the minister of war and peace at the court of the Calukya king Jagaḍekamalla II, who reigned between Śaka 1061 and 1072. It is therefore probable that Kavirāja flourished after Śaka 1072. All these considerations combine to assign Kavirāja around the year 1104 Śaka, that is, the latter part of the 12th century A.D..[3]

1. See Rāghavapāṇḍavīya :

आनेता मध्यदेशात्प्रवचनविदुषां सोमपां ब्राह्मणानां—I. 25.

though the reference there is to Kāmaḍeva himself, which may thither mean that the poet wantonly attributed the pious act to his protege or that Kāmadeva also imported a further set of brahmins from Maḍhyaḍeśa.

2. Published in the *Karnataka Kavyamanjari*, 6-7. Durgasimha says that he proposes to give to the world a Canarese translation of Vasubhāga Bhatta's Sanskrit Pancaṭanṭra, who extracted five stories from Guṇādhya's Bṛhaṭkaṭhā in Paiśachi and translated them into Sanskrit. He mentions Guṇādhya, Vararuci, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayura, Vāmana. Uḍbhatabhīma, Bhavabhuṭi, Bharavi, Bhatti, Māgha, Rājaśekhara, Kāmandaki and Dandin. Durgasimha also mentions the Canarese poet Kannamayya of whom Abhinava Pampa was a contemporary (*aḍyaṭana*). See *Karnāta Sabdānuśāsana*, Int. 33, To Pampa's contemporaries, there was only one Rāghavapāndavīya and that the Jain work was known. It is seen to be so from the way in which the work is referred to in the Pamparāmāyaṇa and the inscription at Sravana Belgola.

3. Macdonnel (*SL*, 331) gives the date 800 A.D. Bhandarkar (*BR*, 1894-20) mentions that Kavirāja and Dhananjaya must have flourished between 996 and 1141 A.D. and Dhananjaya imitated Kavirāja. Weber (*IL*, 196) places him in any case later than Kāliḍāsa (*IStr*. I. 371). K,B. Pathak in his discussion of Kavirāja's date (*JBRAS*, XXII) says that the real name of Kavirāja was Māḍhavabhatta. In a Kadamba copper plate inscription (*EC*. VII. 214) there is a grant by King Soma, a grandson of Kāmaḍeva. This Kāmaḍeva must be identical with the one of that name mentioned above, and the names of the son, father and grand-father are the same (See also *EC*, III. 27 and IA, X. 252). The grantee is one Kavirāja Māḍhava-bhatta. This grant gives only the cyclic year, Vilambi Āṣadha Amāvāsya, on which an eclipse of the sun occurred. Rice assigns this grant to 1118 A.D. Pathak thinks that the date must be incorrect, because Fleet, basing his opinion on a stone inscription, opines that between 1099 and 1129 A.D., the Banavasi province was governed by the Kaḍamba King Ṭailapa II and not Soma. If Rice has placed his reliance on the solar eclipse, I find from a calculation from South Indian Chronological Tables (Madras) that Monday, Aṣhadha Amāvāsya of Vilambi answers the year 1118 A.D. as well as 1178 A.D. but not the next cycle 1238 A.D. Either Rice or Fleet must be wrong in their enumerations of the dates of Kamaḍeva and Someśvara. Sewell and Dikshit (*Indian Calendar*, 122) give the dates of eclipses as 22-5-1118, 13-9-1178 and 21-3-117 8.

87. PARIJATAHARANA,[1] a fine poem in 10 cantos, describes the story as told in Bhāgavata of the focible removal of the Pārijāṭa tree by Kṛṣṇa from Inḍra's garden. Free from the restrictions of double entendre, Kavirāja here shows himself in his best. He wrote it to please his father Kirṭināráyaṇa and was probably his earliest work.

88. By far the work with which his name is gloriously connected is the poem RAGHAVAPANDAVIYA. It describes at once the stories of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhāraṭa by a resort to separable compounds and punning expressions. It bears Kāmaḍevānka.[2] In spite of the limitations of the double entendre the language is lucid and melodious.[3] He ranks himself with Subanḍhu and Bāṇa in the style of vakrokṭi.[4]

There are commentaries[5] on it by Lakṣmaṇa,[6] Rāmabhaḍra,[7] Śaśaḍhara,[8] Premacanḍra Ṭarkavāgīśa,[9] Cāriṭravarḍhana,[10] Paḍmananḍi,[11] Puṣpaḍanṭa,[12] Viśvanātha.[13]

This device of handling different tales in the same poem has been very fruitful in later imitations.

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1. *TC*, IV. 4295. Bhoja in his Sṛngāraprakāśa refers to Pārijāṭaharaṇa.
2. This colophon for instance is informing.

इति श्रीहरधरणीप्रसूतकादम्बकुलतिलकचक्रवर्तिवीरकामदेवप्रोत्साहितकविराजपण्डित विरचिते राघवपाण्डवीये महाकाव्ये कामदेवाङ्के रावणदुर्योधनवधोल्लासितरामधर्माभिषेको नाम त्रयोदशः सर्गः

Some understand धर under the word धरणी making it धरणीधर or Kailasa, but it seems to be a mistake for the origin given in inscriptions of the fist Kadamba king refers to हर धरणी and not धर.

3. For instance, a Sarvaṭobhaḍra

रम्याकल्पविलासिनी क्षितिपतिर्लावण्यतेजास्विनी
नित्याविष्कृतमण्डना स्थितिमती यार्भाष्टलोकान्तरा ।
लक्ष्मीराश्रयते स्म सा मतिमतामाद्यं सुसेव्यं मुदा-
दातारं रमतानुजेन च शतानीकेनरामं तदा ॥

4. सुबन्धुर्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः । वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥
5. See *CC*, I. 504.
6. Printed Bombay. *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2654; *K.* 66. Lakṣmaṇa was also the author of Sukṭāvali or Sukṭimukṭāvali (*PR*, III. *Ap.* 54, IV. cvii) and commentary on Vāḍirāja's Yośoḍharacariṭa (*TC*, III. 3824).
7. *Mitra*, X.
8. Printed, Bombay. It was written at the instance of King Amarasimha son of Ruḍrasimha. The poem is also called there Dvisanḍhāna.
9. *CASB*, 161. Printed Calcutta. The author was professor of Sanskrit, Sanskrit College, Calcutta,
10. *Kh.* 85.
11. *Rie.* 302.
12. *Rie.* 304.
13. *B.* 108.

89. Vidyamadhava in his Pārvaṭī-Rukmiṇīya,[1] describes the marriages of Śiva and Pārvaṭī and Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. He was a poet of the court of the Culukya King Somaḍeva, very probably Someśvara IV of Kalyān who reigned about 1126-1138 A.D.[2] He was a native of Nīlālaya near Guṇavaṭī. He was proficient in all the sciences and the Veḍas. He wrote commentaries on Kirāṭārjunīya[3] and other poems. Like Kavirāja who says that besides himself Bāṇa and Subanḍhu were the only poets skilled in Vakrokṭi, he says that he is the fourth of them besides Bāṇa, Subhanḍhu and Kavirāja. He was probably a younger contemporary of Kavirāja.

90. Venkatadhvari treated the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāgavaṭa together in Yāḍava-Rāghavīya.[4] He was the famous author of Viśvaguṇādarśa of the first half of 17th century. The language is rendered extremely hard[5] by the introduction of alliterations of an

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1. *DC*, XX. 7777.
For a typical verse;
नाम्नाकृतोमेशसमानधाम्ना सा रुक्मिणी रत्नकृतीर्द्विजेभ्यः ।
प्रयच्छता नाम गुणस्य वेत्रा पित्रा स्वमित्रामिवृतेन तेन ॥

2. He also bore titles Bhulokamalla and Sarvagua. (See V. Smith, *EH*, 431, 437). He wrote Mānasollāsa, a work on all arts in 100 cantos (Tanjore Library). See L. Rice Mysore, I. 330.
There were four Someśwaras of the Culukya dynasty of Kalyān, whose epigraphical dates known are: (I) Āhavamalla and Ṭrailokyamalla 1040-1069 A.D. (*IA*, IX. 96); (II) Bhuvanaikamalla, 1074 (*IA*, IV. 208); (III) Bhulokamalla, 1127, 1136, 1141 A.D. (*IA*, X. 131); (IV) Ṭribhuvanamalla, 1162 A.D. (*IA*, I. 80). In *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1925) pages 53-1 there is a grant by a feudatory of Ṭribhuvanamalla whose date is given as 1097 A.D. who is Vikramāḍiṭya VI. See V. Smith, *EH*, 431, 437, *Mys Arch. Rep.* (1928) pp. 112-3, (1927), app. E. The grants in *Mys. Arch. Rep.* are dated in the Calukya Vikrama era, which is said to have commenced in 1076 A.D. Vikramāḍiṭya, patron of Bilhaṇa (para 62 *supra*) was the brother of Someśvara II and ruled 1076-1127 A.D. The following is the geneology of the Western Culukyas of Kalyan: Ṭaila or Ṭailapa I (973-997 A.D.—son Saṭyāśraya (997-1008 A.D.)—nephew Vikramāḍiṭya—brother Jayasimha—Someśvara I (1040-1069 A.D.) son Someśvara II (1070-1095 A.D.)—brother Vikramāḍiṭya (1076-1126 A.D.)—Someśvara III (1126-1138 A.D.)—Jayasimha Jagaḍekamalla (1138-1150 A.D.)—son Ṭailapa II—son Someśvara IV. He lost his throne by revolution in 1189 and with him Western Culukya dynasty came to an end. Descendants of Someśvara ruled as petty chiefs in Konkan till 13th century A.D.

3. *DC*, XX. 7709.

4. *DC*, XX. 7956; *HR*, II. as the author see *post*. *TC*, IV. 6049.

5. For instance
साकेताख्या ज्यायामासीयाविप्रादीसार्याधारा ।
पूराजीतादेवाधाविश्वासाग्र्या सावाशारावा ॥

advanced type for which he is an adept and in this respect lacks the beauty of the work of Kavirāja which it seeks to imitate. There is a commentary on it, probably by the author himself.[1]

91. Somesvara was the son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Vinjimūri family of Gauṭama goṭra. In Rāghavayāḍavīya, he narrates in 15 cantos the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. He proposes to use words adopted by Kāliḍāsa and Bhāravi and only those monosyllabic words used by Amara. The poem is at the same time a work on prosody. There is an anonymous commentary.[2] There are works of this name by Raghunāṭhācārya and Śrīnivasācārya and by Vāsuḍeva.[3] Rasikaranjana of Rāmācanḍra is a collection of verses with Sṛngāra and Vairāgya meanings. Rāmacanḍra was the son of Lakṣmaṇabhatta and wrote his work in 1524 A.D.[4]

92. A further development of the device was the use of a TREBLE ENTENDRE, relating three stories at a time. Rāghava-yāḍava-pāndavīya in three cantos describes the tales of Ramāyaṇa, Mahābhāraṭa and Bhāgavaṭa at a time.[5] The author CIDAMBARA was the son of Ananṭanārāyaṇa and Venkatā, grandson of Sūryanārāyaṇa of Kausika goṭra. Srīnīvāsa was his brother. Śivasūrya was his maternal uncle. His Bhāgavaṭa Campū relates the story of Kṛṣṇa.[6] He appears to have been a resident of Mullandram, the place of Dindimas and to have been patronised by King Venkata I (1586-1614 A.D.) of Vijianagar.[7] There is a commentary on it by his father Ananṭanārāyaṇa, which interprets every verse thrice to carry the meaning threefold.[8] In his Pancakalyāṇa Campū he shows further advance in the art and relates at once the story of the marriages of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Subrahmaṇya with a commentary by himself.[9]

1. *DC*, XX. 7957. See also *TC*, IV. 6049.
2. *TC*, IV. 5499.
3. *TC*, IV. 5524; *Opp*, II. 723, 1143, 4118.
4. Ed. Bombay (Kavyamāla, Part 4). For similar interpretations on Amaruka, Hamsasandeśa, Giṭagovinḍa, see notes under those works.
5. *DC*, XX. 7829. For a typical verse:

अस्त्यञ्चितायामधुरासमानैरनेकशोभारतवासभूमिः ।
परैर्वरालङ्करणैः प्रवीरैः पूर्हस्तिनामास्पदभूरयोध्या ॥

There is another work of the same pattern by Rājacudāmaṇi Dikṣiṭa, see *Int.* to Maṇiḍarpaṇa (*TSS*, No. 34).

6. *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2706, 2707, *DC*, XXI. 8259.
7. He composed an inscription of King Venkata I in Saka 1524. See *IA*, XLVII. 94. See Vivekapaṭramālā under Dinḍimas, *post*.
8. There is also an anonymous commentary, see *DC*, XX. 7908.
9. *TC*, IV. 4257 8.

Ananṭācārya of Uḍayenḍrapuram of Myṣore wrote a poem Yādava-Rāghava-Pāndavīya. He was the father of Trivenī, the prolific poetess of whom the reader will hear in the coming pages. A similar work Āboḍhākara by Ghanaśyāma relates the stories of Kṛṣṇa, Nala and Hariscanḍra,[1] with a commentary on it.

93. Meghavijayagani was a Jaina monk.[2] He was a pupil of Kṛpāvijaya and 5th in heirarchical descent from Hīravijaya. He was well-versed in grammar, astronomy and logic, and his writings on these branches of learning are now appreciated. As a poet, his greatness is sufficiently proved by his Sapṭasanḍhāna, a poem in which seven stories are at a time narrated, in very felicitous language all the same. In Ḍevananḍābhyuḍaya, of seven cantos, he relates the life of Vijayaḍevasūri. This was composed in Samvat 1727 (1671 A.D.).[3] In Śānṭināṭhacariṭa he narrates the life of Śānṭināṭha. In these two poems, he has taken the lines of Śiśupālavaḍha and Naiṣaḍha, as for *Samasyā*, and constructed his verses to complement them.[4]

In Sapṭasanḍhānamahākāvya, Meghavijayagaṇi applies each verse to Vṛṣabhanātha, Śānṭinātha, Pārśvanāṭha, Nemināṭha, Mahāvīraswāmi, Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva, (known as Rāmacanḍra). Of these the first five are some of the 24 Jain Tīrthankaras. In nine cantos, the poet narrates these several stories in easy and flowing language and has thus illustrated the potency of expression in Sanskrit literature.[5] Hemacanḍra

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1. *HR*, III. x. and 66.

2. Printed Bombay, with an Introduction by Hargovind Das. See also *IA*, VIII. 55.

3. Ed. in part in *Śri Yaśovijaya Jainagranthamālā*.

4, For instance :—

श्रियामभिव्यक्तमनोऽनुरक्तता विशालसालत्रितया श्रिया स्फुटा ।
तयाबभासे सजगत्त्रयीविभुर्ज्वलत्प्रतापावलिकीर्तिमण्डलः ॥
निपीय यस्य क्षितिरक्षिणः कथाः सुराः सुराज्यादिसुखं बहिर्मुखम् ।
प्रपेदिरेऽन्तः स्थिरतन्मयाशयाः सदा सदानन्दभृतः प्रशंसया ॥
यथा श्रुतस्येह निपीततत्कथास्तथाद्रियन्ते न बुधाः सुधामपि ।
सुधाभुजां जन्म न तन्मनः प्रियं भवेद्भवे यत्नतत्कथा प्रथा ॥

5. For a typical verse :

अवानिपातिरहासीद्विश्वसेनाश्वसेनाभिधदशरथनाम्ना यः सनाभिः सुरेशः ।
बलिविजयिसमुद्रः प्रौढसिद्धार्थसंज्ञः प्रसृतमरुणतेजस्तस्य भूकच्छपस्य ॥ I. 54.

was known to have composed a poem Saptasandhāna, but as it was lost, Meghavijaya proposed to fill up the gap.[1]

Based on Meghasandeśa is his similar work Meghadūta-Samasyālekha, being a communication from the poet to the lord of his Gaccha, Vijayaprabhasūri.[2] In his Digvijayamahākāvya the life of Vijayaprabhasūri is described in 13 cantos.[3] His Yuktiprabodha is an allegorical drama intended to refute some rival philosophical theories.[4]

94. Somaprabhacarya[5] reached the highest degree of variable interpretation. In his Śatārthakāvya he interpreted a single verse,[6] in a hundred ways. On account of this composition he got the name Śatārthika. It was written about 1177 A.D. At the beginning of its commentary, he has written five verses, in which he has given an index to the hundred explanations intended by him. "In the beginning he has given the meanings of the 24 Tirthankaras of the Jain religion, then in the middle he has given the explanations of the Vedic deities, like Brahma, Narada, Vishnu and others and at the end he has brought out references to his contemporaries, like Vādidevasūri and Hemacandrācārya, the great religious preceptors of Jainism, Jayasimhadeva, Kumārapāla, Ajayadeva, Mūlarāja, the four successive Calūkya kings of Guzerat, poet Siddhapāla, the best citizen of the time and Anitadeva and Vijayasimha, his two preceptors. After this, at the extreme end, he has elucidated references to himself and in the final conclusion he has quoted a short praśasti in five verses written on himself by some disciple of his." His Śṛngāravairāgyatarangiṇī is a didactic poem.[7]

95. These poems so far adopted the principle of differentiation in reading to denote the different stories, though the verse was kept in its

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1. So he says

   श्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरीशैः सप्तसन्धानमादिमम् ।
   रचितं तदलाभे तु स्यादिदं तुष्टये सताम् ॥

2. Ed. Bhavnagar. The last verse says :

   माघकाव्यं देवगुरोर्मेघदूतं प्रभप्रभोः ।
   समस्यार्थं समस्यार्थं निर्ममे मेघपण्डितः ॥

3. It was composed in Sam. 1747 (1621 A.D.)
4. On Somaprabhācarya, see para 71 *supra*.
5. कल्याणसारसवितानहरेक्षमोहकान्तारवारणसमानजयाद्यदेव ।
   धर्मार्थकामदमहोदयवीरधीरसोमप्रभावपरमागमसिद्धसूरे ॥
6. Muniraja Jinavijaya's Int. to Kumārapālapratibodha. (*Gaek. Or. Series* vii).
7. *OR*, III. 406. Printed with commentary Kāvyamāla, Bombay.

natural order. A further complication was resorted to, which was not only a simultaneous narrative of two different stories, but a feat of verbal ingenuity.

96. NALA-HARISCANDRIYA was a work in this direction but with a slight modification. In its natural order, the verse relates the story of Nala and in the reverse order the story of Hariscandra. The author's name is not known and a commentary is added.[1]

HARADATTA'S RAGHAVA-NAISADHIYA describes the story of Rama and Nala. Haradatta was the son of Jayaśaṅkara of Gārgya gotra. In his commentary on the work, he quotes Bhattoji Ḍikṣita and a list of lexicographers, Bhattamalla, Keśava, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Rabhasa and Yādava.[2] It appears to have been composed about the beginning of the 18th century A.D.

ANANTASURI'S HARISCANDRODAYA is a poem of 20 cantos on the story of Hariscandra and refers in double entendre to Hariscandra the mythical ruler and a poet's patron of the same name.[3]

RAMAKRISNA-VILOMA-KAVYA is a short poem of 38 verses.[4] If the first half of each verse is read in the reverse order in the second, the former narrates the story of Rāma, the latter that of Krishṇa[5] The author Sūryakavi or Sūryadāsa also called Ḍaivagnapandiṭa[6] was the

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1. *TC*, II. 1716.
For instance

निजमोऽतिप्रजानारीनलोऽच्छस्सदमोऽजानि ।
यः श्रियश्चन्द्र इन्द्रश्च गोसागोस्सर्वपूरिह ॥

refers to Nala and in the reverse order to Hariścandra.

The last verse is all the more interesting in that each pāda remains the same though read in the reverse order.

लीलाकलोमध्यमलोकलाली त्यागी सुखी मुग्धमुखी सुगीत्या ।
सभाप्रयानङ्गनयाप्रभास सहासया तत्र तया सहास ॥

2. *KC*, xxx. 290. The Ms. is incomplete containing only 2 cantos.

3. *CMy*, 261.

4. Printed, Calcutta (*Kāvyasangraha*) and Bombay (*Kāvyamālā*, XI). *DC*, XX, 7960-61; *Tanj. Cat*, VI. 2333. There is a commentary by the author himself printed there and another by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*B*, II. 100; *CC*, I. 503)

5. For instance,

तं भूसुतामुक्तिमुदारहासं वन्दे यतो भव्यभवं दया श्रीः ।
श्रीयादवं भव्यभतोयदेवं संहारदामुक्तिमुतासु भूतम् ॥

6. Probably Suryapandita, the author of Āryā Rāmāyaṇa (*DC*, XX. 7900) and Arya Surya, author of Vijayavikrama Vyāyoga (*TC*, II 1751) are different persons.

son of Jnānāḍhirāja of Bhāraḍvājagotra and lived at Pārṭhapura. His seventh ancestor Rāma was in the Court of king Rama of Devagiri.[1] As an astronomer he wrote Sūryaprakāsa in 1539 and commented on Līlāvaṭī in 1542 A.D. His Nṛsimhacampū in 5 chapters and Bālaboḍhikā commentary on Ḍeveśvara's Kavikalpalatā, are available.[2]

97. Another feat of poetic genius is KANKANABANDHA-RAMAYANA. There is only one verse[3] of 32 letters arranged in a circular form (in the form of a bangle) and by reading them from left to right and right to left, s arting from any letter we have 62 verses forming, if rewritten, a regular poem. A commentary interprets these verses so as to describe the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. The author **Krsnamurti** was the son of Gauri and Sarvagna of Vasisthagotra, probably of the Circars and lived in the 19th century A.D.[4]

This idea of Kankaṇabanḍha was improved by Charla Bhāshyakāra Sastri in a similar composition. He lives in the Agraharam of Kakaraparti in the Krishna District. In his Kankanabanḍha Rāmāyaṇam he interprets each verse so formed in two ways, by splitting the compounds, so that, in effect, there results from one single verse a poem of 128 verses in all.[5]

98. Sripala, son of Lakṣmaṇa of Pragvata family, lived at Anhilvid between Sam. 1151 and 1210 (1095-1154 A.D.). He was a poet of great renown and received the title Kavirāja and Kavicakravarṭi from King Siḍḍharāja Jayasimha of Gujarat. He was blind. In Sam. 1181, there was a dispute between the Śveṭāmbara and Ḍigambara Jain sects on some questions of liturgy and in an assembly presided over by the King Kumuḍacanḍra of Karnāta represented Ḍigambara view and Ḍevācārya of Gujarat the Śveṭāmbara, and Śrīpāla took a prominent part in the discussion. This dispute is described by Yaśaścanḍra in his

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1. Devagiri (Doulatabad) was the capital of the Yādava kings. Ramacandra was defeated by Allauddin in 1294 A.D.

2. *IOC*, VII. 1179, 1549; *CC*, I. 87a, III. 19a.

3. नेतादेवालीनामाशाधानाधीनानेकालोकी ।
मास्यानंभारव्यायोगीशं पायादेतं रामेराजा ॥

4. *TC*, III. 2874

5. The verse is this :
रामानाथाभारासाराचारात्राराागोपाधारा ।
धाराधारामीमाकारा पारावारा सीतारामा ॥

play Muḍiṭakumuḍacanḍra.[1] He wrote a poem VAIROCANAPARAJAYA and several praśastis printed in Jain Prācīnalekhamālā.

Śrīpāla's son Siḍḍhapāla, also a poet, lived till about Sam. 1250 (1199 A.D.) Siḍḍhapāla's son Vijayapāla has been much praised as a poet by Somaprabhasūri. King Kumārapāla was his friend. His patron, King Siḍḍharāja Bhimaḍeva of Calukya dynasty, flourished in 1109-1241 A.D. At his instance he wrote the play Ḍraupaḍīsvayamvara[1] in two acts on the wedding of Ḍraupaḍī. Vijayapāla seems to have lived till about 1244 A.D.

99. Muniratnasuri was the pupil of Samuḍraghoṣa of the Canḍra Gaccha.[2] Jivasimha, his pupil, wrote a praśasti in praise of his master.[3] He wrote his Amāmasvāmicariṭa, at the request of Jagaḍḍeva son of Yaśoḍhavala, treasurer of a Cālukya king of the Śrīmālakula at the city of Vārāhi.[4] He had already distinguished himself as an eminent poet at the court of King Naravarman at Ḍhāra.[5] The poem in 30 cantos describes the life of Amāmaswāmi, in melodious verse.[6] It was composed at Patan in Sam. 1252 and read in the temple of Śānṭināṭha in praise of Pūrṇapāla. Yaśahpāla, (1194 A.D.) Mana and Mahānanḍa. His other poem Munisuvraṭacariṭa, of 23 cantos, describes the lives of some of the suris of his clan.[7]

100. Vidyacakravartin.[8] In the Court of the Hoysala Kings, flourished the lines of poets, three of whom bore the name of Vidyācakravarṭin. The poet known as Cakravartin was called as the royal priest to the Court of Viraballala II (1172-1219 A.D.) He was the author of the many poetic inscriptions engraved on stone during the days of his patron. His son Vaiḍyanāṭha was in the Court of Vīranarasimha II (1220-1235 A.D.). Then came Vaiḍyanātha's son Viḍyācakravarṭin II,

1. Printed, Bhavnagar. Śripala is quoted in Śātangaḍharapaḍḍati, 94.
2. See *PR*, IV, xcv.
3. See *PR*, III. app. 95 He was a pupil of Dharmaghoṣasūri and contemporary of Siḍḍharaja, king of Gujarat.
4. Ibid.
5. *Rāsmāla*, 135. In the copperplate grants (*Tr.* of *RAS*, I. 230-29; Colebroke's *Mis. Es.*, 297-314; *JAOS*, VII; *IA*, XIX, 345) of the ruler of Malwa, geneology is given as Bhoja—Uḍayāḍiṭya—Naravarman—Yaśovarman. Yaśovarman's grant (*IA*, XIX 357) is dated Sam. 1191 (1136 A.D.)
6. *PR*, III. app. 95.
7. *PR*, III. app. 144.
8. Ṭrivikrama or Vikramaḍeva, son of Rājārajaḍeva, who wrote the poem Kadambarisārasangraham, in 10 cantos, calls himself the pupil of Sakalavidyaḍharacakravarṭi, probably one of these three (*TC*, IV, 4222.)

the author of the exquisite romance Gaḍyakarnāmṛṭa of which we shall know more in the chapter of Sanskrit prose. He calls himself by the titles, Sakāla Viḍyācakravarṭi, Kavirājarājā Abhinava-Bhatta-Bāṇa, Kali-Kāla-Kāliḍāsa, Kāhala-Kavi-Sārvabhauma and Kālakavikalabha. His son Vāsuḍeva was called Śrī Vallabha. His son was Viḍyācakravarṭin III. He wrote commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa and Alankārasarvasva with illustrations here and there in praise of the Hoysala kings. King Ballala III (1291-1342 A.D.) was his patron. His RUKMINIKALYANA[1] is a poem in 16 cantos describing the marriage of Śrī Kṛiṣṇa and Rukminī. In the 1st canto the poem gives the geneology of the Hoysala Kings[2] and a short account of his own family. His melodious poetry justifies his claim to rank with the foremost of poets.

101. Abhayadeva[3] was a Jain monk. He was pupil of Vijayacanḍra and son of Ḍevabhaḍra, and was fourth in succession from Jīnaśekharasuri who flourished in Sam. 1204. For his eminence in learning, he was given the title of Vāḍisimha by the King of Kāśi. Under him the Ruḍrapaṭijagaccha rose to greatness. His Jayanṭavijaya, a poem in 19 cantos, relates the birth and life of Jayanṭa,[4] and was composed in Sam. 1278 (1222 A.D.). It contains elaborate descriptions of the seasons, sunrise, sunset, sports, and expeditions.

102. Viranandi's Canḍraprabhacariṭa[5] in 18 cantos, begins with a description of King Kanakaprabha and describes the life of

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1. *TC*, IV. 5425. The following poems embrace the same theme; (i) Rukmiṇīpariṇaya of Mahāpātra Paramānanḍa of Orissa (*TC*, IV. 5632) in 11 cantos, (ii) Rukmiṇiparaṇayam of Goviṇḍaraṭha contemporary of King Mukunḍa of Orissa, of more than 5 cantos (*TC*, IV. 5687), (iii). Rukminikalyāṇa of Rajachudāmaṇi Dikshiṭa.

2. Hoysāla—Eriyanāga—Viṣnuvarḍhana [1104-1141 A.D.] He had two brothers Ballala I and Uḍayāḍiṭya]--Narasimha I (1136-1171)—Vira Ballāla II (1172-1212)—Narasimba II (1220-1235)—Someśvara (1233-1254)—Narasimba III (1254-1291)—Vira Ballāla III (1291-1342)—Ballala IV (1342-1346). The dynasty ends here. For inscriptions relating to Hoysala Kings, See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1923-1928. See also S. K: Iyengar's *South India and her Muhammadan invasions*, 176 *et. seq.* and M. R. Kavi's *Kālakalabhakavi*, in *Bharati*, Feby. 1928.

3. Abhayaḍeva' pupil Devabhaḍra is mentioned in an inscription dated Sam. 1296. *IA*, (1894), 173-4; *EI*, I. 112. For other Abhayaḍevasuris, see U. S. Tank's *Dictionary af Jaina Biography.*

4. Ed. Bombay. It bears Śrīśabḍāṅka, *PR*, I. 93; IV. 87-90 vii; Weber, *ISt.* II. 1089; Klatt, *IA*, XI. 248.

5. Printed Bombay. There is a commentary on it of unknown authorship, *TC*, III, 3848. Yaśoḍeva wrote another poem of the same name in Anhilwid in Sam. 1178 (1122 A.D). See *Jes. Cat.* 39. There is Canḍraprabhīyakāvya by Dhananjaya (*Opp.* II. 434) and Canḍraprabhāvijayakāvya by Raviguрṭa (*CC*, I. 181).

Candraprabha, a Jain Ṭirṭhankara. In the last canto, tenets of Jainism are summarised and the poem ends with Inḍra's incarnation as Jina. Vīranandi must have lived not later than the 13th century A. D.

103. **Manikyacandra** or Mānikyasūri of Rajagaccha was the pupil of Sāgarenḍu.[1] He describes his geneology in his commentary Sanketa on Kāvyaprakāśa, which he completed in Sam. 1216 (1160 A.D.). He wrote his poems Pārśvanāṭhacariṭa and Śānṭināṭhacariṭa in Sam. 1276 (1220 A.D.).[2]

104. **Purnabhadra** was the pupil of Jinapaṭi. He lived at Prahlāḍanapura. He wrote Ḍaśaśrāvakacarita in Sam. 1275 and Ḍhanya Śālibhaḍracariṭra and Kṛṭapuṇyacaritra in Sam. 1285 and Aṭimukṭacariṭra in Sam. 1282.

105. **Padmaprabha** was the pupil of Vibuḍhaprabha. He wrote Kunṭhunāṭhacarithacariṭra and Munisuvraṭacaritra in Sam. 1294.[3] These poets lived at the first half of the 13th century A.D.[4]

106. **Jinaratna** was the pupil of Jineśvara, who was the pupil of Jinapaṭisūri. He lived in the first half of the 13th century A.D. His NIRVANALILAVATI is a beautiful poem in 21 Utsahas bearing Jinānka, being a sanskrit version of the prakṛt poem of the same name (not extant) written by Jineśvara in Sam. 1095. Jinaratna's pupil Pūrṇakalaśa wrote a commentary on Hemacanḍra's Ḍvyāśrayakāvya.[5]

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1. Māṇikyasuri of Vatagaocha who wrote the poem Nalāyana or Kuberapurāna in 100 cantos of 10 Skanḍas, a play Setunātaka and a rheterical work, Sāhiṭyasāra is a different author [*Jes. Cat.* 49, *PR*, II. 357]. One manuscript of Nalāyana was put in the Jessalmere Bhandar in Sam. 1659.

2. Yagneśvarapandiṭa (in his *Aryavidyāsudhākara*, 226) says that Māṇikya, pupil of Devasuri, is mentioned by Meruṭunga in his Prabandhachintāmaṇi as having lived at Śripattam, under King Jayasimha about Sam. 1150 and as having composed Sanketa. This conflicts with the author's own statement in the work:

रसवक्त्रग्रहाधीशवत्सरे (१२१६) मासि माधवे ।
काव्ये काव्यप्रकाशस्य सङ्केतोऽयं समर्थितः ॥

See Vāmanācarya's Int. to Kāvyaprakāśa 27; *Jes. Cat.* 5,49-

3. *Jes. Cat.* 49.

4. *Ibid.*, Paḍmaprabha, author of Pārśvasṭava and Bhuvanaḍīpikā is a differen author.

5. *Jes. Cat.* 50-51. Līlāvaṭīkaṭhā by Bhuṣanabhaṭṭatanaya in prakṛṭ poetry relates the story of the loves of King Sātavāhana and Līlāvaṭī, daughter of King of Simhala (*Ibid.*, 55). For this work see under Śālivāhanacariṭa *post*.

107. Laksmitilaka studied under Jīnaraṭna. In Pratyakabuḍḍhacariṭa, a poem of 17 cantos, he relates the lives of four saints Karakandu, Ḍvimukha, Nami, Naggati. It was composed in Sam. 1311 (1255 A.D.).[1]

108. Munidevasuri[2] and **Satyaraja** wrote the poems Sāntināṭhacariṭa[3] and Pṛṭhvīcanḍracariṭra[4] in Sam. 1439 (1383 A.D.) and Sam. 1534 (1478 A.D.), being Sanskrit versions of the Prakṛt poems of these names by Ḍevacandra and Śāntisūri[5] written about Sam. 1200 and in Sam. 1161.

109. Devaprabhasuri surnamed Malaḍhārin was the pupil of Municanḍra,[6] and master of Ḍevānanḍa of the Harṣapuriya Gaccha. In his Pāndavacariṭa,[7] a long poem of 18 cantos, he describes the story of the Pāndavas with the main object of conveying lessons of virtue.[8] He was a contemporary of Uḍayaprabha, and Naracanḍra,[9] and lived about the middle of the 13th century A.D.

110. Amaracandra, also called Amara,[10] was a resident of the town of Vagata near Anhilvid. He belonged to a heirarchy of Jain priests. He was the disciple of Jinaḍaṭṭa Sūri.[11] Having been initiated with the Mantra of Siḍḍha-Saraswaṭī he attained eminence by penance and the Goddess Saraswati conferred on him the boon of poetry. Once Vīśaladeva, the king of Gujarat, heard of his greatness and sent for him to his Court Ḍhavalakkaka. He was there examined by a number of Court

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1. *Jes. Cat.* 51.
2. Vāḍiḍevasuri, who wrote Nemināṭhacariṭra in *Sam.* 1233 (*Jes. Cat.* No. 1) is a different person.
3. *Jes. Cat.* 46, *PR*, I. 60, *Ap.* 6, III. 168. *Ap.* 165; *IA*, XI. 254.
4. *Jes. Cat.* 52. Seeing this excellent poem Munibhaḍrasuri wrote another poem Śānṭicariṭa in *Sam.* 1410. *PR*, III. *Ap.* 157.
5. *Ibid.*, 52, 54.
6. He gave ḍiksha to Calukya king Anala.
7. There is Pāndavacariṭakāvya by Lakṣmīḍaṭṭa, *L.* 2004.
8. He was the author, *PR*, I. 98, III, app. 131.
9. See *PR*. III. app. 19; IV, lxviii. He wrote a commentary on Anargharāghava and Prākṛitaḍīpikā. See Kielhorn's Collections (1880-1-Ms. 238, 234) *PR*. III, App. 134.
10. Amaracanḍra, author of Kāvyāmnāya and Amaracandra author of Vanamālā Nātikā (*Jaina Granthāvali*) are different authors. On other Amaracanḍras, see U. S. Tank's *Dictionary of Jaina Biography*.
11. Author of Vivekavilāsa and Srijinenḍracariṭa. See *PR*, I. Ap. 2, IV. xxxvi, 115; *BR*. (1883-9), 6, 156 (where date 1265-85 Samvat is given.) See the Kavipraśasṭi at the end of Bālabhāraṭa. He died at Ajmeer in 1145 A.D. See Klatt's paper on *Historical Records of the Jainas*, *I.A.* (1882, supra).

poets, Someśvara and Nānāka[1] among them, and pleased with his greatness, the king honoured him well.[2] King Vīsaladeva, son of Vīradhavala, ruled between 1243-1262 A.D.[3] and Amaracandra must therefore have flourished about the middle of the 13th century. His description of sunrise brought him the title Venīkṛpāṇa.[4]

Among his works BALABHARATA[5] is the most known. It narrates the story of the Mahābhārata in the order of the Parvans and is therefore a poetic epitome of it.[6] His poetry is of a high order and placed by the side of the Raghuvamśa, it may not be possible to discern disparity in literary merit.

He wrote treatises on poetics, Kāvyakalpalatā and Kaviśikṣā,[7] on metrics, Chandoratnāvali and Muktāvali and in technical subjects, Kalākalapa and the poem Padmānandakāvya, otherwise known is Śrī Jinendracarita which describes the life of Jina.[8]

Amaracandra completed the Kāvyakalpalatā of his friend Arisimha and wrote a gloss on it Kavisikṣāvritti.[9]

111. Vastupala[10] was the son of Acarāja (Aśvaraja) and Kumāradevī of an illustrious family of Pattans. His great grand-father Chandapa

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1. *IA*, XI. 206-207 (dated Sam. 1328); Ibid. 102-3. This praśasti was composed by Kṛṣṇa, son of Ratna, said to be the author of Kuvalayāśvacarita.

2. This account is taken from Rajaśekhara's Prabandhakośa and Meruṭunga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Tawneys Tr. p. 167).

3. Sam. 1300–1318. See E. Dosabhai's *History of Gujarat* (Ahmedabad), 45-47; Mahipatram's *Short History of Gujarat*. 19. *IA*, VI. 210-212; *IA*, XI. 98-108; *BR*, (1883-84), 318, 457. Also Someśvara's Surathotsava, Canto XV.

4. दधिमथनविलोलल्लोलद्दग्वेणिदम्भादयमदयमनङ्गो विश्वविश्वैकजेता ।
भवपरिभवकोपत्यक्तबाणः कृपाणश्रममिव दिवसादौ व्यक्तशक्तिर्व्यनक्ति ॥ —
Bālabhārata, I. i. 6.

5. Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay. The poem is called Virānka.

6. It may be useful to compare critically this abridgement with the original text of the Bhārata, and that will give us an idea of the actual recension then used by Amaracandra.

7. *PR*, II. 17.

8. Composed in Sam. 1297 (1241 A.D.); *PR*, I. 2, 58; IV. vii.

9. *PR*, IV. vii. Rājaśekhara in his Prabandhakośā says that Arisimha and Amaracandra were fellow students and lived in the time of Vīsaladeva, before he came to the throne of Pattan, about the middle of the 13th century. See *BR*, II 6.

10. "Once upon a time, in the august city of Pattana, on the occasion of an exposition, a certain very beautiful widow named Kumāradeva, was looked at again and again by the Reverend Doctor Haribhadra and so attracted the attention of the minister Acarāja, who was present at the ceremony. After the congregation had been dismissed,

was the "sun of assembly of councillors." He had four sons Caṇḍa-prasāḍa, Sūra, Soma and Aśvarāja. The eldest always had the ministerial seal. The other sons also held high positions in the state. His wife was the daughter of Ābhu, a Dandapaṭi or commander-in-chief. He was the prime minister of Vīraḍhavala, Ruler of Dholka. As a warrior his prowess was great and he defended with his army the kingdom against the attacks of the allied forces of the Kings of the Deccan, the Lata and the Godraha. In Samvat 1277 (1221 A.D.) he made his memorable pilgrimage to Mount Abu and the temples of that place with the inscriptions in his praise are monuments of his glory and philanthropy.[1] He died in 1242 A.D.[2] In his Kīrṭikaumuḍī, Someśvara, describes the life of Vasṭupāla in all detail. He says "Sri Someśvaradeva delineates the character of Vastupāla seeing that that master's devotion to himself is extreme, that his family is illustrious, his personal appearance splendid, his conduct excellent, his charity accompanied by courtesy, his elevated position such as humbles his foes, his talents such as defy those of the Brihaspaṭi, his mercy such as crushes all germ of fear, his fame an ornament of the earth, his administration regulated by justice."

Himself a poet, he appreciated poetic merit in others.[3] He received Harihara at the Court of Dholka in spite of the jealousy of Someśvara. He established three great libraries, where he collected valuable manuscripts. He encouraged good writing and the Kaṭhā-raṭnasāgara (15 tarangas) of Naracanḍra Sūri and Alankāramaho-ḍaḍhi (8 chapters) of Narenḍraprabha were the result of his incentive. His learning is of a high order. He is called "the God-son of Sarasvati,"[4] besides the titles Kavikunjara and Kavicakravarṭin. By his

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the teacher being questioned by the minister said by a revelation of my favourite deity I foresee that the sun and moon will descend and be conceived in her and therefore I looked at the marks on her body again and again." The minister, having thus ascertained the truth from the holy man, carried her off and made her his wife. In course of time, those two heavenly bodies descended and were conceived in her, as the two ministers of Vastupala and Tejaḥpāla"—Meruṭuṅga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi (Tawney's Translation, 155-6).

He was named Vasanṭapāla by Someśvara and others. See Naranarāyaṇānanḍa, XVI. 98. This name is adopted in Bālacanḍra's Vasanṭavilāsa.

1. See Kathavate's Intr. to Kīrṭikaumuḍi, viii, app. A & B.
2. *BR*, (1887—91), lxiii.
3. Kīrṭikaumuḍī, I. 43-47.
4. Kīrṭikaumuḍī, I. 29; Naranārāyaṇānanḍa, XVI. 40; Dharmābhyuḍaya, XV. 64.

patronage he earned the name of Laghu Bhojarāja. Several biographies describe his patronage.[1] Among the poets he patronised were, Someśvara, Arisimha, Harihara and Nanaka.

In his NARANARAYANANANDA,[2] a poem of 16 cantos, he describes the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa who are incarnations of Nara and Nārāyaṇa and their rambles in Mt. Girnar and the abduction of Subhaḍrā by Arjuna.[3] The poem is full of descriptive imagery. It is on the model of Śiśupālavaḍha, but the language is more easy and melodious. Vasṭupāla was fond of stray poetry (*Sūkṭis*) and many of these are collected in his biographies and in Jalhaṇa's Sūkṭimukṭāvali. His Īśvaramanoraṭhamaya Stoṭra is devotional.[4]

112. Udayaprabhasuri was the religious preceptor of Vasṭupāla and Tejahpala. He was great as a poet, theologian and astronomer. His Ārambhasiḍḍhi is an astronomical work and Upaḍeśamāla Karmika, a commentary on Upadeśamala composed in Sam. 1299.[5] His Ḍharmābhuḍaya or Sanghāḍhipaṭicariṭra is a Mahākāvya composed on the occasion of Vasṭupalā's pilgrimage to Jain shrines of Western India. Narendraprabha was a collaborator in the poem.[6] His Sukṛṭakīrṭikallolinī is a panegyric in praise of Vasṭupāla and Tejahpāla composed on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Śaṭrunjaya.[7] The latter is of great historical value in that it gives the geneology of Vasṭupāla and describes the Capotkala and Cālukya kings.

113. Jayasimhasuri[8] was the pupil of Vīrasūri and the Ācarya of the shrine Munisuvraṭa at Broach. He was a Jain Śveṭāmbara. Once when Tejahpāla, the brother of Vasṭupāla, came to visit the shrine, he recited a poem containing a request for a donation for twenty-five

1. Other works that treat of Vastupala's career are :—Arisimha's Sukṛṭasankīrṭana, (See *JBRAS*, X. 35), Merutunga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi, Rajaśekhara's Prabanḍhakośa, Jinavarṣa's Vasṭupālacariṭa, Jinaprabha's Tīrṭhakalpa or Vasṭupālalasankīrṭana is composed in Sam. 1385. Also App. to *GOS*, No. II.

2. Ed. by C.D. Dalal, in Gaek. Or. Series with an introduction.

3. Someswara's Ullāgharāghava, Act. VIII.

4. Printed as app. to Naranārāyaṇānanda (*op. cit.*)

5. *PR*, I. 33, III. 31.

6. He was the author of Alankāramahoḍaḍhi and Kakusṭhakeli (*PR*, III. 28) and immediate successor of Devaprabha, author of Pāṇḍavāyana caritra.

7. Printed as app. to Hammīramaḍamarḍana (*Gaek. Or. Series.*)

8. Jayasimhasuri of Kṛṣṇarṣi Gachcha, pupil of Mahendra who wrote the commentary on Kumārapālacariṭa in 1365 A.D. is a different person. He was the spiritual grand-father of Nayacandra, the author of Hammīramahākāvya and who composed his Kumārapālacariṭa in Samv. 1422.

golden staffs in Sakumika Vihara of Ambada[1] and as that request was granted, he composed a panegyric Vasṭupālapraśasti in praise of the brothers,[2] and with the same object of commemorating the gift he wrote the drama Hammīramaḍamarḍana at the instance of Jayanṭasimha or Jaiṭrasimha,[3] son of Vasṭupāla, which was enacted at the festival of Bhīmeśa in Cambay. In five acts, it describes the alliances of Vīraḍhavala, the greatnes of Vasṭupāla as a politician and the repulsion of Mohammedan invasion of Gujarat. His poetry is charming and abounds in choice similes.[4] The earliest manuscript of the work is dated Sam. 1286. Vasṭupāla became minister of Vīraḍhavala in Sam. 1276 and this drama must therefore have been composed between 1220 and 1230 A.D.[5] Jayasimha's Vasṭupālapraśasṭi gives an account of Calukya genealogy from Mūlarāja I and is of historical value.

114. Naracandrasuri wrote several prasastis in Sam. 1288 (1232 A.D.) preserved in the Girnar inscription in praise of Vasṭupāla.[6] Naracanḍra was the pupil of Maladhāri Ḍevaprabhasūri of Harahapurīyagaccha. He commented on Anargharāghava. At Vasṭupāla's request, he wrote Kaṭhāraṭnasāgara and his pupil Narenḍraprabha wrote Alankāramahoḍaḍhi. He revised the poems, Ḍevaprabha's Pāndavacariṭa[7] and Uḍayaprabha's Ḍharmābhyuḍaya.

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1. This was turned into a mosque after the Muhammadan conquest.

2. This is printed as an appendix in Gaek. Or. Series No. X and summarised in the introduction.

3. He was patron of Bālacanḍra, author of Vasanṭavilāsa. He was Governor of Cambay for Samvat. 1279 (See qvinar inscriptions) and laterly Governor of Petlad (Petaladrapura).

4. For instance:

हसती वाम्रतस्सौधरुचिसंचयललिया ।
नृत्यतीव ध्वजभुजैः पुरीयं त्वयि वीक्षिते ॥
देव त्वयेवसूर्येण मूर्ध्नि प्रतपताभितः ।
व्यालीव भूभृताछायादूरभूषितभूरिव ॥

5. Printed Gaek. Or. Series, with a valuable introduction by C. D. Dalal.

Singhana or Simhana, the Yāḍava king of Devagiri (1162—1247 A.D.) and Śankha or Sangramasimha, king of Lāta, are referred to in the drama. This Singhaṇa was the patron of Varḍhamāna who wrote the Gaṇaraṭnamahoḍaḍhi at Devagiri in Śaka 1151 (1229 A.D.). Similar accounts of wars are referred to by contemporary poets in Kirṭikaumuḍi and Vasanṭavilāsa.

6. *Jes*, *Cat.* 32.

7. *PR*, I. 98, III. 188. See further para 103 *supra*, note II.

115. Balacandrasuri was the pupil of Haribhaḍrasuri of Candragaccha. He was an admirer of Vasṭupāla, the great minister of King Viradhavala of Dholka and after his death, at the instance of Vastupalas for Jaitrasimha he wrote Vasanṭavilāsa a poem of 14 cantos, describing the like history of the Vasṭupāla's ministry.[1] Vastupāla died in Samvat 1296, and this poem must have been composed sam. 1300. In the 18 cantos, he gives a short account of his life. In the first canto, the poet has given the account of his early life. "In the town of Modheraka (in Kadi District in H. H. the Gaekwad's territories), there was a famous Brahmana, named Dharadeva. He gave protection to the distressed from all sides and was acquainted with the doctrines of Jainism. The mendicants, coming to his house always returned with hands full of money given by him. He had a wife named Vidyut. They had a son named Munjala, who, though living in his father's house, looked on the world as an illusion. Having got from Haribhadra Suri religious enlightenment, he took the vow of the Jain mendicant with the permission of his parents. Thinking that he will be gradually full-orbed with all phases of knowledge, Haribhadra Suri made him his pupil with the name of Bālachandra, and at the time of his approaching death, put him in his place. Padmādiṭya, whose feet were emblazoned by the light of the rubies of the crown of the Chaulukya king, and who was the real hereditary abode of learning was his tutor, while Udaya Suri of the Gaccha of Vadi Devasūri gave him the Sārasvata Charm. The Goddess of Learning once appeared to him in his Yoganidra (contemplation-sleep) and told him that she was pleased with his meditation and devotion to her from infancy, and that he was her legitimate child like Kāliḍāsa and other mighty poets of yore." The Prabanḍha Cinṭāmani says that Vasṭupāla, pleased with the poem composed in his praise by Bālacanḍra spent one thousand *drammas* for getting installed as an Ācārya.

116. Somesvara Deva, or Somaśarman, as the poet at times called himself, was the son of Kumāra and Lakṣmī. His eighth ancestor Sola was enrolled as the State Purohit by King Mularāja the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anbhilvid. This office of Purohit was held by the descendants of Sola[2] under the successors of Mūlarāja, Kumāra was in the Court of Kings Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja, Kumāra had three brothers Sarvadeva, Munja, and Āhada. Kumāra was made a

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1. Ed. by C. D. Dalal, Gaek. Or. Series with an introduction.

2. Sola, Lalla, Munja, Soma, Āma, Kumāra, Sarvaḍeva, Āmiga, Kumāra and

generalissimo of the forces by Mūlarāja II and he vanquished King Vindhyavarman of Dhār.

Someśvara was a friend of Vastupāla. An account of Someśvara's sojourn in the courts of King Vīradhavala (1219-1239 A.D.) and Vīśaladeva (1243-1271 A.D.) is given in Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa. Someśvara seems therefore to have flourished about 1179 A.D. and 1262 A.D. The poets Harihara,[1] and Subhata[2] were Someśvara's friends and they praised his poetry.[3] In his Kīrtkaumudi[4] and Surathot-

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Someśvara were in order the Purohits of the King Mularāja. Mularāja's geneology is there given in C.V. Vaidya's *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* (III. 209).

- Mularāja, son of Raji (961-996 A.D.).
  - Cāmunda (997-1009)
    - Vallabha (1009)
    - Durlabha (1009-1021)
    - Nāgarāja
      - Bhīma I (1021-1063)
        - Karṇa (1063-1093) *Ins.* 1019.
          - Jayasimha Siddharāja (1093-1143)
        - Kṣemarāja
          - Haripāla
            - Tribhuvanapala
              - Mahipala
                - Ajayapāla (1173-1176)
                  - Mularaja II (1176-1178)
                  - Bhīma II (1178-1241)
                    - Tribhuvanapāla 1242.
              - Kumarapāla (1143-1173)

For Mularaja, see *IA*, VI. 197; XI. 219; For Jayasimba, see *JBRAS*, (1848), 319, *IA*, X. 158, IX. 253; For Kumārapāla, see *EI*, VIII; For Ajayapāla, see *IA*. XVIII. 80, 344; For Bhīma II, see *IA*, XI. 71, 220, VI. 250; For Tribhuvanapāla, see *IA*, VI. 209; For an account of their dynasty, see *Bombay Gazeteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Hemacandra's Dvyāśraya Kāvya and Merutunga's Vicāraśreṇi.

1. Harihara's works are not available. His father Mokṣhāditya is mentioned in prasasti of Mahakaleśvara, Forbundher State dated *Sam*. 1320. Vyāsa Mokṣāditya, author of Bhimaparākarma vyayoga composed in *Sam*. 1385 [*Bend. Cat.* 273 and in Baroda Library.] was pupil of Harihara and son of Bhīma. This Harihara is different from the author of Bhartṛbarinirveda who was a Mythila.

2. Subhata was the author of the play Dutāngada (Printed, Bombay).

3. वाग्देवतावसन्तस्य कवेः श्रीसोमशर्मणः ।
धिनोति विबुधान्सूक्तिः साहित्याम्भोनिधेः सुधा ॥
Surathotsava, I. 46.

4. Printed, Calcutta.

sava,[1] a campū and poem, he sang the glories of his patrons. In the latter in 15 cantos he narrates the life of Suratha of Caitra race and description of the Himalayas is superb. In Ullāgharāghava[2] he dramatised the story of Rāma. In Surathostava he eulogised Yuvarāja Prahlāḍana author of the play Pārṭhaparākrama. His Rāmaśaṭaka is devoted to Rāma.[3] He wrote Kavyādarśa,[4] and gloss of Kāvyaprakāsa.[5]

117. Arisimha was son of Lavaṇasimha. He was a protege of Minister Vasṭupāla. He had the appellation Thakkura. Amaracanḍra was his friend and coworker in literature. It is said Amaracanḍṛa got Siḍḍhasarasvaṭī charm from Arisimha. They jointly composed Kavikalpalaṭā sutras. Arisimha wrote Kaviṭārahasya. In his SUKRTASANKIRTANA, a poem in 11 cantos, he describes the glorious Life of Vasṭupāla.[6] In the first canto, he gives the geneology of Chapotkata Kings beginning from Vanarāja who founded the City of Anahilla Pattana, in the same manner as is given in Uḍayaprabha's Sukṛṭakallolinī. In the second canto, the reigns of Calukya Kings from Mūlarāja to Bhīmaḍeva II are described, leading to the advent of Vasṭupāla and Ṭejahpāla. The remaining poem narrates the pilgrimages and charitable works of Vasṭupāla. At the end of every canto, Amarasimha added four verses of his own. The poem mentions the niche of Mallināṭha built in Sam. 1278 and as the inscriptions of Mt. Abu. are dated Sam. 1287, the poem must have been written in the interval.

118. Nayacandra[7] was the spiritual grandson of Jayasimhasūri who lived at the time of Vasṭupāla. He was a poet in six languages. He wrote a poem on Kumāranṛpaṭi, that is, Kumārapāla, His poem

1. Printed Bombay.
2. The manuscript is in Baroda Library.
3. *Kh*. 85; *BP*, 263.
4. *Kh*. 85.
5. *Berl. Akad*. (1874), 282.
6. Jalhaṇa in his Sukṭimukṭāvali quotes four verses under Arasi Thakkura, who is probably identical with Arisimha. Two of these are very fine :
7. अतिविपुलं कुचयुगलं रहसि करैरामृशन्मुहुर्लक्ष्म्याः ।
तदपहृतं निजहृदयं जयति हरिर्मृगयमाण इव ॥
मध्येन तस्या विजितः कृशाङ्गयाः पञ्चाननः काननबद्धवासः ।
तस्याः स्तनस्तम्भतटीधियैव कुम्भौ गजानां कुपितो भिनत्ति ॥

HAMMIRAMAHAKAVYA[1] in 14 cantos is the result of a revelation imparted to him in a dream by King Hammīra himself, of the Chohan race of Raṇasṭambhapura. Born in the noble house, Hammīra tried to uphold the independance of his race and was for a time well successful. In the 3rd year of his reign Allauddin demanded the extradition of a Mughal nobleman who had taken refuge with Hammīra, but it was refused. The capital was beseiged and in defending the capital the king fell and his women perished on the funeral pile.[2] The poem describes the heroic deeds of Hammīra and the advice of King Jaiṭrasiṃha to his son Hammīra on politics is very informing. Hammīra was the last of the Chohans. He ascended the throne in Sam. 1330 (1283 A.D.) and died in July 1301 A.D.[3] Nayacandra says he was incited to composition at the behest of King Toramā Virama's courtiers that no new poem could be as good as the old. King Torama Virama lived 70 years before Emperor Akbar.

119. Merutanga's Prabandhacinṭāmaṇi[4] is a work of great historical importance. It was finished at a Wadwan on the Vaisakha full moon of Sam. 1362 (1306 A. D.). It is divided into five prakāśas, and each prakāśa into prabandhas. Each prabandha relates a story. It begins with the story of Vikramāḍiṭya, the traditional founder of the samvat-era. Then follows a short story of a previous birth of Sāṭavāhana. Then comes a long history of the Calukya kings of Anilvid and in their connection King Bhoja and Munja are noticed. Then comes a detailed account of the Vaghela king Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīraḍhavala with their minister Vastupāla and Tejahpāla. The last chapter is miscellaneous of which the tales of Lakṣmaṇasena and Umāpaṭi and Bhartṛhari may be of interest. His Mahāpuruṣacariṭa gives an account of some Jain saints.[5]

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1. Printed Bombay. For an abstract, see *IA*. VIII. 55.

2. For an account of death of Hammira, see *IA*, VIII. 234.

Another work called Hammīramarḍana is referred to by Buhler in his Introduction to Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacariṭa. Tod in his Rajasthan mentions Hammirakavya and Hammira Rasa by Śārngaḍhara, who himself admits that his grandfather Raghunāṭha was that prince's guru. In his Paḍḍhati he quotes some verses relating to Hammira not found in this book. So does Appayya Diksita in his Kuvalayānanḍa (e.g. Atisayokti Alankara) not found in this work. These works may be different.

The colophon in a manuscript reads "The present copy was made for the purpose of reading by Nayahamsa, a pupil of Jayasimhasuri, at Firuzpur in Sam. 1542', (1496 A.D.)

3. Ed. Bombay. See for an account, *PR*, II. 87. Translated into English by Tawney. See *JBRAS* (1887), Extra No.

4. *PR*, III. Ap. 266.

120. Venkatanatha was the son of Ananṭasūri and Ṭoṭaramma. He was born at Ṭūppal near Kanci in Kali 4371 (1268 A.D.) He is said to be an incarnation of the great bell (Ghantā) of God Venkatesa at Tirupati. He studied under his maternal uncle Aṭreya Rāmānuja. His ability in composition and disputation brought him the name of Kaviṭārkikasimha. His exposition of Veḍānṭa, made him known as Veḍānṭaḍeśika. The versatility of his learning gave him the title Sarvaṭanṭra-svaṭanṭra. Many are the tales related about him and his supernatural powers. He was born poor and he was pleased to be poor and when he was offered riches, he refused them quite poetically.[1] He lived for some time at Tiruvahinḍrapuram near Cuddalur and at Srirangam. He visited the Court of Sarvagna Singa. During the invasions of Malikaufer he escaped to Mysore and on the eve of his flight composed his Abhīṭisṭava. He passed away on Kartika-Pūrnima in November 1369 A.D. Veḍānṭa Ḍesika is the founder of the Śrī-vaiṣnava sect of Vadagalais, by whom he is now worshipped as a Saint and his image is installed in almost every Viṣṇu temple in South India. His life was one of unceasing literary activity. His collected works numbered 121, on various subjects, of which many are on Viśistāḍvaiṭa philosophy. To him goes the credit of preserving the commentary Śruṭaprakāśikā.

121. To vie with Meghasanḍesa, Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, Bhāravi and Māgha, he is said to have composed Hamsasanḍesa, Yaḍuvamśa (or Yāḍavābhyuḍaya), Mārasambhava, Bhāravi and Phālguna, but only the first two are now available. Yādavābhyuḍaya is a long poem in 21 cantos on the life of Śrīkṛṣṇa and the history of Yadu race.[2]

Pādukāsahasra is a thousand verses in praise of Rama's sandals composed in a single night in a competitive literary duel.[3]

Sankalpaṣūryoḍaya is an allegorical drama in the manner of Praboḍhacanḍroḍaya.[4]

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1. He said:

नास्ति पित्रार्जितं किंचित् न मया किंचिदार्जितम् ।
अस्ति मे हस्तिशैलाग्रे वस्तु पैतामहं धनम् ॥

2. *DC*, XXI. 7807. Ed. partly in Nagari and partly in Grantha (Madras and Srirangam). There is a commentary on it by Appayadikṣiṭa. *DC*, XX. 7803.

3. Ed. Mysore and Bombay.

4. Ed. Madras, Srirangam, Bombay and Bobbili. Translated into English by Narāyaṇācārya and Raghuuāthaswāmi (Srirangam). There is a commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa, son of Hasṭigiriṇaṭha of Śrivaṭsa family (*OML*, No. 14609) and others

Acyuṭaśaṭaka is a Prakrit poem in praise of Viṣṇu.[1]

Among his minor poems are Hayagrīvastotra, Ḍevarājapancāsaṭ, Gopālavimśaṭi, Ḍehalīsṭuṭi, Yaṭhokṭakārisṭotra, Astabhujāstaka, Paramārthasṭuṭi, Bhagavaḍḍhyānasopāna, Ḍaśāvatārastotra, Abhītisṭava, Nyāsaḍaśaka, Nyāsavimśaṭi, Nyāsaṭilaka, Śrīsṭuti, Bhūsṭuṭi, Nīlāsṭuṭi, Goḍāsṭuti, Sudarśanaśaṭaka, Śodasāyudhasṭuti, Garudapancaka, Yatirājasapṭaṭi, Ḍhātīpancaka, Vairagyapancaka.[2] His Raghuvīragaḍya and Garudaḍandaka are prose pieces in praise of Rāma and Garuda.[3]

Subhāshiṭanīvi is a didactic poem of wise sayings like Bharṭrihari's Nitisaṭiaka.[4]

122. In Acāryavijayacampū, Kaviṭārkikasimha Veḍanṭācarya, son of Venkatācārya of Kausika Gotra describes in exquisite prose and verse the advent and life of Venkatanāṭha.[5] There are other poems and works dealing with the life and work of Venkatanāṭha: Nigamānṭacāryacarita,[6] Veḍānṭaḍeśikagaḍya[7] Vedānṭadeśikacariṭa[8] and Vedantadesika Mangalāśāsana.[9]

His son Varada or NAYANACARYA was born in kali 4418 (1316 A.D.) He was a great scholar and wrote two poems Kokilasanḍeśa and Śukasanḍeśa.[10]

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anonymous (*DC*, XXI. 8546-49), one by a disciple of Śrinivāsa of Kouśikagoṭra (*DC*, XX. 7977). For a learned comparison between this and Meghasanḍesa by A. V. Gopalacārya see articles headed *Sanḍesaḍvayasārasvāḍini* in *Uḍyānapaṭrikā*, Tiruvadi and K. Krishnamacarya, Hamsasandesa, a study, *JMys*, XVIII. 246.

1. Ed Madras.

2. On Veḍanṭaḍesika, generally see Guruparamparāprabhāva, Mysore, 114 *et seqs.* where all works are named. T. Rajagopalacarya, *Vaishnavaite Reformers of India* (Madras) discusses on the date of his death. See *Udyanapatika*, (Tiruvadi) II. 3, 37.

3. These Sṭotras are all collected in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and have been edited by R. V. Krishnamacarya at Kumbakonam and elsewhere. There are commentaries on Śrīsṭuṭi, Gopālavimśaṭi, Dasāvaṭārasṭotra by A. V. Gopālācarya and on Yaṭirājasapti and Dayaśaṭaka by Rāmānuja, *TC*, I. 814, 864.

4. Printed Kāvyamāla, Part VIII. Bombay. There is an unfinished commentary by Śrinivāsa Ṭāṭācārya of Conjeevaram who lived in 1860-1904.

5. Printed, Madras (in Telugu). This work shows exquisite composition in prose and poetry. *DC*, XXI, 8290.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8129.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8409; *TC*, I. 922.

8. *TC*, III. 3059.

9. *TC*, I. 899. This is by his son Varaḍārya.

10. For his other works, see Guruparamparāprabhāva (Mysore)) 199.

The famous Prativāḍibhayankara was his friend. His son Venkateśa studied under Venkatanāṭha and wrote several sṭoṭras apparently during his pilgrimages to Vaiṣṇava shrines.[2]

123. Sakalyamalla, otherwise known as Mallayarya and Kavimalla, was the son of Māḍhava. He was a staunch follower of the Advaita School and was vanquished in debate by Nāyanācārya, son of Veḍanṭaḍeśika at the court of Singabhupala, who ruled from Racakonda about 1330 A.D. The story runs thus: Śākyamalla exercised his magical powers to injure the Vaishnava opponent. He sent a demon, named Betala, to assume a human form and offer his service to the Vaishnava saint and to carry his palanquin on one side. When the demon tried to throw down the occupant and to kill him, the priest discovered the evil intent and by exercising his own power counteracted the evil force and compelled the demon to carry his palanquin to and from with all humility. Urged by Rāma in a dream, he composed the poem UDARARAGHAVA. By repute the poem extends of 18 cantos, but only 7 cantos are now available. It relates the story of the Rāmāyaṇa and follows the style of Raghuvamśa. The poetry is simple and fine and imagery exquisite.[3] There is an incomplete commentary by Chaundi, son of Māyisūri, called Proḍyotini[4] and another by Rampalli Gopināṭha.[5]

2. *TC*, II. 2010-2052.
3. Printed Bombay: See *SR*. II. 3, 73.
4. *SR*, II. 74.
5. *TC*, III. 3212.

CHAPTER IV

Mahakavya (*contd.*)

124. With the advent of the Empire of Vijayanagar came a revival of Sanskrit literature in South India. About the year 1330 A.D., the brothers Bukka and Harihara founded the City of Vijayanagar,[1] Madhava Viḍyāranya was their minister. At the instance of Bukka, a commission of learned men was constituted undar Mādhava and Śāyana to collect comment and preserve all works bearing on the Vedic religion. Harihara died in 1343 and Bukka continued the work of consolidation and within a decade his sovereigns extended to the eastern and western oceans and he became the acknowledged Emperor of Karnāta. Bukka I rulled till 1374 A.D. and was succeeded by Harihara II (1379-1404 A.D.). Harihara extended his sovereignty to Mysore and to the banks of the Kaveri to Trichinopoly. After Harihara II came his two sons Bukka II (1404-1406 A.D.) and Ḍevarāya I[2] (1406-1419 A.D.) one after another. Then came his son Vijaya (1419-1421 A.D.) and Vijaya's son Ḍevarāya II (1422-1448 A.D.) Devaraya had two sons Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa and their sons were Virupaksha and Praudhadevarāya. These ruled from 1448 to 1486 A.D. Here ended SANGAMA dynasty.

It was in the year 1486 A.D. that Saluva Narasimha, a feudatory ruler of Candragiri, deposed the last lingering ruler of Vijayanagar and proclaimed himself the Emperor. He died in 1392 A.D. His son and successor Immadi Narasimha was killed by his general Narasa Nayaka in 1505 A.D. This ended the short-lived SALUVA dynasty.

Narāsa Nayaka assumed sovereignty and lived for a year. He had three wives and sons by them Vīranarasimha, Kṛṣṇaḍevarāya and Acyuṭa. These ruled in order 1506-9, 1509-1529, and 1539-1542 A.D. Acyuta had a brother Ranga. Ranga's son Sadāśiva succeeded him and was the last of the TULUVA Dynasty.

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1. Gangadevi writes. तस्यासीद्विजया नाम विजयर्जितसंपद: ||
Here the name of City is given as Vijayā. It is also called by poets Viḍyānagara.
2. His brother Virupākṣa was the author of the play Nārāyaṇivilāsa (*SVH*, 53).

Aliya Rāma Rāya, who married Ṭirumalāmbā, daughter of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, was practically the ruler of the State during the days of Emperor Sadāśiva. During his time there was the war with the Muhamadan Sultaṇs headed by the Sultan of Bijapur and at the battle of Talikola in 1565 A.D., Aliya Rama Raya was killed, Vijayanagar was pillaged and Saḍāśiva fled away with Rāmarāya's brother Tirumala to Penugonda. Some time later Tirumala proclaimed himself the Emperor and started the ARAVIDU dynasty.

Tirumala ruled from 1570-1593 A.D. He was succeeded by his sons Śrīranga I (1573-1585 A.D.) and then by Venkata I, whose name is remembered in religious and literary history. His successors lost that position and continued to be Rajas of Canḍragiri, from one of whom the East India Company received the grant of Madras in 1639 A.D.

These emperors were themselves poets or patrons of poets. Saluva Narasimha and Kṛṣṇaḍevaraya have composed poems and plays of merit and they will be noticed in the coming pages. In the courts of these emperors, flourished many men of lore and it is their works that adorn the field of Sanskrit literature for a period of four centuries.

For convenience of reference the dates of these emperors are given below :[1]

EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR

I. SANGAMA DYNASTY.

		A. D.
1.	Harihara and his brothers	1336
2.	Bukka I	1343-79
3.	Harihara II	1379-1404
4.	Bukka II	1404-6
5.	Deva Raya I	1406-19
6.	Vira Vijaya	1419-21
7.	Deva Raya II	1422-48
8-10.	Mallikarjuna Virupaksha Praudhadeva Raya	1448-86

II. SALUVA DYNASTY.

11.	Narsinga Saluva	1486-92
12.	Immadi Narsinga	1492-1505

1. See History of India, Part 2 by Garrett and Sivaram, Chapter IX.

III. TULUVA DYNASTY.

13.	Narsa Nayaka	1505-6
14.	Vira Narsinga	1506-9
15.	Krishnadeva Raya	1509-29
16.	Achyuta Raya	1529-42
17.	Sadasiva	1542-70

IV. ARAVIDU DYNASTY.

18.	Tirumala	1570-73
19.	Ranga	1573-85
20.	Venkata	1585

125. Vidyaraṇya was the name assumed by Mādhava, when he became the head of Śringeri Mutt. He was almost the founder of the kingdom of Viḍyānagar. (Vijayanagar) Kings Bukka and Harihara were his favourite disciples whom he was helping with his counsel in the administration. So he was called Karṇātaka-simhāsana-sṯhāpanācārya. He was the son of Sāyaṇa and Śrīmaṭī of Bhāraḍvāja-goṯra. His works on law and philosophy are too well-known for enumeration. His commentaries on the Veḍas are a unique production.[1] His Ḍevyaparāhasoṯra, a lyric in praise of Pārvaṭī, testifies to his poetic genius.[2] His Śankaravijaya relates the history of Sankara.[3] He lived 85 years and died about 1387 A.D.[4]

His brother, Śāyana, was minister of Kings Bukka I and Harīhara II of Vijianagar. He had three sons, Kampana, a musician, Māyaṇa, a poet and Singaṇa, a Vedic scholar. He died in 1378 A.D. He commented on the Veḍas. His Subhāṣitasudhānidhī is an anthology and Alankārasuḍhāniḍhi in 10 Unmeṣas is a work on poetics.[5]

His other brother Bhoganāṯha was a companion of King Sangama II. He was an excellent poet and among his works are Ramollāsa, Ṭripuravijaya, Śṛngāramanjarī, Uḍāharaṇamālā, Mahāgaṇapaṭisṯoṯra and Gaurināṯhasṯoṯra.[6]

1. For an account of Vidyarāṇya by S. Venkatadri, see Andhrapatrika, Annual Number (1921-22) 158 9., See Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Madras), 92. *IA*, XLV. 1 and *Sources of Vijayanagar History* 47-51.

2. *SVH*, 50.

3. Printed Madras.

4. *CC*. 771.

5. *SR*, II, 75-80.

6. *IA*, XLV, 21. See for instance:

शिशिरेषु शिलातलेषु रामः तरुमूलेषु तलोदरीं दरीषु ।
सरसीषु च विश्रमय्य मुग्धां पथि पाषाणिनि तां शनैरनैषीत् ॥

126. Agastya was a poet of the court of King Praṭāparuḍra Ḍeva of Warangal (1294-1325 A.D.) and was probably patronised by King Sangama and Bukka I of Vijianagar. His BALABHARATA, a poem in 20 cantos[1] relates the whole story of the Mahābhāraṭa, beginning with the origin of the Kuru line of kings from the Moon. His poetry is highly musical and the felicity of expression is remarkable. His name was admired by Rajacūdāmani Ḍikṣiṭa.[2]

As the master of literary art Gangāḍevi mentions him as the author of 74 Kavyas,[3] and as a poet of great [erudition. His learning brought him the name Viḍyānāṭha and under that **name** he wrote his Praṭāparuḍrayaśobhusaṇa.[4]

There is a commentary on this poem called Manoharā by Sāluva Timma Dandanāṭha, the famous minister of Kṛṣṇaḍeva Rāya,[5] king of Vijianagar (1509-1530 A.D.).[6]

His Kṛṣṇacariṭa is a prose work on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.[7] His Nalakīrṭikaumuḍī is a poem on Nala's story available only in 2 cantos.[8]

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1. *TC*, II. 2228; *DC*, XX. 7784. *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2589. It is not a Campu as said by Burnell (*Tanj. Cat.*) or by S. Kishnasami Iyengar (*SVH*, 143).

2. जडाशयानां हृदयं जगत्यां यस्योदयाधातितमां प्रसादम् ।
स एष सारस्वतमर्मवेदी विभाति मौळौ विदुषामगस्त्यः ॥
Rukmiṇikalyāṇa, I. 18.

3. चतुस्सप्ततिकाव्योक्तिव्यक्तवैदुष्यसंपदे ।
अगस्त्याय जगत्यस्मिन् स्पृहयेत्को न कोविदः ॥
Maḍhurāvijaya, I. 14.

4. This identity is seen from the following verse :
औन्नत्यं यदि वर्ण्यते शिखरिणः कुप्यन्ति नीचैः कृता
गाम्भीर्यं यदि कीर्त्यते जलधयः क्षुभ्यन्ति गाधीकृताः ।
तत्त्वां वर्णयितुं बिभेमि यदि वा जातोऽस्म्यगस्त्यस्थितः
तत्पार्श्वे गुणरत्नरोहणगिरे श्रीवीररुद्रप्रभो ॥ II. 57.

For this work, see chapter on *Alankara* post. Prataparuḍraḍevā wrote Yayāṭicariṭa, a play in seven Acts on the secret loves of Yayāṭi and Śarmistha and their ultimate union with the consent of Queen Devayānī. See chapter on Drama *post*.

5. *DC*, XX. 7784-5; *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2606.

6. *SVH*, 143. His sister's son Nāḍindla Gopa Mantrin was the author of the commentary on Prabodhacandroḍaya (see *Ibid.*, 144). See S. V. Narasimha Raol *Krishnadevaraja* and *his times* (*Ind. Rev.* VII. 883) and *Andhra Patrika*, Annua, numbers (1917), 205, (1914), 131, 195.

7. *BTC*, No. 10203.

8. The manuscript is with Pendyala Subramania Sastri.

Among his other works are Lakṣmīstoṭra, Śivasṭava,[1] Laliṭāsahasranāma, Maṇiparīkṣā, Sivasamhiṭā and Sakalāḍhikāra.

127. Gangadevi was consort of Kampana or Kamparāya the second son of Bukka I[2] (1343-1379 A.D.) who predeceased his father by two years. In Maḍhurāvijaya or Vīrakamparāyacariṭa,[3] a poem, now extant only as a fragment, she narrates in melodious verses the exploits of her husband and narrates the history of his expedition to the south. The city of Vijianagar with its temple and suburbs are described with all magnificence. Then comes the moving army and its relays on its way to Kāncī, where it is quartered for the winter. Inspired by the exhortation of a Goddess in his dream to exterpate the Musalmans and to restore the country to its ancient glory, he advances to the South, kills the Sultan of Madura and commemorates his victory by munificent grants to the temples of the country.[4]

128. Vamanabhatta Bana was the son of Komatiyajvan and grandson of Varaḍāgniciṭ of Vaṭsa Goṭra. He was the pupil of Viḍyāraṇya. In his early days he was at Vijianagar and saw the glory of Harīhara's reign. There he wrote Śṛngārabhūṣaṇa Bhāṇa enacted at the festival of Virūpākṣa. In narrating the amours of Vilāsaśekhara, he describes the advanced state of civic life there in melodious verses and fanciful imajery.[5] When about thirty years old, he migrated to the court of Peda Komati Vemabhūpāla, ruler of Kondavidu (1403-1420 A.D.)[6]

Among his poems are Nalāhbyuḍaya,[7] in 8 cantos, Raghunāthacariṭa, in 30 cantos,[8] dealing with the lives of Nala and Rāma, and Hamsasanḍeśa. an imitation of Meghasanḍeśa.

Pārvaṭīpariṇaya,[9] a drama in 5 acts, describing the marriage of Pārvaṭi and Śiva is now *believed* by many to be his composition. In

1. *CC*, I. 1; *DC*, XIX. 7416.

2. *EC*, Mysore, Dt. No. 46 and see also *EI*. XII. 162. But Sewell (*Forgotten Empire*, 29) gives to Bukka reign, 1343-1379 A.D. See also *TC*. III, 2985.

3. Ed. By Harihurasastri, Trivandrum, with a historical introduction by T. A. Gopinatha Row. *TC*, III. 2985.

4. For an account of this poem, see *Sources of Vijayanagar History*.

5. Ed. Kāvyāmālā, Bombay and Madras. *CC*, III. 137

6. The name of Vāmana is mentioned in a copper plate grant dated Saka 1338 (1441 A.D.). On Vāmanabhatta, see Prabhakara Sastri's *Śṛngāra Śrināṭha*, 78; R. V. Krishnamacharya, *Introduction to Parvaṭipariṇaya* (Srirangam).

7. Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, *T. S. Series*. The manuscript breaks off with the 3rd verse of canto 9.

8. *Tanj. Cat.* VI, 2634; *CAL*, II. 27.

9. Ed. Arsha press, Vizagapatam by K. T. Telang, Bombay; by Ratnam Iyer, Kumbakonam; by R. V. Krishnamacharya, Srirangam. For critical studies, see

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his Kanakalekhā,[1] in 4 acts, he describes the marriage of Kanakalekhā, the daughter of Vīravarman with Vyāsavarman, both of whom were Vidyādharas, born in human world, on the curse of a sage.

Of his Brhakaṭhamanjarī,[2] only the portion of it, dealing with the story of Kādambarī, is now available.[3]

He also composed two lexicons Śabdacandrikā,[4] and Śabdaratnākari.[5]

His learning was versatile and his poetry was admired. These brought him the titles ṣadbhāṣāvallabha and Kavisārvabhauma. His ambition was to emulate Bāṇa of Kādambarī fame in the field of romance and as he says, his resolve was to remove the deep-rooted ill fame that after Bāṇa there was no poet capable of a fine writing in prose. Bāṇa was of the Vatsa gotra and in that same gotra, Vāmana was born. He thought he had a quasi hereditary claim to gain a name in the same field. He thought he was Bana incarnate and called himself Abhinava Bhatta Bāna. Bana glorified his patron Harsha in his Harṣacariṭa, and this suggested to Vama the theme, that is the life of his patron, Vemabhūpāla, known also as Viranarayana. Thus came Vīranārādaṇacriṭa or Vemabhūpālacariṭa. Of this the reader will hear more in a later chapter.

129. Lolambaraja. To Harihara's court belonged Lolambarāja, son of Ḍivākara, a descendant of Sūryapandiṭa. In Harivilāsa,[6] in 5 cantos, and in Sundara Ḍāmodara[7] he describes the history of Kṛṣṇa, ending with the death of Kamsa. He was a great physician and his works on medicine,[8] written in excellent poetry, are much admired.

K. T. Telang, *IA*, III. 219. See R. V. Krishnamacharya's *The Authorship of Parvaṭi Pariṇaya* (Kumbakonam), where views to the contrary are answered. In the English introduction a play Uṣaharaṇa is also given as Vamana's. But it is not known where the manuscript is available. See also Schuyier, *Bibl*. 26.

1. See Kuppuswami Sastri's *Rep*. (1919), 41-2.

2. The manuscript is in the Adyar Library, Madras. *CAL*, II. 4. At the end it is said that itwas this story that was expanded by Bāṇa is his romance of Kādambarī. इयमेव कथाबाणेन बहुळीकृता कादम्बरीकथात्वेन. In the colophon it is stated that the work was written by Bāṇa. It is therefore inferred that this poetic version (Brihatkathamanjari) must have been written by a Bāṇa, not the author of Kādambarī, and likely our Vāmanabhatta Bāṇa. This story does not find a parallel in Kṣemendra's Bṛhaṭkaṭhāmanjarī.

3. *CMy*, 609.

4. *TC*, III. 3380; *CMy*, 609.

5. *CAL*, II. 16.

6. Printed *Kavyamala*, Bombay; *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2814; *CC*, I. 760.

7. *CAL*, II. I6. 8. *CC*, I. 546.

130. Virupaksa known as Udayagiri Virupanna Udayar I[1] was the grandson of Bukka and son of Harihara II[1] of the Sangama dynasty of Vidyanagar.[2] His mother was Muttadevi and mother's father Somabhūpa. He appears to have been Viceroy at Marakaṭapura about 1384 A.D. In his Nārāyaṇavilāsa,[3] a play in 5 acts, he calls himself the Governor of Karnata, Cola and Pandya mandalas and claimed to have planted a pillar of Victory in Simhala. In his play Unmaṭṭa Raghava,[4] in one act, he describes the lamentations of Rāma on the loss of Sīṭa.

Mādhava[5] was poet of the Court of King Virūpākṣa of Vijianagar[6] and was patronised by his minister, also called Virūpākṣa. His Narakāsuravijaya, the poem of which 9 cantos are now extant, describes the story of conquest of Narakāsura by Kṛṣṇa.[7] The language is terse and his appreciātion of poets is a specimen of his melodious poetry.[8]

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1. Harihara ruled between 1309-1401 A.D. Taylor, (*Or. His. Mss.*, II. 93) places Harihara in 1385-1429 A.D. and Sewell (*Forg. Emp.* 404) says that Virupakā was son of Harihara and gives their dates 1470 and 1379 respectively. In Mys. Arch. Rep. (1927) Mis. No. 139, 155 Virupanna is called son of Bukka.

2. *EI*, III. 226, where he is called Virupākṣa I. For a list of his inscriptions, see *EI*, VI. 323 f. n. His Ariyar grant (*IA*, XXXVIII, 12) is dated Saka 1312 (1390 A.D.). The other Virupākṣa, the last of the Sangama dynasty lived about 1460. See his inscription dates Saka 1392 (1471 A.D.). *IA*, XXI. 321. On the ancestry of Virupākṣa see *IA*, XXXIV. 19.

3. *SR*, I. 6, 90; *CC*, III. 63; *SVH*, 53. Schuyler (*Bibl*) gives date 1350 A.D.

4. *CAL*, II, 27. In the Tanjore Palace Library, the following books are found under the name of Virupākṣa, but his identity is not clear; Śāradāśarvari (a commentary on Candrāloka), Colacampu, Virupākṣacampu. See *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 3231.

5. For his inscription dated 1470 A.D., see *IA*, XXI, 323, *SVH*, 6,67.

6. Māḍhava and Māḍhavapuri, poets quoted in Padyāvalī, Māḍhava of Tallitanagara, author of Uḍḍhavaduṭa (printed in Haberlin, 943), Māḍhava author of Subhadrāharaṇa Śrigadiṭa (printed, Bombay) and Praṇayimāḍhavacampu (*PR*, III. 395, Māḍhava, son of Lakṣmaṇa, author of Dānalilākāvya (printed, Bombay) and Māḍhavasena, poets quoted in Skm are different persons.

7. *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2772 Virupākṣa the minister wrote Cāṭurmāsyakalpavalli in which he says he was the minister of king Virupākṣa.

8. जगदानन्दजननी जयत्यव्याजकोमला । कविता कालिदासस्य कलेवाचकलानिधेः ॥
कथं कविचकोराणामर्पितामिव पारणाम् । स्तुमः क्षेमेन्द्रचन्द्रस्य कविताकौमुदीमिमां ॥
वक्रिमाणमनुज्झन्तो बाणस्य भणितिक्रमाः। कस्य न प्रीतये हृद्याः कान्तानां च दृगश्चलाः॥
श्रीहर्षस्य कवेर्वाचः शीतलामृतसोदराः । मज्जयन्तिरसोदन्वत्परिरसिकं जनम् ॥
मधुव्रतइवश्लाघ्ये मधुनिष्यन्दनिर्भराम् । भारवेस्सुरभिं सूक्तिं माकन्दस्येव सुन्दरां ॥

131. Saluva Narasimha was a king of Vijianagar of the second dynasty who ruled in 1456-1486 A.D. His father was Gunda, grandfather Gauta (Gautamara) and great-grandfather Sāluva Mangi. His mother was Mallāmbikā. He married Śrīrangāmbā. He died in 1493 A.D. Gauta was the chief of Kalyāṇa and his descent has been traced to the Moon. Mangi was a friend of prince Kampana, son of Emperor Bukka, and accompanied him in his expeditions to the south. He made extensive gifts to the shrine of Śrīrangam. He was for a long time commander of the forces under king Mallikārjuna and his successors of the first (Sangama) dynasty and appears to have proclaimed himself king late in his life. His mother Mallāmbikā had no issue for a long time. Gunda and Mallāmbika retired to Ahobilam for perfoming penance near God Narasimha of that place. "Pleased with their devotion the God appeared before the king in a dream, and expressing his satisfaction at their devotion, promised them a son possessed of all virtues and ordained to rule the whole world. The king awoke from his dream and communicated it to his wife. After a short time a son was born to them whom they called Narasimha after the God. The military genius and excellent qualities of Narasimha are then described at length. He is said to have ruled over the territory comprising the Kalyana, Kanchi, Katak, Kuntala, Chola and Pandraka. The poets and scholars of his court one day, after extolling his great qualities, requested him to display his scholarship by the composition of a poem (Kavya) on the life of Rama." Thus he came to compose his poem RAMABHYUDAYA in 24 cantos.[1] In the colophon to the 5th canto, however, it is said that the author was Soṇāḍrinātha, son of Abhirāmā and Rājanātha and the work is called Mahanātaka-agrajāṭakāvya.

132. Krishna Deva Raja was the son of Narasa and Nāgâmbā and brother of Vīranarasimha, of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijianagar. He ascended the throne, in succession to his brother, in A.D. 1509 and after a glorious reign of 21 years passed away in 1529 A.D., leaving his name behind him in Indian History as 'the king.'[2] He was a fine sportsman, graceful artist and versatile scholar. All South India was

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1. *Trav. Cat.* III. 12. For notes and extracts, see *SVH*, 7, 10, 32, 83, 85. See also Hulzch *SII.*, 131-2. Sewell's *Forg. Empire*, 108; Taylor's *Hist. Manuscripts*, II. 93. There are Rāmābhyudayatilaka Kavya (*Op.* 1556), anonymous, Rāmābhyudaya Kavya in 30 cantos by Venkatesa (*BTC*, 161 with commentary) and Rāmābhyudayanātaka by Yaśovarman, quoted in Dhvanyāloka and by Vyāsa Sri Rāmadeva, (*CC*, I. 523).

2. Taylor (*op. cit.*) gives the date 1509-1529. See also *EI*, I. 362; *IA*, I. 73.

under his sway and under him were his feudatory chiefs, dispersed throughout his territories. Of his military exploits in wars against Adilshah, we have glorious accounts in contemporary chronicles.[1]

His father had two other wives Tippāmbā, and Obamamba. Viranarasimha was son of Tippāmbā and Acyuṭa son of Obamāmbā. His father's father Īśvara was a companion of Saluva Narasimha in his expeditions.[2] He had a son Ṭirumala and a daughter Ṭirumalāmba who married Aliya Rāma Rāja.[3] He was an ideal king, a great poet and a generous patron of letters. The Telugu poet Namdi Timmayya called him Sri Kṛṣṇa incarnate.[4]

He had three queens of whom Ṭukkā was the daughter of Praṭāparudra Gajapaṭi of Orissa, but the marriage seems to have not been happy.[5] A virtuous lady that she was she resigned herself to her fate and sang a few verses on her forlorn, perhaps, undeserved condition.[6] Of the works of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, Uṣāpariṇaya is a drama on the marriage of Uṣa,[7] and Jāmbavaṭī Kalyāṇa is a drama in five acts, enacted at the Chaitra festival of Virūpākṣa, the tutelary deity of his Empire.[8] It describes the story of the recovery of Syamanṭaka jewel by Kṛṣṇa, his victory over Jambavanṭa and his marriage with his daughter Jāmbavaṭī,[9] Other works are mentioned in his Telugu poem Āmukṭamālyadā, are Maḍālasācariṭra, Satyāvaḍhū-sānṭvana, Sakalakaṭhāsārasangraha, Rasamanjarī and Jnānacinṭāmaṇi,[10] Rasamanjarī, a work on poetics, contains illustrations in praise of Kṛṣṇaḍevarāya;

1. For an account of his reign, see Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* (London, 1900) 120-164 and the appendices containing the Chronicle of Paes and Nuniz. Commentaries of Afonso D'Alboquerque (Ed. Hakluyt) Bellary Dt. Manual and Madras Christian College Magazine (1886 Dec.) and articles in Andhra Patrika annual numbers, V. 131, 195; X. 137, 235.

For his inscriptions, See *EI*, 1366, 398, IV. 3, 266. *IA*, XXIV 205, *JBRAS*, XII. 336; Hultsch, *SII*, 132.

2. *SVH*, 8 and extracts 38 to 40 from Telugu poems.

3. He was practically ruler between 1542-1565 A.D. and he fell in the battle of Talikota. His brother Tirumala became King and removed his capital to Penukonda and his son Venkatapati to Chandragiri.

4. See his Amukṭamālyaḍā, *SVH*, 133.

5. See the Introduction to Nāḍiudla Gopa's commentary on Prabodhacandrodaya, *SVH*, 144

6. *SVH*, 143, But these verses do not seem to be her composition. One verse is found in Mukula's Abhidhāvṛṭṭimatṛka.

7. The manuscript is said to be in the library of Vanaparti, Hyderabad State. There are other plays of the same name by Śrinivāsācārya (*Rice*, 256), by Rudradeva, (*Tanj. Cat*, VIII. 3649), analysed in Mitra *Notices*, (III. 192) and Uṣānaraṇa by Harṣanātha, (*CC*, I. 71) and Poems, Uṣāpariṇayacampu by Kṛṣṇa Kavi (*DC*, XXI. 8185; *Opp*, II. 3604) and Uṣāharaṇa by Ṭrivikrama (*BTC*, 157) and Uṣāniruḍḍha in prakrit (*TC*, III. 4045).

8. *SVH*, 143; *CC*, I. 206.

9. For the same theme, see Pāṇini's Jāmbavaṭīharaṇa *supra*.

10. *SVH*, 134.

it is therefore conjectured that it was not his own work but of a poet of his Court.

133. Tirumalamba's literary achievements were the subject of universal admiration. She began under King Kṛṣṇa Ḍevarāya and continued to the days of Acyuṭarāya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijianagar.

The only extant work of hers, Varaḍāmbikāpariṇaya,[1] is a pleasant prose-poetic composition. It begins with a short geneological history and describes the exploits of Narsa, his marriage of Obamāmba, and the birth of the son Acyuṭa.[2] Then follows the marriage of Acyuṭa and Varadāmbā, a princess of Salaga and ends with the installation of their boy China Venkatāḍri, as the Yuvaraja.[3]

134. Dindimas. Connected with the Court of Vijianagar are the poets of the Dindima family. Their history is recorded in a work called Vibhāgaraṭnamāla or Vivekapaṭramālā,[4] composed about 200 years ago. The author's name is unknown. The following account is given there. Originally resident at Manḍāra, a village on the Ganges, eight Brahmins of Śaiva sect of different Goṭras were taken by a Cola king from Benares to his country, and were settled at the village of Mettapadi (Ṭalpagiri), in North Arcot District, Madras. In that village was installed the deity Rājanāṭha after whom the image was named Rājanāṭhapuram. They became divided into 21 families and gradually expanded into seventy at the date of that work. Then the story follows how Aruṇagirinātha in whose time it appears this work was written was refused the grant of a garden ground by Prauḍhaḍevarāya or Ḍevaraja II(1422-1448 A.D.), how in displeasure he went to Delhi and having pleased the King there Suratrāṇa by his erudition, he brought a letter to Praudhaḍevarāya and as a result of it the garden ground was donated to him as an Agrahāram.[5] From the family of Aruṇagirinātha came poets of the Court of Viāyānagar under successive kings and composed their edicts recorded in inscriptions.

1. *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 3244. For a full account, see paper by Lakshman Sarup in Proceedings of Fourth Oriental Conference II. 181.

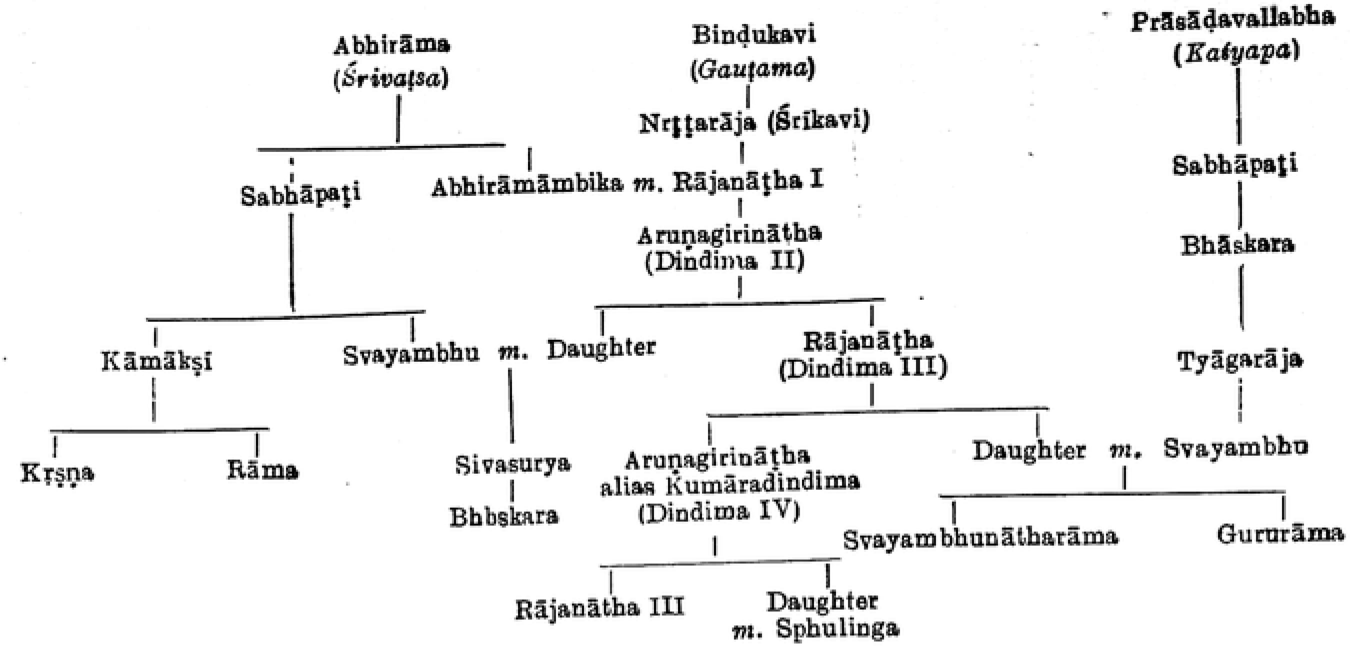
2. Acyuta ascended the throne in 1530 A.D.

3. *SVH*, 170

4. *TC*, II. 2462. Editted with translation and notes by T. Gopinatharow, *IA*, XLVII. 83, 83, 94 125. For a short account, see Veturi Prabhākara Śāstri's Śṛṇgāra Naiṣadha, Chapter V.

5. Prāsāḍavallabha of Kāśyapagoṭra, Bhāskara of Gauṭama goṭra, Rājanāṭha of Sāvarṇya goṭra, Subrahmaṇya of Śāṇḍilya goṭra, Jatāḍhareśa of Śrivaṭsagoṭra; Nilakaṇtha of Bhāradwāja goṭra, Somanāṭha of Goṭama (Samaga) goṭra and Mallikārjuna of Sankṛṭi goṭra. From the first family came Ṭyāgarāja.

On a collation of the dates of inscriptions and of the prologue to the play of Sphulinga, this geneology is evolved.



From the prologue to Somavalliyogānanda, it appears that Arunagirināṭha was the daughter's son of Dindimaprabhu and sister's son of Sabhāpaṭi and son's son of Śrikavi prabhu and from Sālvābhyudaya that this Srikaviprabhu was Naṭṭarāja. This shows Abhirāmāmbikā mother of Aruṇagiri, was wrongly given in Vibhagapaṭramāla as the daughter of Guruswāmi and Soman ātha is also wrongly stated to be Aruṇagirināṭha's mother's brother, because a statement by the poet himself is entitled to better credence that a work written three centuries later from memory and tradition.

135. Arunagirinatha I was the son of Rājanāṭha I and Abhirāmāmbikā of Gautamagoṭra of Sāmaśākha. His mother's father Abhirāma was a scholar in Śrikanthāgama and was known as Dindimaprabhu (Dindima I). Sabhāpaṭi was his mother's brother, and Nṛṭṭaraja, his father's father, known also Śrīkavi was the head of Purenḍra-agrahāram, a poet in eight languages and a victor of the poet Nāgana.[1] He married Yagnāmbikā.[2] His fame was always proclaimed by beat of *dındima* and he was therefore called Dindimakavisārvabhauma (Dindima II). He graced the court of Parudhaḍevarāya or Ḍevarāya II of Vijianagar (1422-1448 A.D.).[3] He vanquished Kavimalla in disputation. His Sommavalliyogānanda is a prahasana replete with humour, ridiculing the amorous overtures of an ascetic to a fallen married woman.[4]

136. Rajanatha II was Aruṇagirināṭha's son. He was also known as Dindimakavisārvabhauma (Dindima II). His fame was even greater than that of his father and extended to the kingdoms of Sera, Cola and Pāṇdya when he received honours of precedence. He married Ḍurgā. His proficiency in histrionics, languages and philosophy brought him new titles. He was a favourite of Sālva Narasimha, generalissimo of Kings of Vidyanagar, whose activities as such began in 1456 A.D. as the first of the Sālva dynasty.[5]

In grateful regard for his patron, he wrote SALUVABHYUDAYA,[6] a poem in 13 cantos, describing the achievements of his ancestors and himself. Salva invaded Kalinga and Daśārṇa and conquered the Bhamini Sultan Mohammad. He then proceeded northward conquering the Gajapaṭi kings and having visited Benares, he came back to Candragiri which he made his residence for the worship of Viṣṇu at

1. This information is taken from the prologue to Somavalliyogānanḍa, where Nṛṭṭarāja is also described as भल्लालरायकटककविकुलगर्वपर्वतपवे: ।

2. प्रचण्डतरकाहळघण्टाडिण्डिमादिरचितबिरुदघोषण: ॥

3. See *PSOC*, I. No. 128, 227; *SII*. 1; 79, 83, 162, 109 Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, 404; Virabhadrarow's *Andhrulacaritam*, III. 388; Andhrapatrika Annual Number VIII. 153. In *Mys. Arch. Reps.*, (1927), 26, dates for Praudha Praṭāpa Devaraya are given as 1419-1446 A.D. and Mallinatha is said to have lived in his court.

4. *TC*, II. 2276.

5. See *EI*, VII. 74 (edited by J. Ramayya Pantulu); Virabhadrarow's Andhrula caritam, III, 410.

6. Printed, Madras. For a short account, see *SVH*. xii, 30, 90. For extracts, see *DC*, XX. 7897.

Tirupati. There he ruled in all glory and greatness and there is a benediction that he may rule the world for all time.

The poem makes no mention of Narasimha's rule at Vijianagar. For many years he was only commander of the forces of Vijianagar under Mallikārjuna and his successors and it was probably because the last of the Sangama dynasty died issueless or became powerless that he assumed the reigns of Government and proclaimed himself king. It appears therefore that this poem was composed about 1480 A.D., while yet Narasimha was only a viceroy with his seat of Government at Candragiri.

137. Sivasurya. Abhirāma's son Sabhāpaṭi had a son Svayambhū and a daughter Kāmakoti or Abhirāmakāmākṣī.[1] Svayambhū married the daughter of Dindima II and his descendant was Śivasūrya, of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He wrote Pāndavābhuyuḍaya,[2] a poem in 8 cantos, on the story of Mahābāraṭa. His son BHASKARA was preceptor of King Halaghatti and wrote Vallīpariṇaya,[3] a play in five acts, staged at Jambunātha's festival at Tiruvānakkāval near Srirangam. Abhirāmakāmākṣī had two sons Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. In her Abhinava-Rāmābhyuḍaya, a poem in 24 cantos, she relates in exquisite verse the story of Rāma.[4]

138. Arunagirinatha II, Kumara Dindima or Dindima IV, was son of Rajanatha II. He lived at Parendra-agraharam and was patronised by Vīranarasimha of Viḍyānagar (1505-1509 A.D.) and Kṛṣhaḍevarāya (1509-1530 A.D.)[5] He was versed in many languages and bore the title Dindimakavisārvabhauma and Kavirājarāja. His Vīrabhadravijaya,[6] a dima, describes the creation of Vīrabhaḍra and the destruction of Ḍakṣa's sacrifice and was enacted at the festival of Rājanātha at Bhūpaṭirāyapuram.

139. Rajanatha III was Kumāradindima's son. His Bhāgavaṭacampu[7] was composed at the instance of king Acyuṭarāya of Vijianagar

1. These particulars are furnished by Vibhāgaraṭnamālā *supra*.

2. *TC*. IV. 5813.

3. *DC*. XXI. 8589. Bhāskara, author of Unmaṭṭa Raghava, was a contemporary of Viḍyāraṇya.

4. *TC*, IV. 5202.

5. *TC*, III. 2832.

6. Kṛṣṇadevarāya's conquests were recited by Kumāradindima in the presence of the king and Dhurjati embodied the recital in his Telugu poem Kṛṣṇarāyavijayam.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8256. For extracts, see *SVH*, 176.

(1530-1542 A.D.)[1] and describes the life of Kṛṣṇa. His ACYUTA-RAYABHYUDAYA[2] is a poem in twelve cantos. It begins with a short sketch of the reign of the earlier kings of the Tuluva (third) dynasty of Vijianagar tracing their descent from the Moon and rapidly traces the lives of Narsa and his sons Virānarasimha and Kṛṣṇadevarāya. On the death of the latter in 1530 A.D. Acyuṭarāya, his step-brother and son of Narasa, by his third wife Obalāmba became king. The main theme of the poem is a description of Acyuṭaraya's South Indian expedition, the object of which was the restoration of the Pāndya ruler to his dominions whence he was driven away to the King of Cera. The king visited several places of pilgrimage, Tirupati, Kalahasti, Kanchi and Madura and made a tour through Travancore and the West Coast. The poem closes with the seige of Bijapur and the victory over the Sultan and the king's triumphal entry into his capital.

140. Kumāradindima's daughter was married to Mallikārjuna or SPHULINGA KAVI. He was the son of Lakṣmaṇa and Sāviṭrī of Bhāra-ḍvājagoṭra. His father's father was Somanāṭha and was the desciple of Sabhapaṭiḍeśika. His SATYABHAMAPARINAYA in five acts describes the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Saṭyabhāma and was enacted at the festival at Mulanda.[3]

141. Besides the son Kumāradindima, Rājanāṭha II had a daughter who married Swayambhū, daughter's son of Rājanātha I and son of Ṭyāgarāja of Kāśyapagotra. Swayambhū had two sons Swayambhū-nāṭha and Gururāma. SWAYAMBHUNATHA or Guru Swayambhūnāṭha wrote Sankarānanḍacampū on the fight between Śiva and Arjuna as described by Bhāravi[4] and a poem Kṛṣṇavilāsa[5] in 14 cantos on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Among his distinguished ancestors, Gururāma mentions Aghoraśivaḍeśika, Prāsāḍavallabha, Ḍhakkāsabhāpaṭi and Bhāskara

1. *IA*, IV, 328, 330; V, 19; XXIII, 129; *P.S.O.C*, I. *No.* 130, 132; *EI*, I, 398; IV, 3; III, 147, 151. *EC*, Part I, 176; *As. Res.* XX, 26. For an account of his reign see Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, Ch. XIII.

2. For a full summary of its contents, see *SVH*, 103, 158. For the extant Inscription, see *DC*, XX 7637. Ed. (the first six cantos) Srirangam with an Introduction by K Balasubrahmanya Iyer and a commentary by R. V. Krishnama-carya. See *IA*, XXXVI, 352.

3. *TC*, III. 2953, where the poet's geneology is also given. There is another play of the same name by Kṛṣṇa of Garbhapura (*TC*, III. 2937). Aufrecht (*GCI*, I. 689) mentions a play of that name by Kṛṣṇakavīndra.

4. *DC*, XXI. 8303.

5. *TC*, III. 2825.

who wrote a Prasannakāvya. His Subhadra-Ḍhananjaya[1] in five acts relates the story of Subhāḍra's marriage and Raṭneśvaraprasāḍana,[2] play in five acts celebrates the marriage of Ratnacūda, with Raṭnavāli, daughter of Gandharva Vasubhūṭi, brought about by the good graces of God Raṭneśvara of Benares, whom the maiden propitiated by her devotion. Maḍanagopālavilāsa is a bhana on the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rāḍhā.[3] Hariścanḍracariṭa-campu narrates the story of Hariścanḍra. This work was written as he says on Monday in Tula of Nala of the Cycle after Kali 4709.[4]

142. Appayya Diksita was born at Adayapalam near Kāncī in the Kanyā month of Kali 4654 (1554 A.D.).[5] He was the son of Rangarāja of Bhāraḍvāja Goṭra.[6] For many years he lived at Vellore under the patronage of Chinna Bomma Bhupāla[7] by whom he was honoured with a shower of gold.[8] Later on he was invited to the Court of Penukonda by Emperor Venkataḍeva of Vijayanagar (1586-1613 A.D.) In the last year of his life he visited the Pandya country at the invitation of Tirumala Naik to settle some sectarian disputes at

1. *DC*, XXI. 8556.

2. *DC*, XXI. 8482.

3. *DC*, XXI. 8440.

4. *TC*, III. 2818.

5. See. T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's Introduction to Ganāvaṭaraṇa (*Kavyamala*, No. 76, Bombay), Śivānanḍa Yogis's Dīkṣiṭacariṭa and P. S. S. Sastri's Life of Appayya Dikṣiṭa (Madras).

6. In the introduction to Alankāra Canḍrikā (Venkatesvar Press, Bombay) it is said that Appayya Dīkṣiṭa was the grandfather of Venkaṭāḍhvari, the author of Viśvaguṇāḍarśa. This mistake originated in the similarity of the names. Venkatāḍhvari's grandfather was also called Appayya. This error received an apparent support from the circumstance that Venkaṭāḍhvari was the nephew of Ṭaṭārya, who was a contemporary of Appayya Dikṣiṭa. Venkatāḍhvari was of Āṭreya Goṭra and Appayya Dīkṣiṭa was of Bhāraḍvāja Goṭra. In the same introduction (i.e.) the colophon says श्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरीन्द्रवरदसूनो meaning thereby that the father's name was Varaḍa. This is a wrong reading for श्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिवरसूनोः (See *DC*, XXII. 8642).

7. See grants dated Saka 1488, 1471 (A.D. 1566, 1549.). Hultzsh *SII*, I. 69, 84 and grant dated Saka 1523 [IA. XIII. 127 (notes, 17)]. This Chinna Bomma was the son of Chinna Vira and father of Linga Lingamanayaka. This Chinna Bomma of Velur must be distinguished from another of the same name, who was the son of Nalabomma, the minister of Chokkanāṭha and the author of the Prakriyāmaṇiḍīpikā and Sangīṭarāghava (*BTC*, 61a).

8. On the valuable presents made by that king to Appayya Dīkṣiṭa, see Samarapungava's Tīrṭhayaṭrāprabanḍha Campu (*DC*, XXI. 8226) and *SVB*, 250.

Madura.[1] He was the tutor in Vedanta to the famous Bhottoji Dikṣita.[2] He was the first scholar that placed the Śrīkanṭha school of philosophy on a firm basis.[3] He was best in the Pūrva and Uttara Mimamsa. With his eleven sons well read and alive at his death, he passed away with pleasure at Cidambaram in 1626 A.D. at the age of seventy-two.[4] He is the reputed author of 104 works the range of which covers poetry, poetics, dialectics, philosophy etc.[5]

143. Among his poetical works are Ātmārpaṇaṭuṭi or Śivapancāśikā,[6] Āryāśaṭaka,[7] Daśakumāracariṭasangraha,[8] Pancaraṭnasṭava,[9] Śivakarṇāmṛṭa,[10] Vairāgyśaṭaka,[11] Bhakṭāmarasṭava,[12] Sānṭisṭava,[13]

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1. "In the year S. S. 1544, in Dunduthi year, the 17th of Masi month Muthu-Tirumalai Naicker came to Madura in order to be anointed (or installed) to receive the sceptre and other ensigns of royal authority. Having thus arranged the plan, the work was thus begun to be carried into execution at once on the 10th of Vyasi month, of Akshaya year during the increase of the moon. From that time forward as the master came duly to inspect the work, it was carried on with great care. As they were proceeding first in excavating the Teppakkulam they dug up from the middle a Ganapathi (or image of Ganesa) and caused the same to condescend to dwell in a temple built for the purpose. As they were placing the sculptured pillar of the Vasanta-mandapam and were about to fix the one which bore the representation of Yekapada-murthi they were opposed by the Vyshnavas. Hence a dispute arose between them and the Saivas, which lasted for six months and was carried in the presence of the Sovereign. Two arbitrators were appointed. Appa Dikshitar on the part of Saivas, and Ayya Dikshitar or Ayyan on the part of the Vaishnavas. They consulted Sanskrit authorities and made the Sastras agree; after which the pillar of Yekapada-murthi was fixed in its place." [Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts, II*, 149, 153],

2. See his Siddhanṭadīpaka.

3. His commentary Śivārkamaṇidīpika has a place equal to the Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja or Śankara.

4. It is said he uttered this last verse on his deathbed ;

चिदम्बरमिदं पुरं प्रथितमेव पुण्यस्थलं सुताश्च विनयोज्ज्वलाः सुकृतयश्च काश्चित्कृताः ।
वयांसि मम सप्ततेरुपरि नैव भोगे स्पृहा न किञ्चिदहमर्थये शिवपदं दिदृक्षे परम् ॥

5. So says Nīlakanṭha in his Sivalīlārṇava (I. 6). For his works, see *CC*, I. 22, II. 5, *SKC*, 365, *HR* II. xii.

6. *BTC*. 163.

7. *CC*, II. 5.

8. Printed Kavyamala I, Bombay, 91.

9. *Opp*, II. 7182 ; *HR*, II. 1039.

10. *HR*, III. 1724.

11. Printed Kavyamala I, Bombay.

12. *TC*, III. 2803 ; *HR*, III, 1723, 1924. There is a Bhakṭāmarasṭotra of Mānaṭunga [*PR*, VI. List of authors]. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bombay.

13. *Opp*, II. 7295.

Rāmāyaṇatātparyanirṇaya,[1] Rāmāyaṇatatparyasangraha,[2] Bharaṭasṭava,[3] Rāmāyaṇasārasamgraha,[4] Rāmāyaṇasārasṭava,[5] Varaḍarājasṭava or Varaḍarājāṣṭaka, Āḍiṭyasṭoṭraratna,[6] Śivakāmisṭavaraṭna,[7] Śivamahimākalikāsṭava.[8]

He has written commentaries on Veḍānṭaḍeśika's poems, on Govinḍa Ḍīkṣiṭa's Harivamśasāracariṭa,[9] on Kṛṣṇamiśra's Prabodhacanḍroḍaya[10] and a play Vasumaṭīciṭrasenavilāsa.[11]

His Ciṭramīmāmsa is a disquisition on the nature of Alankāras and runs to the end of Aṭiśayokṭi.[12] His Vṛṭṭivārṭika is a treatise on the three modes of signification.[13] His Kuvalayānanḍa is a standard work on the subject of the figures of speech[14] and is designed as a commentary

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1. *Opp*, II. 4884 ; *HR* III. 1019.
2. *Opp*, II. 5411, 9879, 10355 ; *HR*, II. 1009.
3. *HR*, II. 1040.
4. *Opp*, II. 7266 ; *HR*, II. 1982.
5. *CC*, II. 22.
6. *HR*, III. 1733.
7. *HR*, II. 3057, III. 2315.
8. *HR*, II. 1025.
9. *CC*, I. 22.
10. *Taylor*, I. 222, *Opp*, II. 2070, 3712.
11. *Mys*. 1.
12. Ed. Bombay, Kavyamala No. 38. This was criticised by Jagannāṭha, in his Chiṭramīmāmsākhandana. There is a commentary on the Ciṭramīmāmsa called Suḍhā by Dharānanḍa son of Ramabala of Vasista gotra, born at Bharatpur probably of the 18th century. He also wrote a commentary on the Mṛiṭcakatika. See *DC*, XXII. 8658.
13. Ed. Bombay, Kavyamala.
14. Ed. Bombay, Kavyamala. For translation into English, see *Sah*. VIII. 5. VII. 67. The colophon says that the work was written at the direction of King Venkatapati of Penukonda. There are commentaries on it :—

(i) *Alankāracanḍrikā by Vaiḍyanāṭha*, son of Taṭsaṭ Ramabhatta (l.c.) Bombay. He was a Desasta brahmin of Verula in the Maharastra country—probably of the 18th century. *DC*, XXII. 8646. He wrote also a commentary on Kāvyapraḍīpa of Govinḍa, *DC*, XXII. 8621.

(ii) *Rasikaranjani by Gangāḍharāḍhwarin*. He says that Appaya Dīkṣiṭa wrote more than a hundred works. This commentator is referred to by Appākavi, in his Śṛngāramanjari Sāhajiyam, composed in the reign of the Tanjore King Shahji (1684-1711) and probably was his contemporary.

(iii) *Camaṭkāra Canḍrikā by Chilakamarti Tirumalācārya*, son of Rāmānujācārya of Rāmaṭīrṭha village near Kotipalli in Godavari District (*TC*, II 2695). He has also composed a commentary on the Praṭāparuḍrīya (Ibid, 2651).

(iv) Alankārasuḍha of Nagoji Bhatta (*K*, 98, 104).

(v) Kāvyamanjari of Nyāyavāgīśa Bhattācarya, (*NP*, II. 122 ; *B*, 342).

on Jayaḍeva's Canḍrāloka.[1] The illustrations are not his own, but the treatise is elementary for beginners and scientific for elaborate commentaries. His Vairāgya-śaṭaka forms the last work of his life and reflects best the sentiment of peace and serenity.

144. Among the desciples of Appayya Ḍīkṣiṭa was Kālahasṭī, who wrote the Sanskrit poem Vasucariṭra.[2] It is doubtful whether the original poem was in Sanskrit or in Telugu. It is dedicated to Goddess Kāmākṣī of Kāncī.

(vi) by Mathuranātha (N, 100, 603).
(vii) by Āsāḍhāra (*PR*, I. 114 ; *BP*, 265.)
(viii) Called Buḍharanjanī (*TC*, II. 1091 ; *SR*, II. 81)
(ix) Sankhyāvat of Kuravi family (*TC*, IV, 5651.)

There is a criticism, Kuvalayānanḍakhandana by Bhīmasena of Jodhpur (*Mitra*, X).

1. Some doubt is at times expressed, but without foundation, that Canḍrāloka was also a part of Kuvalayānanḍa and written by Appaya Dīkṣiṭa himself. See Introduction to Edition with Camaṭkāracandrikā (l.c.)

2. It is called a Campu. See A. E. Gough's *Records*, 144. Āndhrapaṭrika Annual number (1917-8), 225.

[NOTE ON VIDYARANYA]

Alankārasuḍhāniḍhi[1] is attributed to Viḍyāranya. On the identity of Viḍyāranya with Māḍhava, there appears a doubt, for there is an indication of a contrary view that Śāyana[2] and Māḍhava composed Veḍabhāṣya and other works at the behest of Viḍyāraṇya. The following passage [*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1932), pp, 103-7] from Viḍyāraṇyakālajnāna is instructive :[3]

" (Praise of the sage Vyasa). I bow to Vidyatirtha, the Mahesvara whose breath is the Vedas and who created the whole Universe from the Vedas. I, Vidyaranya by name, am telling briefly what happened to me while I was in the Vindhya mountain. May all people listen attentively. O guru, lord of gods, my master, I am going to Benares to clear my doubts in the commentaries on the four Vedas. May you be pleased.

One morning, while dwelling in the Vindhya mountain, I met a Brahmarakshasa named Sringin of Prisni-gotra suffering from thirst and hunger and emaciated. I asked him who he was and where he was and why he was wandering in the forest alone and why he was so emaciated. He explained that it was due to his having received a gift called Tulapurusha from Rama in the age of Treta and not having performed the requisite penance. I however pleaded my inability to help him with food since I was an ascetic. Sringin replied that he would enable me to meet the sage Vyasa from whom I could get all the necessary miraculous powers···············I followed the directions of Sringin and met Vyasa in the disguise of a hunter (kirata) leading four dogs (which were really the Vedas) and proceeding to

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1908), 27.

2. See para 125 *supra.*

3. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1932), 103-7. According to this the foundation of the City was in Saka 1258, Dhatri. Vaisakha Suddha Saptami, Makha Nakshatra. Owing to faulty transcription, the readings differ here and there, but the following verse seems to be in order:

दिक्शरद्वयसंख्याके शकाब्दे सुसमाहिते ।
धात्वब्दे सितसप्तम्यां वैशाखे मासि भास्करे ।
सुलग्ने शुभनक्षत्रे मखाख्ये च विशेषतः ॥

"In Guruvamśakāvya, the same date is given, but the week day is added as Sunday. In an inscription quoted by Mr. B. Suryanarayanarao in his History of Vijayanagar the week day is read by him as Saumyavāra (Wednesday). But in the year, month and tithi, all concur. On a collation of the constellation and tithi, it appears that *Vaisakhe masi Bhaskare* indicates that it was Vaiśākha (solar, not lunar), meaning Vrsabha month. This is equivalent to Friday, the 17th May 1336 A.D."

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Benares. I told him that I knew who he was through Sringin. Vyasa took me with Sringin to Badari and taught me how to acquire the *siddhis* like Anima (miraculous powers attributed to yogis in India). He also instructed me in the knowledge of all srutis, smritis, puranas, itihasas, arthasastras, kamasastras (erotic science), and the 64 samhitas of Siva and enabled me to understand the events of the past, to know what is going on at present and to foretell what would happen in the future. To enable Sringin to be fed to his heart's content the sage Vyasa directed me, after initiating me into the mystic lore of Srichakra, to construct a city as had been done by Maya and Visvakarma for the Devi after she killed Bhandasura and to set up a throne there.[1]

After the sage disappeared·········I went in the company of Sringin to Kishkindha and worshipped god Virupaksha on the bank of the Tungabhadra. The god bade me re-build in accordance with the *tantras* the city named Vijaya (Vijayanagar) which was once one of the eight great cities and measured two yojanas in circumference and in the middle of which lay the hill Matanga and which had disappeared in the course of time. Hearing this, I stopped for a time in a cave of the Matanga hill.

During this time, two persons named Sayana and Mayana came to me and begged me to bless them with offspring. But I told them that they were not destined to get children. At this they became sad and begged me to make use of the large sums of money earned by them for performing Dharma (charities) and enable them to attain on death the regions reserved for those who have sons. Thus entreated I made them my disciples and I composed and got composed by them works named Sayaniya and Madhaviya dealing with various sastras.

" Vidyaranya was a desciple of Vidyasankara called also Vidyabirtha. He calls himself a follower of Sankaracharya. He was the author of numerous works on various sastras which are attributed to the brothers Sayana and Madhava, including Vedabhashya. He was given to much travelling and went to Benares to meet the sage Vyasa to get his Vedabhashya revised. On the way, he met Sringin, a Brahmarakshasa in the Vindhya Mountain. From Vyasa, Vidyaranya learnt all the mystic lore and on going to Hampe to pay his respects

1. Details about Śrichakra are given in pp. 4–19 (*ibid*)
पीठेष्वष्टसु संख्याता नगरी विजयाह्वया । आयामविस्तारतया योजनद्वयसम्मिता ॥
मतङ्ग इति तन्मध्ये राजते सर्वकामदः । सा पुरी कालसंसर्गादिदानीं क्षयमागता ॥
संशोध्य सर्वतन्त्राणि भूयोऽपि नगरीमिमाम् । सम्यङ्निर्मायतां मे त्वमन्नदानं प्रदापय ॥

to god Virupaksha he was bidden to revive the ancient city of Vijianagar which had disappeared and to set up a kingdom there. This would enable the god Virupaksha to receive proper worship and offerings and help Sringin to be fed to his heart's content. We find a temple for Sringin called Malayala-brahma set up near the Matt in Sringeri and it is said that without propitiating him no entertainment or feast could be organised at Sringeri.[1] Vidyaranya accordingly stopped at Hampe where he met later Harihara and Bukka, who had been defeated by the Ballala king. With his blessings they attained success. The spot for the construction of a capital city was indicated by a hare turning on hounds during a royal hunt south of the Tungabhadra. Vidyaranya after careful study and calculations built a city there and installed Harihara on the throne there. He also foretold the history of that city and kingdom, its rise, fall, and revival under Vira Vasanta to Harihara and this account was compiled under his orders by the ascetic Bharatikrishna. The first three Kings at Vijayanagar ruled with his favour. The first thirteen Kings were devotees of god Virupaksha and had deep reverence for Vidyaranya and his disciple Kriyasakti.[2]

We may note here that the story of Vidyaranya's meeting with Vyasa is also found in a Sanskrit poem called Guruvamsa composed about 1740 A.D. giving a history of the Sringeri Matt.[3] There Vyasa is said to have assumed the disguise of a Swapacha (low caste man). The story of Sringerin and of Madhava and Sayana is also given in the same work. They are called ministers there.[4] But it has to be remembered that Sayana and Madhava only acknowledge Vidyatirtha and not Vidyaranya as their guru. Moreover, Sayana had several sons as stated in Alankarasudhanidhi.[5] That Madhava was different from

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), 16.

2. विद्यारण्यमुनीन्द्रस्य तच्छिष्येण तथैव तु ।
क्रियाशक्त्याह्वयेनैव कृतानुग्रहशालिनः ।
विरूपाक्षस्य भक्तास्ते त्रयोदश नरेश्वराः ॥

" Kriyasakti was a Salva teacher of the Kalamukha School. Madhava-mantri, Governor of Chandragutti, etc., speaks of him as his guru in 1347, *Mys. Arch. Rep*, (1929), p. 172. Inscriptions down to Dandapalli plates of 1410, E.I. XIV speak of Kriyasakti as the guru of Harihara II, Muddadandesa, Vitthana Vodeyar and Vijayabhupati, etc. Apparently there must have been two gurus of the same name at this period."

3. *Mys, Arch. Rep.* (1928), 15,

4. *Guruvamsa*, V. 44.

5. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1908), 27.

Vidyaranya and that Bharatikrishna was a disciple or junior of Vidyaranya and Vidyaranya was the disciple not of Bharatikrishna but of Vidyatirtha and that he was already an ascetic before the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom are facts of great interest to be gleaned from Vidyaranyakalajnana. The poem Guruvamsa makes Bharatikrishna, a younger brother of Vidyaranya before he became a sanyasi but he is said to have become a sanyasi earlier.[1] The journey of Vidyaranya to Benares and his sojourn there, not before 1336 but very much later is referred to in a Kadita inscription in the Sringeri Matt of 1380.[2] Inscriptions recognising Vidyaranya as the head of the Sringeri Matt are dated between 1375 and 1386.

As regards Vidyatirtha or Vidyasankara he is called Vidyatirtha in inscriptions[3] and the works of Sayana and Madhava. Vidyasankara was the name of the linga set up over his tomb and hence that of the temple at Sringeri enshrining the linga. However in later literature, he is called Vidyasankara. Vidyatirtha seems to have been different from a Vidyasankara who died about 1388,[4] while Vidyatirtha must have died about 1356, long before the accession of Vidyaranya at Sringeri about 1375. What relation he had to Vidyasankara who was the guru of Naraharimantri, governor of Goa in 1391, cannot be determined.[5] Probably he was different.

Bharatikrishnatirtha is called Bharatitirtha in inscriptions and contemporary literature.[6] He seems to have set up the Vidyasankara temple at Sringeri in memory of his guru Vidyatirtha before 1380. He is said to have died in 1374.[7] The first inscription of his successor in the Sringeri Matt (Vidyaranya) so far discovered is that at Kudupa, South Canara District, dated 1375.[8] But though Vidyaranya succeeded him to the pontificate at Sringeri he seems to have been a junior to Vidyaranya as indicated in the Sringeri copper plate grant of 1386 A. D. and the Kadita of 1380.[9]"

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1. *Guruvamsa*, IV, 22.
2. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), 57.
3. *EC*, VI Sringeri I.; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), 57, *EC*, IV. Yedatore, 46 etc.
4. *FC*, X Mulbagal 11.
5. *Ep. Ind.* XXI p. 17 Chaudala grant.
6. *EC*, VI Sringeri of 1346; Sringeri Kadita of 1380. *Mys. Arch. Rep*, (1916) 57. Parasara-smriti-vyakhya, etc.
7. *Mys. Arch. Rep*, (1916), No. 460.
8. Madras Epigraphical Report (1929), No. 460.
9. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), pp. 57-58.

CHAPTER V

Mahakavyas—(*contd.*)

145. The Naik Kings of Tanjore.[1] Chinna Cheva, son of Ṭimma, was a great warrior. He married Mūrṭiambā, younger sister of Ṭirumalāmba, the queen of Emperor Acyuṭarāya of Vijianagar (1530-1542 A.D.). It is said that the province of Tanjore was granted free to Mūrṭiamba as a wedding gift by the Emperor. This Chinnacheva Naik became the first ruler of Tanjore. He ruled about 1549-1572 A.D. He built the big gopuram and tank at Tiruvannamalai, the Ḍhvaja-sṭambha at Vriḍḍhācalam and compound wall and steps to the temple of Śrīśailam.

Cinna Cevva's son was Acyuṭa or Acyuṭappa Naik. He ruled about 1572-1614 A.D. He married Mūrṭiambā and by her had a son Raghunāṭha. Raghunāṭha Naik was installed on the throne during the lifetime of his father about 1614 A.D. Raghunātha married Kalāvaṭī and his son Vijiarāghava succeeded him and ruled till 1662 A.D. Vijiarāghava describes his ancestors in his Ṭelugu poem Raghunāṭhā bhyuḍaya.[2]

Chokkanatha Naik, the ruler of Madura, applied to Vijayaraghava for the hand of one of the daughters and as the request was refused, Chokkanatha went to war and in that war Vijayaraghava and his elder son were killed. One of his queens managed to hand her little son Cengamaladas to a nurse with all her jewels and the young prince was removed and secretly brought up by a wealthy brahmim at Negapatam. The Sultan of Bijapur was requested for help and he sent Ekojee, the son of his minister Shahaji, to march against Tanjore, which was then under Alagiri. Alagiri was defeated and Chengamala Das was restored to the throne of his father. In the meantime the Sultan of Bijapur was killed in battle by Aurangazeb. By the enemies of Chengamala, Ekoji was induced to capture Tanjore and as Ekojee advanced Chenga-

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1. See the Telugu work, *History of Tanjore Andhra Kings* extracted in *SVH*, 319, 336. For the geneology, see *SVH*, 254. See also T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's Tamil pamphlet *Naik Princes of Tanjore*, Tanjore District Manual, 950; *Naik Kingdom of Madura*. (*IA*, XLII-XLVI); Danver's *Portuguese in India*, II. *Ch.* viii. The geneology is given in Rajacūḍāmaṇi's Rukmiṇikalyāṇa (*DC*, XX. 7848).

2. For extracts, see *SVH*, 254-266.

mala fied away and was no more heard of. Thus came in the Maharatta Kingdom of Tanjore.

146. Raghunatha was the greatest of the Naik Kings of Tanjore. He ruled between 1614 to (?) . He was a great scholar and patron of letters.[1] He constructed many temples and granted new Agraharas.[2] His minister Govinda Dīkṣiṭ was a scholar and politician. His preceptor was Kumāratāṭācārya of Kanci.[3] His queen Rāmabhadrāmbā considered him Rāma incarnate and wrote a poem Raghunāṭhābhyudaya in his glory.[4]

He was a poet and musician and discovered a new type of Vīṇa called after his name. His Sangīṭasuḍhā is a comprehensive work on music, including instrumental music and dancing. In the introductory verses, there is much useful historical information.[5]

His Bhāraṭasuḍhā embraced dancing. Among his other works are Pārijāṭaharaṇa, Valmīkicariṭa, Acyuṭendrābhyuḍaya, Gajendramokṣa, Nalābhyuḍaya and Rukmini-Kṛṣṇa-vivāha, Yakṣagāna, Rāmāyaṇasārāsangraha.[6]

Kṛṣṇakavi who in his rhetorical work, Ragunāthabhūpāliya, in eight chapters has illustrations in praise of Raghunātha.[8]

147. Madhuravani, whose real name is not known, flourished in the Court of the King Raghunāṭha Naik of Tanjore who came to the throne about 1614 A.D. His son Vijaya Rāghava Naik ruled till 1662 A.D. In 14 cantos she wrote a poem on the story of Rāmāyaṇa in measures as graceful as the author's extant name. Her description

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1. See *SVH*, 319 and Introduction. Danver's Portuguse in India, II. *Ch.* VIII. Tanjore District Manual, 750. *SVH*, 267.

2. See Govinda Dikshita's Sāhiṭya Suḍhā.

3. He was the son of Venkatācārya, of the famous family of Kāncī. He wrote the Pārijāṭanāṭaka a drama in five acts, the plot of which is based on the story of the bringing of the Pārijāṭa flower from Indra's garden, by Kṛṣṇa to please his beloved Saṭyabhāmā (*TC*, III. 2374). His life in described in a poem by Rangasami Tāṭācārya (Printed, Kumbakonam).

4. *Tanj. Cat.*, IV, 2638.

5. *TC*, IV. 4568. There is a Sangīṭasuḍhā by Bhīma Narenḍra, *Oudh*. X. 12.

6. These are given in Govinda Dīkṣiṭas Sāhiṭyasuḍhā, see *SVH*, 287 ; *BC*, XXI. 8379.

7. *Tanj. Cat*, VI. 2634.

8. *TC*, I. 896. There is a commentary on it by Sudhīndrayaṭi, pupil of Vijayenḍraṭīrṭha, written at the instance of King Raghunāṭha (*TC*, III. 4037).

of good poetry is lovely.[1] In the 1st canto she thus describes the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed: Once when the Prince Raghunatha-Bhupa was seated on his throne surrounded by the accomplished court-ladies, one of them sang verses from the beautiful Andhra-Rāmāyaṇa composed by the Prince himself; while another complimented him for his untiring devotion to God Sri Rama. This set the Prince thinking on Sri Rama, and he considered within himself as follows: "Many are the stories of Vishnu; and amongst them, it is Rama's story that serves as nectar to me. Though enjoyed thousands of times, it seems to me ever fresh and pleases me most. Hundreds of ladies are assembled here, who are skilled in composing original Sanskrit and Telugu works. Who amongst these could best render my Andhra Ramayana into Sanskrit verse. With such thoughts, the Prince retired from the Court. God Sri Rama appeared to him that night in a vision and said—"I understand what is now uppermost in your mind. Give up all anxiety in the matter. Know that the lady, whom you have honoured with the title Madhura Vani, is the ablest of all the Court-ladies." Next day when the Court assembled, he called Madhura Vani to his side and related to her the vision he had the previous night, and directed her to bring out an excellent work on Sri Rama, which shall be replete with beautiful alankaras (figures of speech) and rasas (emotions) in language that is charming and melodious." She replied—"With the aid of one (yourself) that always has Sri Rama at heart, I can say the work is achieved." About the end of the 1st canto, there is a lively description of her royal patron and his splendid court.[2]

148. Govinda Dikṣita[3] was a brahmin of Vāsiṣṭha Gotra. Nāgāmbā was his wife. Yagnanārāyaṇa and Venkatamakhin were his sons. He lived mostly at Tirunagesvaram and Pattesvaram. He was the prime minister of the Tanjore Kings, Chevvappa (1549-1572 A.D.). Acyuṭa (1577-1614 A.D.) and Raghunāṭha (1614 A.D.). At Pattesvaram

1. सङ्ख्यावतां सर्वपथीनधीभिस्संशोधिता चेत्कविता कवीनाम् ।
कस्तूरिकाचन्दनकुङ्कुमाद्यैरुद्वर्तिताङ्गी युवतीव दीप्येत् ॥

मध्येमणीभित्त्यनुबिंबितं स्वं मत्वा रमां यत्र विनन्तुकामा ।
करे तदीये कमलं तदानीमनीक्षमाणा त्रपते नताङ्गी ॥

2. See *Mys. OML. Sup.* 10. There is a brief account of it, by Narasimhiengar in the Indian Review.

3. For an elaborate account of his life, see N. K. Venkatesan on Govinda Dikṣita, *AHQ*, II. 220-241.

the images of his wife and himself in his State garb are seen still standing, to whom the ardent devotee pays his regard. At home his life as a brahmin was pious and simple and in office his greatness as a statesman and administrator has become proverbial in South India. The worthy friends Raghunaṭha and Govinḍa, King and Minister, have been well described thus :

त्रिनामाद्यन्त्यनामानौ महीक्षिद्दीक्षिताबुभौ ।
शास्त्रे शस्त्रे च निपुण बाहवेषु हवेषु च ॥

He was proficient in Aḍvaiṭi and was known Aḍviṭācārya. Himself a scholar and author, he was a patron of letters. He admired Appayya Ḍīkṣiṭa and requested him to write a commentary on Kalpaṭaru. Numberless are grants of agraharams made by his kings at his instance and the several mandapas and bathing ghats visible along the Kaveri banks are monuments of his administration.

Govinḍa had eight sons and a daughter. "There is a tradition that his daughter died of Rājaḍṛṣti (the look of the king). One day when the king paid a visit to the Great Minister at his residence, Govinḍa Ḍikṣiṭa's accomplished daughter took the harathi to the king, as is the custom on such au occasion. The king was naturally pleased with the accomplished lady, but unfortunately she died, it is said, afterwards by the evil effect of the look of the king. It is said also that one of his sons was an expert player on Vina. The king, it is stated, gave away all his royal ornaments to that young son, but a few hours afterwards he died of the effect of Rājaḍṛṣṭi. Tradition says that it was then that Govinḍa Ḍīkṣiṭa pronounced a curse on his clan, that wealth and beauty should not adorn his children at any time and the members of the Dikṣhita's clan still believe in the curse. His religious devotion has left several institutions in the land which are bound to keep his fame and name green in our memories for ages to come. One story is enough to show how Govinda Dikshita was ever ready to help all to the best of his ability—one day while he was taking a walk he saw a young man uttering a sloka and ardently praying to the Sun for his grace. The Dikshita approached the young man and heard him uttering a sringara sloka (a piece of poetry containing sringara rasa or element of love) and not a song of devotion as he thought it was. On asking the young man, the Dikshita was told that the young man, desiring to be married and well established in life, had appraised a guru of his desire, that that Guru had given him that sloka for prayer to the sun, and that he has

since then been continually praying to the sun with that sloka, not knowing anything as to what it meant. The Dikshita heard him and was amused. Seeing the young man's ardent devotion and sincerity, the Dikshita took the young man with him and got him married and well established in life. In social matters Govinda Dikshita appears to have been a permanent court of arbitration. One description at Pattesvaram shows how the class of weavers known as Patunulkara always went to him to settle all family disputes among them. Even now, when difficulties arise among this class of people they go to Patteswaram and in the presence of the image of Govinda Dikshita settle their differences. Govinda Dikshita was an authority in Dharma Sastra. He was a true Brahmin and performed all the sacrifices enjoined in the Vedas. He was a master of politics and he steered the ship of state very successfully and gloriously for nearly three quarters of a century. At the end he gave up all his estate, palace etc. to God and resigned all Karma-phala (the fruit of his actions) and had for his Vibhava or wealth only his Advaita Vidya and realised his Atma. He gave up all and in the last days of his life, he retired and spent his time in Thapas in the Sannadhi of Mangalambika at Kumbakonam as is popularly believed and left the mortal coil to evolve from the prison house of mortal life and join the great Rishis of Aryavarta in the regions of immortality. Thus passed out of sight this illustrious sage of the sixteenth century. Govinda Dikshita was a true hero while he lived and became a God after his death. As has been said at the out-set, Govinda Dikshita is now worshipped as a God in the form of Linga at Kumbakonam and at Tiruvadi and as an image at Patteswaram. He has beside him at Patteswaram his consort, his Dharma Patni Nagamba, the two standing there today as if to illustrate the famous line of Milton. He for god only, she for god in him.' "[1]

149. Among Govinḍa's works[2] are Sāhiṭyasuḍhā[3] which describes in exquisite poetry the history of his masters Acyuṭa and Raghunāṭha. Venkatamakhi in his Caṭurḍandiprakāśikā says that his father wrote a work on music Sangīṭasuḍhāniḍhi and a commentary on Sunḍarakānda of Rāmāyaṇa.

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1. N. K. Venkatesan, *l.c.* 240.

2. Govindamantram of Sānḍilyagoṭra, who wrote the poem Harivamsāsāracarita was in the Kondavidu court and was a different author. There is a commentary on it by Appayya Dīkṣiṭa (*Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2686).

3. *SVH*, 267.

150. Govinda has two sons Yagnanārāyaṇa and Venkateśvara or Venkatamakhi.[1] Venkatamakhi was tutor to Nīlakantha and author of Sāhiṭyasāmrājyakāvya, Caṭurḍandiprakāśikā[2] and Vārṭikābharaṇa.

The other son Yagnanārāyaṇa[3] was an all round scholar and of special fame in poetry. He was patronised also by Raghunāṭha of Tanjore (under whom he also studied) and was presented with many jewels as a mark of his appreciation. His Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara,[4] a poem of which 13 cantos are now recovered, and Raghunāṭhavilaśa[5] a play in 5 acts, and Raghunāṭhabhūpavijaya, a poem, describe the greatness of the Tanjore Nayak family and of the Raghunātha's conquest over an island near Ceylon.[6] He wrote a commentary on Venkateśvara's Ciṭrabanḍharāmāyaṇa.[7]

151. Srinivasa Diksita (Ratnakheta) was the son of Śrī Bhavaswāmi[8] and grandson of Kṛṣṇa. He was sixth in descent from Śrī Bhavaswāmi, the author of the Bhāṣya, and of Viśvāmiṭra Gotra. He had three sons Keśava, Arṭhanārīśvara and Rājacudāmaṇi. Pleased with his description of an evening horizon, the king of Chola (Naik of Gingi) called him Raṭnakheṭa[9] and so he is known to this day. He was a contemporary of Appayya Ḍīkṣita and Govinda Ḍīkṣiṭa. He bore the titles Sadbhāṣacaṭura and Aḍvaiṭaviḍyācārya, Abhinava-Bhavabhūṭi, and Ḍanṭiḍyoṭiḍivāpraḍīpa. He was a prolific writer and of versatile learning. Besides his works on philosophy and other sciences, he is

1. See Int. to Gangāvaṭaraṇa (l c).
2. On this work, see chapter of a Sangiṭa (music) *post*.
3. The identification of this author with Yagneśvara, author of Alaṅkārarāghava and Alankārasuryodaya (*BTC*, 54) is wrong.
4. *SVH*, 269 (where a summary is given). See Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara of Dharmasuḍhi is a different work on rhetoric.
5. *Tanj. Cat*, VIII. 3486. Printed *Sah*, XX.
6. Rāghavenḍravijaya of Nārāyaṇa (a poem in 4 cantos) says that Venkatanātha alias Rāghavenḍraṭirṭha defeated Yagnanārayaṇa in disputation and made him undergo cakrānkaṇa (*SVH*, 252).
7. *BTC*, 158.
8. Also known as Lakṣmi Bhavasvāmi. See *DC*, XXII 8617. His name is also given as Lakṣmiḍhara in *DC*, XXII, 8265.
9. सन्ध्यासन्धुक्षिताम्भोधरनळिकगणादुद्गतान् सीसखण्डा-
स्ताराकारान्निरोद्धुं शशिरविकपटाद्बिभ्रतो रत्नखेटौ ।
अन्योन्यं युध्यमानावुदयचरमभूभृत्प्रवीराविति द्रा-
गुक्त्याख्यातापराख्यः क्षितिपतिवचसा रत्नखेटाध्वरीति ॥

Balayagneśvara,

said to have composed 18 dramas and 60 poems.[1] Siṭikanthavijaya is a poem describing the deeds of Śiva. Bhaimīpariṇaya is a drama describing the marriage of Ḍamayanṭi.[2] Bhaiṣmīpariṇaya is a campu on the marriage of Rukmini.[3] Sāhiṭyasanjīvinī, Bhavoḍbheḍa and Rasārṇava, Alankarakanstubha, Kāvyaḍarpaṇa. Kāvyasārasangraha, Sāhiṭyasūkṣmasaraṇi are works on rhetoric.[4] Bhāvanāpuruṣoṭṭma,[5] composed at the instance of Surappa, the Naik king of Gingi,[6] is an allegorical play.

152 Rajacudamani Diksita was the son of Raṭnakheta Śrīnivāsa and Kāmākṣī. Arṭhanārīśvara (Śeṣaḍriśekhara) and Keśava[7] were his step brothers. He was patronised by King Raghunāṭha of Tanjore on whom he wrote a poem Raghunathabhūpavijaya.[8] He was the worthy son of his father in literary merit. Besides works on Mīmāmsa and other sciences, he wrote poems and plays and on poetics. His Ṭanṭraśikhāmaṇī a commentary on Jaimini's aphorisms was composed in 1636 A.D.[9] His Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa is a poem in 10 cantos on the marriage of Rukmiṇī.[10] Śankarābhyuḍaya, of which only 6 cantos are available, describes the life of Jagaḍguru Śankara.[11] Among other poems are Bhāraṭacampū, Kamsavaḍha, Vṛṭṭaraṭnāvali, (in imitation of Śankara's Ṭārāvali), Sāhiṭyasāmrājya and Ciṭramanjarī and Rāmakaṭhā.[12] He wrote a Yamaka poem Raṭnakhetavijaya on the life

1. For a list of his works, Balayagneśvara's commentary on Rukmiṇi-Kalyāṇa of Rājacudāmani written in 1833 A.D. and quoted in introduction to Gangāvaṭaraṇa (*Kavyamala*).

2. *Rice*, 234, 236. There is another play of the same name by Venkatācārya, *Rice*, 236.

3. *DC*, XXI. 8264.

4. *CC*, I. 31, 102. *Rice* 282, 244. *Opp*. 3101 ; *BTC*, 55.

5. *Opp*. 3429 ; *BTC*. 170 *CC*, I. 407 (The author's name is here wrongly given as Śrinivāsa Tirṭha Āṭiraṭrayajvan.

6. *SVH*, 272. Surappa was the son of Pota, who assisted King Tirumala I and his successor Śriranga against Mohammadan invasions after the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, 214 and South Arcot Dt. Manual.

7. Keśava's son was Paṭanjali and Paṭanjali's son was Rāmacanḍra who wrote Rāmācanḍracampu (*HR*, II. vii.)

8. For his works, see his Kāvyaḍarpaṇa (*DC*. XXII. 8615) *HR*. I. ix, *CC*.

9. Ed. *TSS*, with introduction by T. Ganapati Sastri.

धीमान्मान्ये शकस्याब्देहायने चेश्वराभिधे ।
श्रावणे मासि नवमे पूर्णस्तन्त्रशिखामणिः ॥

10. *DC*, XXI. 7848. Printed, Adyar, Madras with a valuable introduction by T. R. Chintamani.

11. Printed *Sah*, Vols. 17-18.

12. This is mentioned in Kāvyaḍarpaṇa.

of his father, a poem with treble meaning on the stories of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Pāndava (Rāghava-Yādava-Pāndavīya) and a work (in prose ?) Manjubhāṣiṇī with praṭyakṣaraśleṣa, on the story of Rāma, and Yuddhakānda of Bhoja's Rāmāyṇacampū in a day.[1]

Among his plays are Śṛngārasarvasva, a bhana,[2] Ānandarāghava[3] in 5 acts, on the whole story of Rāma from marriage to coronation, and Kamalinīkalahamsa, in 4 acts, on the marriage of Kalahamsa with Kamalinī, daughter of Kamalākara, who was rescued from a stork.[4] These plays are stated to have been staged at the Court of Raghunāṭha at Tanjore and during his visit to Cidambara.

In his Kāvyadarpaṇa, a treatise on rhetoric, he cites his Alaṅkāra-cudāmaṇi.[5]

153. To the Court of Raghunāṭha belonged KRSNADHAVARIN or Kṛṣṇadīkṣiṭa or Ayyādīkṣiṭa. In his Naiṣadhapārijāṭa he related the stories of Nala and Pārijāṭaharaṇa at a time[6] and in his Raghunāṭha-bhūpālīya, he wrote on poetics, wtth illustratious in praise of his patron.[7]

MRTYUNJAYA was the son of Ayya Dīkṣiṭa and was daughter's son of Raṭnakheta Śrīnivāsa Diksiṭa. His son Rajacūdāmaṇi Dīkṣiṭa was his Guru. In his Pradyumnoṭṭaracariṭa in 11 cantos he relates the story of Pradyumna's marriage with the daughter of demon King of Vajrapuri.[8] Mṛṭyunjaya's son Ananṭanārāyaṇa wrote Gīṭasānkara, a musical poem like Gīṭagovinda.[9]

154. **Nilakantha** was the son of Nārāyaṇa and Bhūmidevī and grandson of Accāṭikṣiṭa, brother of Appayya Dīkṣiṭa. He was known as

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1. Edited *IHQ*, VI. No. 4 by T. R. Chintamani.

2. This is quoted in his Kāvyadarpaṇa. There is another Bhāṇa of this name by Svāmi Śāstri, brother of Subrahmanya and son of Ananṭanārāyaṇa, staged at the festival of Matṛbhuteśvara at Trichinopoly (*DC*, XXI. 8542) and a third by Kauśika Nallabudha (*BC*. 173. *CC*, I. 661.)

3. *DC*, XXI. 8372, *CC*, I. 48. The prologue gives the geneology of the author and the names of Raghunāṭha's works Pārijāṭaharaṇa, Nalābhyudaya etc.

4. Printed, Madras ; *DC*, XXI. 8392 ; *HR*, II. 1580.

5. *DC*, XXII. 8615, *BTC*. 54, *CC*. I. 101. Printed Madras. There is a commentary on it by Ravipandiṭa.

6. *BTC*.

7. *CC*. I. 486 ; *Rice*, 264.

8. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2571.

9. *BTC*, 61.

Ayyāḍikṣita.[1] He studied under Venkateśvaramakhi, son of Govinḍa Ḍikṣita. He commented on Kaiyata. He was best in Śrīkanṭha philosophy and wrote Śivaṭaṭṭvarahasya.[2] His four brothers were also poets. His Nīlakanthavijaya, a popular campu on the story of the churning of the ocean, was composed in Kali 4738 (1637 A.D.).[3] His Śivalīlārṇava is a poem in 22 cantos, comprehending in it the legends of 64 līlās of Hālāsyanāṭha the form of Śiva as worshipped at Madura.[4] His Gangāvaṭaraṇa, a poem in 8 cantos, describes the descent of the Ganges from regions celestial.[5] Among his minor poems[6] are Kalividambana, Sabhāranjana, Anyāpaḍeśaśaṭaka, Śānṭivilāsa, Vairagyaśaṭaka and Ānanḍasāgarasṭava.

In his Ciṭramīmāmsāḍoṣaḍhikkāra he answered the criticisms such as those of Jagannāṭha Panditarāja and justifies the views of his grand-uncle Appaya Ḍikṣiṭa.[7] Nalacariṭanāṭaka in 7 acts describes the story of Nala.[8]

As a poet Nīlakanṭha is much appreciated. His fancies are imaginative, his sentiments lofty and his language natural.

Nīlakantha's third son Gīrvaṇenḍra wrote Śṛngarakośabhāṇa[9] and Anyāpaḍeśaśaṭaka.[10] Nīlakantha had four brothers, all poets.[11] Of

1. Nīlakantha, author of the play Kalyaṇasaugandhika (*TC*. III 3840) and Kavyollasa (*TC*, IV. 3343) is a different author. So is Nīlakantha author of Cimanīcariṭa, *B*, II. 132.

2. *HR*, II. 1011.

3. Ed. Madras with commentary. For commentary Paṭāka, see *HR*. III. 1654 and by Ghanaśyāma, see *HR*, III. 2041.

4. Ed. *TSS*. *Tanj*. *Cat*. 2673. Śivacarita of Kavivāḍiśekhara is on the same theme (*Mys*. *OML*. *Sup*. 12).

5. Ed. Kavyamāla, Bombay, with a valuable introduction on South Indian poets by T. S. Kuppusami Sastri. The same story is found in Bhāgīraṭhīcampu of Acyuṭaśarman, son of Nārāyaṇa, of the family of Modaka of Nasik. It was composed in 1814 A.D. and is printed in Bombay.

6. Printed, Sri Vanivilas Press, Srirangam and Kavyamala, Bombay.

7. *HR*, II. 1281.

8. Printed, Bombay. *TC*, II. 1599. *Opp*. II. 8869. In the prologue it is said that he wrote a poem Mukunḍavilāsa and his father wrote Mahāviracarṭa and a commentary on Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara and his uncle Appayya Dikṣiṭa was the author of Rukmiṇipariṇaya. Gurarāmakavi is said there to have been a contemporary of Accāḍikṣiṭa, grand-father of Nilakantha. There is a Nalacariṭakāvya (*Opp*. 2865, 3799.)

9. *Tanj*. *Cat*., VIII. 3596. There is another bhāṇa of that name by Abhinava Kāliḍāsa, (*Ibid*. VIII. 3594) probably of Kānci.

10. *DC*, XX. 8019. Āccānḍikṣita, a member of the family of Appayyadikṣita wrote Anyokṭimāla (*DC*, XX. 8020.)

11. *BTC*, 168.

these Aṭirāṭrayajvan wrote the play Kuśakumaḍvatīya[1] and Accāḍīkṣiṭa wrote a commentary on his Nalacarīṭanāṭaka.[2]

155. Cakrakavi was the son of Lokanāṭha and Ambā and brother of Rāmacanḍra and Paṭanjali. He appears to have been appreciated by Pandya and Chera Kings and he mentions Nīlakantha Aḍhvarin as one of his admirers. It is likely that this latter was the same as the famous Nīlakantha, grandson of Appaya Ḍīkṣiṭa and he must have therefore lived in 17th century A.D. He wrote flowing poetry on the marriages[3] of Rukmiṇī,[4] Jānakī, Gaurī,[5] Ḍraupaḍī.[6] Of these Jānakīpariṇaya[7] is a poem in 8 cantos describing the story of Bālakānda of Rāmāyaṇa from the birth of Rāma to his marriage at Mithila. The other works are of the class of campus with mixed prose and poetry. His Ciṭraraṭnākara, in six parts, is a poem of humorous verses of enignatical composition, the first half of the verses asking a question, the second half giving the answer.[8]

156. Venkateśa was the son of Śrīnivāsa and grandson of Venkateśa of Aṭreya Goṭra. He was born in Kali 4697 (1596 A.D.) at Arasanipalai near Kāncī. In Rāmayamakārṇava[9] and Ramacanḍroḍaya[10] he relates the story of Rāma the former in the Yamaka style.

Sūryanarāyana[11] was the son of Yagneśvara and Gnānāmbā. He belonged to the Aluri family of brahmins who did varieties of sacrifices.

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1. *Tanj. Cat*, VIII. 3378.
2. See prologue to same.
3. रुक्मिणी-जानकी-गौरी-द्रौपदी-परिणीतयः ।
   कृतयो यस्य तस्यैषा कृतिश्चक्रकवेः शुभा ॥
   —*Ciṭraraṭnākara.*

See Introduction to T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's Gangāvataram

4. *DC*, XX, 7854. There are other works of this name by Venkaṭācārya, son of Nāyanācārya of Praṭivāḍibhayankara family (*TC*, III, 3599).
5. There are other works on the same theme by Ponninta Venkatasuri (*TC*, III, 3081), by Kandukuri Rāmeśvara (*TC*, III. 4135) of the Circars, and by Bhattanārāyaṇa (*Mys. OML. Sup.* II).
6. Printed *Sah.* XXII. *DC*, XXI. 8235.
7. *Ed. Tr. Sans. Series.*
8. *TC*, II, 1468.
9. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2631. Yamakārṇava was composed in Saka 1578 (1656 A.D.).
10. This is long poem of about 30 cantos. Ibid. 2658. There is commentary by this author himself. *Ibid.* VI. 2661. This work was composed in Kali 4736 (1635 A.D.).
11. Suryanārāyaṇa Sumaṭi, son of Viśvanāṭha Sumaṭi, who wrote Prāsabhāraṭa is a different person [*Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2534.] His descendants are still living at Tinnevelly,

In the court of Lingaya Prabhu[1] (1601 A.D.), he swore to compose a poem in a day and that was Ekaḍinaprabanḍha[2] in four cantos on the story of Mahābhāraṭa.

Malaya was the son of Rāmanāṭha of Bhāraḍvāja Goṭra. He lived in Madura District. In Mīnākṣīpariṇaya in 18 cantos he describes the story cf Sunḍareśa's marriage with Mīnākṣi, Goddess of Madura, as told in the Hālāsyamāhāṭmya.[3]

In Pārvaṭīpariṇaya, in 8 cantos, Īśvarasumaṭi celebrates the marriage of Pārvaṭī after the style of Kumārasambhava.[4]

1. Linga or Veluri Linga was the son of Chinna Bomma, the patron of Appayya Dikshita and was the donor of Vilāpākam Grant (*ES*, IV. No. 39) of King Venkata II (1601 A.D.). Linga was killed and his capital taken possession of by Damarla Chenna who granted Madras to East India Company. "The capture of the place was possibly the immediate cause of the change of capital from Chandragiri to Vellore by Venkatapaṭi Raja." [*SVH.* 21, 251, 305].

2. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2698.

3. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2619.

4. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2565.

CHAPTER VI

Mahakavya (*contd*).

157. Mahratta Kings of Tanjore. Ekoji, whose earlier name was Venkoji was the brother of the famous Sivaji. They were the sons of Shahaji. Ekoji's three sons Shahaji (1687-1711 A.D.) Sarabhoji (1712-1727 A.D.) and Tukkoji (1728-1735 A.D.) succeeded him one after another. Tukkoji had five sons (1) Bava Saheb, (2) Saiyaji, (3) Anna Saheb, (4) Nana Saheb, and (5) Pratapsing and of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. "Pratapsing died in 1763 and was succeeded by his son Tulzaji. He died in 1787 after a reign by no means peaceful or prosperous which excluding the two or three years during which he was kept a prisoner in his own palace, extended over a period of about twenty one years. He had no son, but adoped one before his death, and this was Rajasarabhoji. This prince, however, was at the time set aside, and Amarsing, half-brother of Tulzaji (being son of Pratapsing by a sword wife) succeeded him, with the sanction of the Honourable East India Company who had now the direction of the affairs of Southern India."[2]

Sarabhoji was a child nine years old at the time of his adoption. He remained under the protection of Raja Amarsing until 1792. On account of complaint of ill-treatment he and his adoptive mother were sent to Madras where in 1798 he was recognised as the rightful heir to the throne. "After he was placed on the muznud, Raja Sarabhoji consented to resign the Government of the country wholly into the hands of the Company, provided they made a suitable provision for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and the treaty dated 25th October 1799 was the result. Under this treaty Tanjore became a British province and the Raja had ensured to him a fixed annual allowance of one lakh of pagodas or three and a half lakh of Rupees with a fifth of the net revenues of the country. Raja Sarabhoji enjoyed his rank and dignity with the pecuniary benefits attached to it, for thirty-four years, and on his death in 1832 the same honours and privileges were continued to his son Sivaji until his death in 1855."[3]

1. *Tanj. Dt. Manual*, 775.
2. *Ibid.*, 813-4.
3. *Ibid.*, 824.

The following geneology shows the line of King Ekoji of Tanjore.

Venkoji or Ekoji (1675-1686 A.D.)

Shahji (1687-1711)	Sarabhoji (1712-1727)	Tukkoji (1728—1735)

Tukkoji (1728—1735)
Illegitimate son Pratapsing (1740-1763)
Tulzaji (1764-1787)
Sarabhoji II (1798-1832)
Sivaji 1833-1855. (*died* 1865)

158. The life of Śivāji, the founder of the Bhosala dynasty, is a matter of history. In 31 chapters Paramānanda describes his exploits in his Śivabhārata.[1] His expedition and capture of the fortress of Parnālaparvata is described by Jayarāma in 5 ullasas in Parnālaparvatagrahākhyāna.[2] The life of Śivāji's son Rājāram is sketched in Rājārāmacarita, a poem of 5 cantos,[3] by Keśavapandita where the struggle for Mahratta independence in the Carnatic is well depicted.

In the court of King Ekoji (1675-1686 A.D.), Jagannātha, son of minister Bālakṛṣṇa, wrote the play Ratimanmatha[4] and Śrīśaila, son of Ānandayajvan, another minister, wrote Tripuravijayacampū.[5]

King Shahaji wrote the play Candraśekharavilāsa.[6] In Kumārasambhavacampū, King Sarabhoji narrates the story of the birth of the War God.[7] King Sarabhoji compiled an anthology.[8] King Tulzaji wrote Sangītasārāmṛta.[9]

159. King Śarabhoji (Sarfoji), the second son of Ekoji, is remembered as a preserver of Sanskrit literature. To him belongs the glory of the collection and preservation of Sanskrit manuscripts in an

1. Printed, Poona. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII 3254. See also Śivarājacaritra (*BTC*, 162.)
2. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 3262.
3. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 3263.
4. *HR*, III. 1604 ; *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII. 3490.
5. *HR*, III. 1605 ; *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII. 3044.
6. *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII, 3396.
7. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII, 3033.
8. See *JBRAS*, (n.s.) I. 252.
9. *BTC*, 60.

organised library in the palace of Tanjore, rightly named Sarasvatī-mahal. The library bears the name Tanjore Maharaja Śarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library and is a monument of that benevolent King's reign.[1]

To King Sarabhoji is attributed the poem RAGHAVACARITA in 12 cantos on the story of Rāma, also called Sangraharāmāyaṇa. In the colophon to the 2nd canto in one of the manuscripts it is said इति पञ्चरत्नकृतौ राघवचरिते द्वितीयः सर्गः. This may indicate that the real author was Pancaratna and the work was put in the name of the poet's patron. Anantanārayāṇa, a poet of the court of King Śarabhoji was called Pancaratna and Anantanārāyaṇa was the father of the poet Ciḍambara[2] and also wrote Anandavallī stotra.[3]

160. Ramabhadra Dīkṣita was born in the family of Caturvedịyajvans in the village of Kandramanikyam near Kumbhakonam. His father Yagnarāma Dīkṣita was a specialist in grammar and his brother Rāmacandra was a humorous poet.[4] He studied literature and philosophy under the ascetic Bālakṛṣṇa and under Cokkanātha, whose daughter he married. He was an admirer of the poet Nīlakantha and was invariably in his literary assemblage. It was Nīlakantha's poetry that infused the poetic spirit in Rāmabhadra early in his years and his name reached the ears of King Shahaji of Tanjore (1684-1711 A.D.). The munificient king bestowed upon Rāmacandra and others the agraharam of Shahajirajapura (Tiruvasanallur) and there the poet settled in comfort and serenity. He was much loved by his disciples and was called Ayya or Ayya Dīkṣita. His devotion to Rāma was unequalled. He passed away about the first decade of the 18th century.[5]

His Patanjalicarita,[6] a poem in 8 cantos describes the incaranation of Ādiśeṣa in the womb of Gonika as Patanjali, his lectures on the Mahābhāṣya from behind a screen, his curse on one of his pupils to be a Rākṣasa for transgression of his orders, and the limitation of the curse

1. For an account of this library, see *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. Introduction by P. P. S. Sastri.

2. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2641. Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 15) names the author as Anantanārāyana.

3. *BTC*, 200 ; *Opp*, II. 8716 , *CC*, I. 15.

4. He wrote Keralābharana, a campu on the lines of Visvaguṇādarśa (*Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 3085). Rāmacandra, son of Janardana and author of Rādhāvinodakāvya (*Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2828) is a different poet of the Ganjam District.

5. For an account of his life, see V. S. Ramasami Sastri, *Sah.* XXII, 130 and *IA*, XXXIII. 126.

6. Ed. Bombay and Madras.

to the appearance of one Caṇḍraguṗṭa. The demon meets Caṇḍraguṗṭa and teaches him the lecture. The latter records them in the leaves of a banyan tree, but while out to drink water, a goat eats away some of the leaves. These lost passages are still known as *ajabhahsita* (goat-eaten) Caṇḍraguṗṭa went to Ujjain and there transcribed the lectures, which are extant today as a monument of literary merit. Caṇḍraguṗṭa married three wives, of whom were born Vararuci Vikramārka and Bhartṛhari. The poem closes with the advent of Śankara and his and final return to Kāncī.[1]

By the drama Jānakīpariṇaya,[2] which will be noticed later, he is well-known. Śṛngāraṭilaka or Ayyābhāṇa describes the amorous adventures of Bhujangaśekhara of Maḍhura,[3] written rival Vasanṭaṭilakabhāṇa or Ammālbhāṇa of his friend Varadācārya known as Ammālācārya.[4]

Among Ramabhadra's other works[5] the Rāmabāṇasṭava, Rāmacāpasṭava, and Ramāṣṭaprāsa, Prāsasṭhava, Vishnugarbhasṭava, Paryāyoktiniṣyanḍa, Ṭūṇīrasṭava, Rāmabhaḍraśaṭaka.

161. Cokkanatha,[6] was the son of Ṭippāḍhvari and Narasāmbâ of Bhāraḍwaja Gotra. He had five brothers of whom one was Yagneśvara. He was the teacher of Rāmabhaḍra and a friend of Nīlakantha. He lived in Tanjore under the patronage of King Shahaji. He travelled to South Canara to the Court of King Basava.[7] His Sevantikāpariṇaya,[8] a

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1. For an account see *Sah.* XXII 167-8.

2. Ed. Bombay Madras. See *Sah.* XXII for a critical account.

3. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay. There is commentary by Rāmacanḍra (*CC*, I, 660). Keith, *SL*, 263.

4. Ed. Madras and Calcutta.

Varaḍācārya known as Ghatikāsāṭa Ammal of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra was the son of Suḍarśana, fifth in descent from the Varaḍa or Varaḍaḍesika or Nadāḍur Ammāl, who was the guru's guru of Veḍānṭaḍeśika (See *DC*, XVIII. 7262-4 for verses in his praise). Besides this bhāṇa, he wrote Veḍānṭavilāsa a play on the incidents of Rāmānuja's history (*DC*, XXV. 8530). There are other Varaḍācāryas who wrote Colabhāṇa (*PR*, I. 262), Anangabrahmavilāsabhāṇa (*CC*, I. 549), Anangajīvanabhāṇa (*BTC*, 167) and Rukmiṇīpariṇaya (*BTC*, 172).

5. Ed. Bombay, Kāvyamālā XII.

6. It is stated in *Trac. Arch. Rep*, V. 18, that this was different from the father-in-law of Rāmabhaḍra, but no reasons are given. The dates appear to make them identical. Chokkanāṭha, son of Suḍarśana of Bhāradvāja Goṭra who is the author of a commentary on Vāsuḍeva's Yuḍhiṣṭhiravijaya is a different person.

7. He may be Basavappa Nayak of Ikkeri (1697-1714) or Basavarājenḍra of 1700 A.D. see *JMy*, X. 257.

8. *TC*, III. 4064.

drama, describes the marriage of Basavarāja and Sevantika, the daughter of Mitravarman, a prince of Malabar, when the latter having fought with Godāvarman of Cochin and was defeated, was imprisoned in the temple of Mūkāmbā, north of Udipi. Then they were received kindly by Basava by the gift of a new palace and presents. His Kāntimatīpariṇaya,[1] a drama, describes the marriage of King Shahāji and Kāntimati. His Rasavilāsa[2] is a bhāna of an amorous nature.

His son Sadāśivamakhin wrote a rhetorical work, Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣana during the reign of King Rāmavarma of Travancore (1758-1798 A.D.)[3]

162. Among the illustrious desciples of Rāmabhadra were Venkateśvara and Bhūminātha. Venkateśvara wrote a commentary on the Patanjalicarita. Bhūminātha known as Nallā Dīkṣita composed Dharmavijayacampū on the life and history of King Shahāji whom he called the modern Bhoja.[4]

Among his worthy contemporaries were Venkatakṛṣṇa, Śrīdhara Venkateśa, Appa Dikṣita and Mahādeva.

Venkatakṛṣna was the son of Venkatādri and Mangāmba of Vādhūla Gotra. He wrote his Nateśavijaya,[5] in 7 cantos, describing the story of Śiva's vanquishment of Kāli at Cidambaram by his triumphant cosmic dance, under the patronage of Gopāla, a Governor of Śivaji's provinces, near Cidambaram. Uttaracampūrāmāyaṇa is said to be a sequel to the work of Bhoja and Lakṣmaṇa,[6] Rāmacandrodaya relates the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa,[7] and Kusalavavijayanātaka[8] describes the conflict of Rāma with his sons Kuśa and Lava and the final restoration of Sīta to Rāma.

Śrīdhara Venkatesa, known as Ayyāval, is celebrated in South India for his piety and evotion. Besides his religious lyrics,[9] Dayāśataka Mātṛbhūtaśataka, Tārāvalīśataka and Ārtiharastotra, he wrote Sāhendra-

1. *Tanj. Cat.* VIII. 3367.
2. *CC*, II. 116.
3. See *Tr. Arch. Series*, V. 18.
4. *Tanj Cat.* VII. 3269.
5. *DC*, XX. 7747.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8182.
7. *CC*, II, 23.
8. Probably the same work as is described in *DC*, XX, 7811 (where the author's name is doubtfully given as Kavivallabha). It breaks of in 26th Canto.
9. Ed. Sri Vidya Press, Kumbakonam.

vilāsa, a poem in 8 cantos, describing the exploits of his patron, King Shabāji and is of great historical interest in the annals of Hindu dominion in Tanjore.[1]

Appā Dīkṣita or Appāśatrin or Peria Appā Śaśtrin was the son of Cidambara Dīkṣita *alias* Annan Sastri and brother of Viśvanātha of Śrīvatsa Gotra. He lived in Kilayur near Tanjore. His father vanquished Kāmadeva in a controversey at the court of King Venkatapati for which he was rewarded with a golden palanquin and an agraharam Erakaran. He was the pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda and received from him the title of Kaviṭārkikasarvabhauma, for proficiency in dialectics and poetics. He was a favourite or King Shahaji of Tanjore.[2] His Sṛngāramanjarīsāhajīya,[3] is a drama describing the life and history of King Shahaji and staged at the Chatira festival at Tiruvaiyar (Tiruvadi). His other works are Madanabhūṣanabhāṇa,[4] and Gaurīmāyūracampū.[5]

In his play Adbhuṭadarpaṇa in 10 acts, Mahādeva, son of Kṛṣṇasūri, says that the sentiment of Adbhuṭa reigns supreme and illustrates his theory by the incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa.[6]

163. In the Court of Kings Shahāji and Śarabhoji flourished other famous poets. Sumaṭīndra Bikṣu was a poet of King Shahaji's court. He was the pupil of Venkatanārāyaṇa and Surīndraṭīrṭha.[7] He wrote a poem Sumaṭindrajayaghoṣaaṇ on his patron and a commentary on Ṭrivikrama's Usāharaṇa.[8] Besides Shāhavilāsa on music[9] and a poem Abhinavakādambarī.[10] Dhundirāja Vyāsayajvan, son of Lakṣmaṇa composed his commentary on Mudrārakṣasa in 1713 A.D., probably at the direction of King Śarabhoji who wrote his own gloss on the play.[11] To him goes the credit of preserving the allegorical poem of 8 cantos, Jānānavilāsa[12] of Jagannāṭha, son of Nārāyaṇa and Akkā, who was probably the same as the author of Śarabharājavilāsa.

1. *Tanj. Cat.* VII 3266.
2. See *JOR.* III.
3. *TC*, III, 2575 ; *CC*, II. 158
4. *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII. 3582.
5. *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 4035.
6. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay, *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII, 3534. Mahādeva Kaviśacārya Sarasvaṭi, author of Dāṇakeli Kaumudī (bhāṇikā) (*CC*, I 248), Mahādeva or Maheśvara, author of Dhurtavidambanaprahasana (*CC*. I, 272) and Mahādeva Śāstri, author of Unmaṭṭārāghava (*CC*, I. 66) are different poets.
7. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 3282.
8. *Ibid.*, VI. 2695.
9. *CC*, I. 215.
10. *Opp.* II. 3821.
11. *Tanj. Cat.*, VIII. 3474.
12. *Ibid.*, VII, 2753.

In Kosala-Bhosalīyam, Śeṣācalapaṭi describes in 6 cantos the reign of King Shahāji along with the story of Rāmāyaṇa in double entendre.[1] In Bhosalavaṃśāvalī, a campū, Venkateśa of Naiḍhruva-kāśyapa Gotra describes the ancestors of King Śarabhoji and particularly the glorious reign of that King.[2] Similar is the poem Śarabharājavilāsa composed in Kali 4822 (1722 A.D.) by Jagannātha, son of Śrīnivasa of Kāvala family, a minister of that King's Court,[3] who also wrote Anangavijayabhana,[4] and Śṛngaraṭaranginī.

Vanceśvara was a descendant of Govinḍa Ḍikṣiṭa. He was of the family of Bhosala and was minister of King Tukkāji of Tanjore (1728-1735 A.D.). His Mahiṣasāṭaka is a marvellous and pleasant poem, in which he mingled praise and censure, indicating by puns that the King was a buffalo.[5]

During the days of King Śarabhoji II (1798-1832 A.D.) the poet Sadāji composed the poetical work Sāhiṭyamanjūṣa in 1825 A.D. in praise of the House of Śivāji.[6]

In the time of King Śivāji (1833-1855 A.D.) Vīrarāghava, son of Īśvara, wrote the play Vallīparīṇaya.[7]

164. To this house of Ekoji, belongs the credit of continuing the progress of Sanskrit literature in S. India, so well inaugurated by the Naik Kings. These kings were themselves poets and it was a happy chance that their ministers came successively from a family of illustrious Brahmins of learning descended from Ṭryambaka. The following list of the kings and the geneology of Ṭryambaka given in Dhundhirāja's commentary on Mudrarākṣasa and Appaḍikṣita's Ācāranavaniṭa will show their relation :

Ṭryambaka
|
Gangāḍhara (1)
|
Nṛsimha (2) | Ṭryambaka (3) | Bhagavanṭa
Nṛsimha (2) → Ānanḍa (4) → Nṛsimha

1. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII, 3275,
2. *Ibid.* VII, 3287.
3. *Ibid*, VII. 3291.
4. *HR*, III. 1776.
5. Printed Bombay: *HR* III. 1579. In *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2156 there is a commentary by the author's great grandson Vanceśvara, son of Nṛsimha, son of Māḍhava (*BTC*, 161, *HR*, II. 1528).
6. *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 3293.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8491. Vīrarāghava son of Śrīśaila who wrote Inḍirāpariṇaya (*HR*, III. 1749) is a different author.

		KINGS.	MINISTERS.
Sons of Ekoji	i.	Ekoji (1674—1687)	Gangādhara (1) and Nṛsimha (2)
	ii.	Shahaji (1687—1711)	Ṭryambaka (3)
	iii.	Sararbhoji (1712—1727)	Ṭryambaka (3) and Ānanda (4)
	iv.	Tukkoji (1728—1735)	Ānanda (4) (and Ghanasyāma)

165. In Bhosalavamśāvali, Gangādhara wrote the story of the Bhosalas.[1] Ṭryambaka (II) wrote Ḍharmākūṭa, commentary on Rāmāyaṇa.[2] Bhagavanṭa wrote Mukunḍavilāsakāvya, a poem in 10 cantos, on the story of Śri Kṛṣṇa,[3] and a play Raghavābhyuḍaya.[4]

Bhagavanṭa was the son of Gangāḍharāḍhvarin and younger brother of Ṭryambaka. In his Mukunḍavilāsa, in 10 cantos, he relates the story of Kṛṣṇa,[5] and Uṭṭaracampū, the story of Uṭṭararāmāyaṇa.[6]

Ānanḍa or Ānanḍarāyamakhin wrote the plays[7] Viḍvāpariṇaya and Jivānanḍa, allegorical like Prabodhacandrodaya. In the former, for instance, the plot is the marriage of Jīvaṭman or individual soul and Viḍyā or spiritual knowledge.

Ānanḍa's son Nṛsimha wrote Ṭripuravijayacampū.[8]

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1. *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 3279.

Gangāḍhara a poet of the Court of Karṇa of Dāhala vanquished by Bilhaṇa (*Vik.* xviii. 95); Gangāḍhara quoted in *Skm.* and *Subh.* (*CC*, I. 137); Gangāḍhara (Vājapeyin), author of Rasikaranjini (*Opp.* 1. 3348, 4805. II. 2514, 3772, 5997): Gangāḍhara, author of Ānanḍalaharitika (*K.* 204); Gangāḍhara (Śāsṭri), author of Kṛṣṇarājacampu (*Rice.* 248); Gangāḍhara, author of metrics (*CC*, I. 133); Gangāḍhara author of Vasumaṭiciṭrasena Kāvya (*Opp*, 4714); Gangāḍhara, author of commentary on Sangiṭaraṭnākara (*BTC*, 59) and on Suryaśaṭaka (Hall's *Int.* to *Vāsavaḍatta*, 7) are different persons. [See *CC*. I, 137-9].

2. See pages 23-4 *supra*.
3. *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2627.
4. *BTC*, 172, *Opp.* II. 4672 (In the prologue his parentage is given).
5. *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2627.
6. *Ibid.* VII, 3032.
7. Printed, *Kāvyamāla*, Bombay.
8. *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 3044; *HR*, III.11605.

166. Ghanasyama,[1] originally known as Āryaka, was the son of Kamalā and Kāsi Mahādeva of Mauna Bhārgava family. He had a brother Īsa who became as ascetic and under the name of Cidambaraguru settled in Devipattanam. His father's father was Caundo Bālāji. His mother's father Timmāji Bālāji of Kaundinyagotra was called Śakambhāri Paramahamsa. He had two wives Sundarī and Kamalā. They were equally learned and composed another commentary on the Viddhasālabhanjikā,[2] as he did one himself in three hours.[3] Besides his prolixity in literature, he was great in politics and was the minister of King Tukkoji of Tanjore (1728-1735 A.D.)[4]

In his 26th year he wrote the Bhana Madanasanjīvana[5] and in his twenty-second year Navagrahacarita[6] a Sattaka in Prakrit. He composed in a single night of Śrīramanavamī a commentary on the Uttararāmacarita and wrote also an allegorical drama Pracandarāhūdaya like Prabodhacandrodaya.[7] He wrote 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakrit and 25 in other dialects.[8] Among his poems, are Bhāgavatpādacarita, Venkateśacarita, Prasangalīlārnava, Sanmanimandana and Anyāpadesāsātaka[9] and five Sthalamāhātymas. Ābodhākara is a poem with three meanings, namely, the story of Nala, Kṛṣna and Hariścandra. Kalidūṣana is a poem which is at once Sanskrit and Prakrit.

In his twelfth year he made up the Yuddhakānda for Bhojacampū.[10] Among his dramas of many classes are Ganeśacarita, Madanasanjīvana, Kumāravijaya[11] Anubhavacintāmani and Ānandasundarī,[12] and last two acts for Mahāviracarita which apparently were then missing.

In rhetoric he wrote the Rasārnava. He wrote commentaries on Śakuntalā,[13] Uttararamacarita,[14] Prabodhacandrodaya, Candakauśika, Mahāvīracarita, Venīsamhāra, Hālasaptaśatī, Vikramorvaśi, Bhoja-

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1. He himself made a pun on his name :

तनुरुचि यो न श्यामः कवीनां स यदि घनश्यामः ।
कवने कमनश्यामः किमसूयाभिर्मुधैव नश्यामः ॥

"If he is Ghanaśyāma, he is not [black in color, but he is a poet of poets because he is himself a cuckoo which sings beautiful poetry. Why kill ourselves in vain with jealousy"?

2. *HR*, III. 1676.
3. *HR*, III, 1677.
4. Tanjore District Manual, 764.
5. *HR*, III. 1679.
6. *Ibid.* 1571.
7. *Ibid.* 1675.
8. See *HR*, III. ix-xi.
9. *Tanj. Cat*, VII. 2900.
10. *HR*, III. 1681.
11. *Ibid.* 1682.
12. *Ibid.* 2142.
13. *Ibid.* 1656.
14. *Ibid.* 1600, Printed Bombay.

campū,[1] Nīlakantacampū,[2] Bhāraṭacampū,[3] Kavirākṣasa, Kāḍambarī Vāsavaḍaṭṭa, and Ḍaśakumāracariṭa.[4] His son Candraśekhara wrote a commentary on Damaruka,[5] which is a peculiar dramatic composition complete in ten Alankaras[6] containing ten different subjects, something like a combination of select scenes.

A list of his works more than 64 is given in the preface to the commentary on Viḍḍhasālabhanjikā composed by his wives Sunḍarī and Kamalā.[7]

167. Ghanaśyāma had two sons Canḍraśekhara and Govarḍhana.[8] Canḍraśekhara wrote commentaries of his father's Damaruka and Pracandarahūḍaya. Govarḍhana, blind from childhood, wrote a commentary on Ghatakarpara and there praised his father's learning.[9]

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1. *HR*, III. 2170.
2. He refers to the death of King Tukkoji.
3. *HR*. III. 1655.
4. *Ibid*. 1678.
5. *Ibid*. 1674.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8403. Suṭraḍhāra is called Nirvāhaka.
7. For a long account, see *HR*, III. x and article by V. A. Ramasami Sastri *JOR*, III. 231. For his horoscope, see *JOR*, III. 71.
8. *HR*, III. 1774, 1675.
9. *JOR*, III. 236.

निजजनकघनश्यामं शेषवचःप्रियमशेषशास्त्रज्ञम् ।
वन्दे यद्दत्तागमदृशा सुखसहं ममान्ध्यदुःखमभूत् ॥
मूढोऽपि गोवर्धननामधेयः पितृप्रसादादनवद्यविद्यः ।
सद्यः कविः सत्वरया तनोति संक्षिप्तटीकां घटकर्परस्य ॥

CHAPTER VII

Mahakavyas (*contd.*)

168. Manavikrama and Eighteen and Half Poets.[1] In the Court of Zamorin Mānavikrama flourished what has been known as eighteen and half poets in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. The Zamorin was a scholar and patron of literature. Eight brothers of Payyur Patteri family and a son, five brahmins of Tiruvapara and Tiruvegapara, Mullapilli Patteri, Chennasu Narayana Nambudri, Kakasseri Nambudri and Uḍḍanda were the eighteen poets and Punnattu Nambudri was the half poet, for his poetry was mixed Malayalam and Sanskrit. The eldest of the Payyur family was famous as Maharṣi, versed in Mīmāmsa, the fifth brother was Narayana Patteri. Two other brothers were Śankara and Bhāvaḍāsa. Maharṣi's son Parameśvara is quoted by Uḍḍanda in his Mallikāmaruṭa and Maharṣi is mentioned with reverence by him in his Kokilasanḍeśa as Mimāmsāṭrayakulaguru. Works on Mimāmsa written by the brothers are found everywhere in Malabar. One poet of Tiruvapara wrote Lakṣmī-Manaveḍacampū and another Nārāyaṇa, son of Brahmadaṭṭa, wrote the poem Subhaḍrāharaṇa kāvya.[2]

Chennasu Nārāyaṇa wrote Ṭanṭrasamuccaya, a work for artisans. Verses satirising kings composed by him and Kakasseri Nambudri are quoted in Malabar, for which it is said they were punished by the Zamorin by novel methods of religious degradation. Kakasseri Ḍāmoḍaran Patteri was Uḍḍanda's rival and wrote the play Inḍumaṭī-Rāghava.[3] Mānavikrama himself wrote a commentary on Anargharāghava.[4] Sāmbaśiva, son of Kanakasabhāpati, of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra, resident of the village of Gopālasamuḍra, wrote Sŗngāravilāsabhāṇa[5] to please Mānavikrama.

169. Uddanda[6] was the son of Ranganāṭha and Rangāmbā of

1. *Sahityam* (in Malayalam,) Tiruchur.
2. *TC*, IV. 8883. See para 46 *supra*.
3. *TC*, IV. 4178.
4. *TC*, II. 2580 ; IV. 5613.
5. *TC*, IV. 4925.
6. He was known as Uḍḍanda Sastri. Jivānanda Vidyasagara (1820-1891 A.D.) in his Calcutta Ed. mistook Uḍḍanda for Dandin and made the latter the author of Mallikāmāruṭa. Schuyler (*Bibl*, 90) calls him Uḍḍandin (wrongly).

Vaḍhūlagoṭra. He lived in the village of Lātapura near Kāncī.[1] Passing his literary career at the various seats of learning in South India, he went to Malabar in search of fame and there in the courts of kings overcame his opponents. Mānavikrama, the strong Zamorin, was his patron. His success evoked much jealousy, and tradition says[2] that a pandit's wife vowed to beget an adversary and that she did with the help of prayers and enchantments of the many learned men of Malabar. The son was Kakkaseri Bhattāṭiri. As a boy of twelve he vanquished Uḍḍanda in open comptetion and composed a Malayalam drama Vasumaṭi-Vikrama and a Sanskrit drama Inḍumaṭī-Rāghava.[3] His Kokilasanḍeśa[4] is the message of a lover to his beloved at Calicut and is a very fine imitation of Meghasanḍeśa of Kāliḍāsa. This poem is said to have been written in response to a similar poem named Bhṛangasanḍeśa sent to the author by Vāsuḍeva, a poet in the Court of Ravivarma and Goḍāvarma, who ruled at Calicut.[5] His Mallikā-Māruṭa, a prakarana in ten acts,[6] follows in all details the plot of the Malati-Madhava. The plot relates the affections of two sets of lovers, Mallikā and Māruta, and Ramayanṭikā and Kalakantha. Manḍākinī answers to Kamanḍakī and Kālinḍi resembles Avalokiṭa. Uḍḍanda has sometimes improved on his original. His language is attractive and verse melodious. The speeches abound in apt illustration and proverbial generalisation.

Sankara Marar was Uḍḍanda's friend. They met at the temple at Guruvayoor and Śankara completed a verse then begun by Uḍḍanda. He wrote the poem Sri Kṛṣṇavijaya.[7]

Sukumara or Prabhākara was Uḍḍanda's younger contemporary. His Kṛṣṇavilāsa Kavya[8] is as good as his name.

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1. It is said in Nallākavi's Subhaḍrāpariṇaya (*TC*, I. 1040) that Uḍḍanda was a native of the village of Kandaramaṇikka (Tanjore District) in Cola country, and Uḍḍanda's father Ranganāṭha the native of that village was a great writer and among his works are Kraṭuvaiguṇya Prayascittam (*DC*, II. No. 1169, *TC*, I. 868) and commentaries on the Paḍamanjarī and Kaumuḍī. It is therefore probable that Uḍḍanda was born at Kandaramāṇikkam and later in his life settled at Lātapura near Kānci.

2. *Travancore State Manual* 463.

3. *TC*. IV. 4778. Only two acts are available. Inḍumaṭīpariṇaya (*Opp*, II. 6882) is a different play.

4. Ed. Trichur (with introduction).

5. *DC*, XX. 7942. See para 170 *post*.

6. Ed. Calcutta and Mysore with commentary. *DC*, XXI. 8446.

7. Ed. Trichur.

8. Ed. (4 cantos only) at Palghat with the commentary of Rāmapāṇivāḍa.

170. Vasudeva was the son of Maharṣi and Gopālī. Maharṣi was the famous scholar of the Payyaur Bhātta Mana of Malabar, which became famous as a cartre of learning about the end of the 15th century. Maharṣi had nine sons, well versed in various branches of Sanskrit learning and a daughter. The daughter's son was a grammarian Vāsuḍeva. Vāsuḍeva was the friend of the dramatist Uḍḍanda and therefore lived about 1423 AD. The famous Mānavikrama, Zamorin of Calicut, was his patron. In reply to Kokilasanḍeṣa of Uḍḍanda he wrote Bhṛngasanḍeśa or Bhramaraḍūṭa.[1] Latterly he was in the court of Kings Ravi Varma and Goḍāvarma.[2] His Vāsuḍevavijaya[3] is a poem in illustration of the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini. It was left unfinished and completed by Nārāyana, very likely his sister's son, under the name Ḍhāṭukāvya.[4]

Ḍevīcariṭa[5] a poem in yamaka style in 6 āśvasas, describes the story of Goddess Gopālī Ḍevī worshipped in Veḍāranyam or Kunnangolam, as the eighth child of Ḍevakī and sister of Śri Kṛṣṇa.[6] In his Saṭyaṭapahkaṭhā, he relates in three āśvasas the story of Saṭyaṭapas also called Maharṣi one of the ancestors of the author who made penance at Veḍāraṇya and on the banks of the Nīlā river now called Bharatappola.[7] In Śivodaya the poet gives a history of himself and his eight brothers. In his Acyuṭalīla, a poem in Yamaka form, he describes God Acyuṭa worshipped at Veḍāranyam.[8] Gajenḍramokṣa appears to be his work.[9]

171. PANDAVACARITA, a poem of which 13 cantos are available,[10] does not mention the name of the author, but the poet salutes a Vāsuḍevakavi who wrote a Yamaka poem on "Pārṭhakaṭha," Arjuna's story.[11]

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1. *DC*, XX. 7942 ; *CC*, 567. For the alternative names see also *JRAS*, (1884), 452.

2. Vāsuḍeva, pupil of Karuṇākara alias Sāhiṭyamalla who commented on Viḍḍhasālabhanjikā is another author.
TC, III. 3878.

3. Printed Kāvyamala, Bombay. *DC*, XX, 7745. The commentator called this Vāsuḍeva, a resident of Puruvana.

4. *Ibid. DC*, XX. 7745. In the colophon the whole poem is called Vasudevavijayam. (*TC*, III. 4056) : इति नारायणकृतौ वासुदेवविजये कंसवधभागे प्रथमस्सर्गः

5. *TC*, IV. 4528.

6. *TC*, IV. 4529.

7. *TC*, IV. 4530.

8. *TC*, IV. 4531.

9. *TC*, IV. 5385.

10. *TC*, IV. 5062.

11. तस्मै नमोऽस्तु कवये वासुदेवाय धीमते ।
येन पार्थकथा रम्या यमिता लोकपावनी ॥

It is not known what this Pārthakathā was. Similarly Arjuna-Rāvaṇiya,[1] is a poem in 17 cantos describing the fight between Rāvaṇa and Kārtā-vīrya, in illustration of the Astādhyāyī of Panini. There is a commentary by Vāsudeva. The manuscript is again found in the same place in Malabar as Pāndavacarita. The author's name is not given there. It is probable that these two poems were composed by members of the Maharṣi's family.

172. Vasudeva, the author of Rāmakathā[2] was the son of Umā and Nārāyaṇa and wrote that prose work at the Court of King Ādityavarma, King Śri Vira Kodai Āditya Varma of Kilapperur, Jayasimhanad, about 1472 and 1484 A.D. Under the patronage of King Ravivarma, he wrote Govindacaritra[3] Sankṣepabhārata[4] and Sankṣeparāmāyaṇam.[5] It is probable that this Nārāyaṇa was the eighth son of Maharṣi, or Nārāyaṇa, daughter's son of Maharṣi, more likely the latter.[6]

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1. *TC*, IV. 4281.
2. Printed Madras.
3. *DC*, XX. 7918.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8324-4 (with commentaries); *TC*, IV. 4175. There it is said प्रकाशश्रीकरोराजा रविवर्मा विराजते. K. R Pisharoti identifies this King as King of Prakāsa or Vettat in South Malabar (*Bull. Or, Studies*, V.797-9.).
5. *TC*, III. 4305.
6. K. R. Pisharoti (*op. cit.*) identifies this Vāsudeva with Vāsudeva son of Maharṣi. The Travancore State Manual (I. 277-8) give the following account: "There was on the 1st of Kumbhom 647 M.E. (1472 A.D.) a king by the name of Sri Kodai Aditya Varma of Kilapperur, Jayasimhanad, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy according to the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy. But beyond this bare fact nothing could be ascertained except that he might have been one of the co-regents at the time. There is another inscription to prove that Aditya Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, as well as his younger brother named Rama Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy, reigned on the 14th Kumbhom 659 M E. (1484 A D.). This latter may be identical with Sri Vira Kodai Aditya Varma who flourished in Venad in 1572 A.D. But he is mentioned in the temple chronicles as the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy while Aditya Varma of 1484 A.D. is closely referred to in the inscription as the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, Kilapperur. On this basis the reign of Sri Vira Kodai Aditya Varma may be taken as having lasted up to the year 1484 A.D. His younger brother Rama Varma was probably his co-regent under the title of the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy. Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur, ruled over Venad for a period of thirty-two years from 654 to 686 M.E. (1479-1512 A.D.), for the first five years of which he ruled probably as co-regent. The temple chronicle records that on the 3rd Karkadagam 673 M.E. (1498 A.D.). Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma made a gift of twelve silver pots and granite images as an atonement for sin committed in a fight which took place at the northern entrance of Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple, and that he granted some lands adjoining the tank of Viranarayanaseri to the aggreived parties. Itstates also that on the 24th Medam 675 M.E. (1500 A.D.) he gave 5,000 fanams as

173. Narayana Battāthiri (Bhattapāḍa) was a Nambudri brahmin born at Melputur near Chandanakkavu Ḍevīkṣetra, which is Kurumpattur desa of Ponnani Taluk in Malabar. Of that Devi, Nārāyaṇa was a devotee. His father Māṭṛḍaṭṭa was a great scholar. His mother came from the Payyur Patteri family. He lived between 1560–1646 A.D. He was until late in his life unlearned; and after his marriage in a Piṣāroti family of Trikkantiyur, he studied under a Acyuṭa Piṣāroti, a learned member of the family. Acyuta was not qualified to teach the veda, but as he did teach Nārāyaṇa the vedas, he committed a sin and was attacked by a Vāṭaroga. Nārāyaṇa got the disease transferred by his mesmeric power to himself and by the singing of the Nārāyaṇiya, a panegyric of Śrīkṛṣṇa of Guruvāyoor the disease disappeared and he attained Āyurārogyasaukhyam, longevity, health and happiness.[1] This expression in arithmitical terminology denotes 1712210 days of Kali as the date of the completion of the work which indicates 760 Kollam, Vrichika 13th day or 1585 A.D. This poem is one of the finest specimens of devotional poetry.

"The fame of Bhattatiri travelled outside Kerala even in his own days, and the renowned Bhattoji Dikshita of Benares, the author of Siddhanta Kaumudi and the greatest grammarian of his age, was so much impressed with the profoundity of Bhattatiri's learning in that branch of knowledge that he proceeded to South India to see Bhattatiri and converse with him. Learning, however to his regret that Bhattatiri had passed away in the meantime, the Dikshita is known to have gone back observing that he had no other men to see in Dakshinapatha. Bhattatiri was also known to the great Pandits of the Court of Raghunatha Naik of Tanjore, such as Yajnanarayana Dikshita, his minister, and the author of Sahitya Ratnakara and other works, with whom he used to hold correspondence. Bhattatiri appears to have visited the courts of the Zamorin of Calicut the Maharaja of

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garvakkattu together with a silver vessel to the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy to expiate the sin of having destroyed several villages at that time. Ravi Varma having killed several people during the fights that took place in the year 682 M E. (1507 A.D.) made another gift of twenty-seven silver vessels to the same temple together with the grant of lands at Vembanur Kaladi and Kuppukal. It appears from these gifts that at this period several small battles were fought between the years 673 and 682 M.E. (1498-1507 A.D.) during which many people were killed. The inscription also makes mention of several princes at the time. Of these ADITYA VARMA and UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA were reigning sovereigns. Jayasimha Deva (afterwards Jayasimha II) and Sakalakalai (Sarvanganatha) Martanda Varma were probably their co-regents."

1. See Travancore State Manual, II. 432-3.

Cochin and the Rajas of Chempakasseri and Vatakkunur, and numerous verses have now been discovered which are the composition of Bhattatiri in praise of Virakerala, the then ruler of Cochin, as also of Devanarayana of Ampalapuzha and Godavarma of Vatakkunkur. Devanarayana is a common name for all the rulers of Chempakasseri and all that is known of the ruler of that country at that time was that he was born under the star Puratam. It may be stated in this connection that Virakerala of Cochin was a great patron of letters and that several poets flourished under him. The Raja of Chempakasseri was also a distinguished patron of learning and several works particularly on Vyakarana appear to have been composed under his specia direction. Bhattatiri did not proceed to Travancore possibly becausel Travancore and Chempakasseri were not then on friendly terms. There is a verse in the Matsyavatara Champu of Bhattatiri from which it may be inferred that Ravivarma the ruler of Travancore at that time, who was consolidating his position in the south after the reverses that the country had suffered as a result of its conquest by Achyuta Raja of Vijayanagar, had even incurred the envy of the Raja of Chempakasseri.'[1]

Bhattatiri has written numerous works, on diverse subjects.[2] Stotra Campū, Mīmāmsa, Vyākaraṇa and Vyākhyāna.

174. NARAYANIYAM is the greatest of his stotra kāvyas. "It contains more than a thousand verses, divided into a hundred parts of ten or more verses each and is a succinct and soul-stirring summary of Śrīmat Bhāgavata. Every verse is addressed to the presiding Deity of Guruvayur direct, and easily reaches the high water mark of perfection in sound and sense. Almost every astika in Kerala recite some verses of this great poem every day, and there is no human heart which it cannot melt and mend. The merits of Krishna worship have been dilated upon by the poet in a masterly manner in more places than one. Bhattatiri points out than even Sankaracharya, the expounder of the Advaita Philosophy, found consolation in composing Bhashyas on Vishnusahasranama and Bhagavatgita and composing Vaishnavite hymns such as Vishnupadadikesa. He takes to task the Nambudri

1. On Nārāyaṇa and his works see *Malayala Rajyam*, Annual number. Many of these are still unprinted and manuscript copies are found in Travancore Maharaja's Library and throughout Malabar with the Śakkiyars. Article by Ullur S. Parameswara Ayyar in Cochin Maharaja's College Magazine, Vol. XII, No. 3.

2. Printed, *Travancore Sanskrit Series*, and at Trichur with an introduction by K. Vasudeva Moosad. The poet Unnayi Variyar at a later date imitated Bhattatiri in his Rāmapancaśati in praise of the Deity of Irinjalakkuda.

Brahmins of his time who were proud of their birth, but who were not devoted to the worship of Krishna." The whole of Bhagavatgīta had been beautifully summarised in a single verse which runs as follows:

जिष्णो त्वं कृष्णसूतः खलु समरमुखे बन्धुघाते दयालुम् ।
खिन्नं तं वीक्ष्य वीरं किमिदमयि सखे नित्यएकोयऽमात्मा ॥
कोवध्यः कोऽत्रहन्ता तदिह वधभयं प्रोऽझ्य मय्यर्पितात्मा ।
धर्म्यं युद्धं चरेति प्रकृतिमनयथा दर्शयन् विश्वरूपम् ॥

175. He wrote a number of prabhandhas, a variety of campū, on several themes: Rājasūya, Ḍūṭavākya, Páncālīsvayamvara, Ḍraupaḍī-pariṇaya, Subhaḍrābaraṇa, Kirāṭa, Bhāraṭayuḍḍha, Svargārohaṇa, Maṭsyāvāṭāra, Nṛgamokṣa, Gajenḍramokṣa, Syamanṭaka, Kuchelavṛṭṭa, Ahalyāmokṣa, Niranunāsika, Ḍakṣayaga, Parvaṭīsvayamvara, Aṣṭamī-campū, Gosthīnagaravarṇana, Kailasaśailavarṇana, Sūrpaṇakhāpralāpa, Nalāyanīcarita and Rāmakaṭha. Rajasūya reveals Bhattatiri's profound knowledge of Veda and Mimāmsa. These campūs were written by Bhattatiri mainly for the use of Śakkiyars. Many well known previous works such as Bālābhārata of Agasṭya, Bharatacampū of Ananṭabhatta, Veṇīsamhāra of Bhattanārāyana and Śiśupālavaḍha of Māgha have been freely quoted from, though the best portions are Bhattatiri's composition. Kotiviraha and Svāhāsuḍhākara are fine specimens of his poetry.[1]

His son Kṛṣṇakavi wrote the poem Ṭārāśaśānka.[2]

176. Manaveda or Eralpatti Raja, a Zamorin of Calicut, was an admirer of Nārāyaṇa and he imbibed his devotion by ardent study of his works, and his language displays the similarity. He lived in the 17th century A.D. He wrote his Kṛṣṇagīṭi or Kṛṣṇanāṭaka on Kali day 1736612[3] and his Mānaveḍacampūbhāraṭa on Kali day 1733111[4] besides a commentary on Campūrāmāyaṇa.[5] Ruḍraḍāsa describes the marriage of Canḍraleka and Mānaveḍarāja in his Sattaka Canḍralekhā or Mana-veḍacariṭa.[6]

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1. Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay.
2. Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay.
3. Printed, Trichur, with an introduction. *TC*, III. 4032, the date given is आह्या स्तुतिर्गाथिकैः ।
4. *TC*, II. 2580, *DC*, XXI, 8267. There is a commentary by Kṛṣṇa, *TC*, II. 2595.
5. *TC*, III, 4020. The date given is पापोचह्वालसोयम्
6. *TC*, IV. 4762.

177. Ramapaninada or Rāma whose popular name was Kunjunni Nambiyar was born of the Wariar caste near Kunnankulam, Cochin State, and lived about the middle of 18th century. He was a pupil of Nārayaṇabhatta. He is one of the best poets of Malabar in Sanskrit and Prakrit. For some time he was with the Zamorin of Calicut and latterly settled at Kotilinga (Cranganore) where he was performing service as drummer in the temple there. In Viṣṇuvilāsa,[1] a poem in 8 cantos, he describes the deeds of Viṣṇu in the nine incarnations. In Mukundaṣṭava, he sings the praise of Mukunda at the instance of King Rāmavarma of Srikantha family.[2] While he was living at Sendamangalam he wrote the poem Raghaviya in two parts *purva* and *uttara* in 20 cantos on the whole story of Rāmāyana.[3] Laliṭārāghavīya[4] and Pādukāpattābhiṣeka[5] are plays on the same theme. His Candrika is a Veeṭhi said to have been enacted in Trivandrum in the time of King Vancimarṭānḍa and Maḍanakeṭucariṭa is a prahasana. Besides various works on other Sastras he composed in Prakrit the poems Uṣaniruḍḍha, and Kamsavaho. He commented on Sukumra's Kṛṣṇavilāsa,[6] Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka's Govinḍābhiṣeka, and Nārāyaṇa's Ḍhāṭukāvya.[7]

RAMAVARMA of Cranganore was the junior prince, Yuvarāja. He lived about 1800. His Rāmacariṭa is a poem in 12 cantos[8] on the story of Rāma, and Rasasadanabhāṇa,[9] a fine play. Some of his ideas are very fanciful.[10]

178. Sri (Swati) **Ramavarma** Kulaśekhara, Maharaja of Travancore lived in 1813-1897 A.D. He was the son of Lakṣmi Rāni and inherited the throne in the womb. His father was Rājarājavarma of Chengannaseri. He was a linguist and his proficiency in Sanskrit was

1. *TC*, IV. 5136.
2. *TC*, IV. 5077. There is a commentary by a fellow pupil.
3. *DC*, XX. 7838; *TC*, IV. 5073, with commentary, *TC*, *IV*, 5005.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8542.
5. The manuscript is in Kalakath Illom in Malabar.
6. Printed, Trichur.
7. *DC*, XX. 7745; *TC*, IV. 5411.
8. Printed, Poona. *DC*, XX. 7815.
9. Ed. Kāvymāla, Bombay.
10. For instance:

राका मुखेन दशमी च कपोलकान्त्या
फालेन पञ्चमतिथिः प्रतिपन्नखाङ्कैः ।
एषा कुहूरपि कचप्रकरेण धत्ते
प्रायस्समस्ततिथिसङ्ग्रहभाजनत्वम् ॥

admirable. Besides his poems Paḍmanābhaśaṭaka, Ajāmilopākhyāna, Kucelopākhyāna and Bhakṭimanjarī,[1] he wrote the prabanḍhas, Uṭsavavarṇana and Syānanḍūrapuravarṇana.[2] In the latter, he described the incarnation and stories relating to God Paḍmanābha of Trivandrum.

179. **Keralavarma** (Valia Kovil Tambiran) was the consort of Maharani Lakshmi Bayi of Travancore. He was one of the greatest of modern poets and was held in high esteem. He lived between 1845-1910.[3] He has been called Kerala Kālidāsa. Of his Sanskrit works, we have the Viśākharājamahākāvya, Kamsavaḍhacampū, Śṛṇgāramanjarī, Guruvayupuresaṣṭoṭra, Vyāghrālayeśaśaṭaka, Soṇaḍrīśaśaṭaka[4] and Kṣamāpaṇasahasra.[5]

180. Manavikrama Ettan Tambiran, the Zamorin, died about 1920. He was an extempore poet and wrote several small poems. A. R. Rajaraja Varma (Koil Tambiran) was the superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Travancore Besides an original commentary on Pāṇini, he wrote Āngalasamrājya Mahākāvya and a poem Vitavibhāvari. He lived in 1863-1918 A.D.

Ṭola Nambudri wrote mahakavya, Tolakâvya. Edayath of Candanpalli wrote Rāmacariṭakāvya. Kunju Kuthan Tambiran wrote the poem Yāḍavavijaya. Nambudripad of Edavathikodmana wrote Rukmiṇīsvayamvaraprabanḍha ; Kunhukattan Tambiran of Cranganoor wrote Kirātavyāyoga and Babhruvāhanacampū ; Kochunni Tambiran of Cranganur wrote the poem Gosricariṭa, Bānāyudhacampū, Viprasanḍeśa and bhānas Anangavijaya and Vitarājavijaya. Ramawariar of Kaikolangara wrote Āryāsapṭaśaṭī. Unni Nambudripad of Muthukurisi and Mahiṣamangala Nambudri wrote bhānas. Ṿakathol Nārāyaṇamenon (born 1890) wrote Mahākāvya Ṭapaṭisamvarana, Ḍevīsṭava and Kṛṣṇaśaṭaka.

The poetess Manoramā died a hundred years ago. Lakṣmi Rājnī, a princess of Kadathanat Edavalath palace wrote Sanṭānagopālakāvya and died about 12 years ago. Subhaḍrā, princess of Cochin, who died in 1921, wrote Saubhaḍrasṭava.

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1. Ed. Tr. Sans. Series.
2. Ed. Tr. Sans. Series, with commentary.
3. Trav. State Manual, II. 438.
4. Printed, Travancore.
5. The manuscript is in Travancore.

CHAPTER VIII

Mahakavyas *(contd).*

181. Parvatiyamsavali[1] gives a list of rulers of Nepal with the lengths of their reigns and an occasional reference to dates of accession. It dates back from 1768 A.D, to seven or eight centuries before Kaliyuga. It consists of several dynasties of kings, and Bhūmivarman, the first king of the 5th of the Sūryavamśi dynasty, is distinctly described as having been crowned in Kali 1389 (1712 B.C.) and Sivaḍevavarman the 27th king of this Sūryavamśi dynasty is placed about 338 B.C. For, it will be seen that Amśuvarman, the 1st king of the 6th or Thakuri dynasty, is stated to have been crowned in the year Kali 3000 (101 B.C.) and reigned 68 years from 101 B.C. to 30 B.C. and in his time, Vikramāḍiṭya came to Nepal and established his Era of 57 B.C. there. Amśuvarman is described as the son-in-law of Viśvaḍevarman, the 3rd and last king of the 5th or the Suryavamsi dynasty who reigned for 51 years from 152 B.C. to 101 B.C. whom he succeeded. Similarly, the 30th king Viṣṇuḍevavarman, the predecessor of Viśvaḍevavarman reigned for 47 years from 199 to 152 B.C. His predecessor Bhīmaḍevavarman, the 29th king, reigned for 36 years from 235 to 299 B.C. the 28th king, Narenḍravarman reigned for 42 years from 277 to 235 B.C, and lastly the 27th king Sivaḍevavarman abovenamed reigned for 61 years from 338 to 277 B.C.

"But a good deal of confusion has been introduced into the chronology of the dynasties of kings that ruled at Nepal by Dr. Fleet. and other orientalists by mistaking the Harṣa Era given in some of the copper plates as referring to an era supposed to have originated with Harṣavarḍhana Silāḍitya of Kānyakubja (Kanouj) who is ascertained to have lived (or reigned) from 606 or 607 A.D. Thus in a Charter of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājāḍhirāja Śivaḍevavarman, the 27th king of the 5th or the Suryavamśi dynasty of the Nepal kings above referred to. (who according to Nepalese Chronology ruled from 338 B.C. to 277 B.C. for 61 years), the date of his accession to the throne is given as Harṣa Samvat 119. These orientalists at once assume the Harṣa Samvat to be an era founded by Harṣavarḍhana, the patron of Bāna and contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller who travelled

1. Published by Bhagavanlal Indraji, *IA*, XIII. 411-28.

in India from 629 to 645 A.D. On this assumption they take the Harsa Samvat 119 given in Sivadevavarman's charter as equivalent to 119+606 or 607 A,D. (the initial date of Harsabardhana Siladitya) or 725 or 726 A.D. and at once concluded that the Nepala Vamśāvali which places Śivaḍevavarman's accession about 338 B.C. calculated according to the dates given in Kaliyuga, must be a mistake, and that accordingly he should be placed about 725 or 726 A.D.

Taking this wrong assumption as true the whole of the Vamsavali of the Nepal Kings has been mercilessly meddled with and altered according to this new theory, in disregard of all the specific dates given there. There is no tradition or record that Harṣavarḍhana Śilāḍitya of Kanouj inaugurated any era of his own. If Harṣavarḍhana, or King Harṣa as he is usually called, had really founded any such era corresponding to 606 or 607 A.D., it must have been dated from the accession of that famous king, it is unlikely that if such an era had been founded by Harṣavardhana, the contemporary admirers of the King Bāna Bhatta and Hiuen Tasang, would have failed to notice it in their works.

How, then, is this difficulty to be solved? What does the Harṣa Samvat in Sivadevavarman's charter denote? The answer is this. In the Harṣa Era which dates 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama era, founded by Vikramāḍitya of Malava. The era of Sri Harṣa or the Harṣa Samvat may be taken to indicate the *terminus ad quem* of the suzerainty if Sri Harṣa Vikramāḍiṭya of Ujjari, the contemporary of Hiranya Maṭṛgupṭa and Pravarasena II, the 3rd, 4th and 5th Kings of of the Third Goanda Dynasty, described in Kalhaṇa's Rajaṭarangiṇi. It dates from 457 B.C. just 400 years before the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. Alberuni, the celebrated Muhamadan historian speaks of the existence of a Harṣa era in Nepal and other Northern countries in his time and according to him, it falls exactly about 457 B.C. just 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama Era.

Now if we take the Harṣa Samvat as referring to the Harsa Era spoken to by Alberuni Śivaḍevavarman of the Nepalese Charter in question will have to be placed B.C. 457, 119 or 338 B.C. which exactly tallies with the original date assigned to the said king in the Nepal and the objection raised by these authenticity of the Vamsavali have no foundation.

1. Alberuni's Inlia, translatol and publishcd by Dr. Edward C. Sachan, Vol. II, Ch, XLIX. p. 7.

182. Vardhamana was pupil of Govindasuri, a Śvetāmbara jain. He was in the Court of Siddharāja 1094-1143.[1] He composed his Ganaratnamahodadhi in Sam. 1197,[2] in which His Kriyaguptaka (where the predicate is concealed in the verses) and his Siddharāja-varṇana describing the history of his royal patron are quoted.

183. Sambhu[3] was a devotee of Śiva and a poet of the court of King Harṣa (1073-1101 A.D.) His son Ānanda,[4] also a poet, was one of the assembly of distinguished persons that heard the first reading of Śrīkanthacarita by Mankha at the house of Alankāra,[5] minister of King Jayasimha (1129-1159 A.D.). His verses are quoted in Subhāṣitāvali by Vallabhadeva. He appears to have travelled all over India and frequently refers to Malabar and South India. He admires fluency of diction.[6]

His Rājendrakarṇapūra[7] is a eulogium of King Harṣa, his patron, in the form of an address and Ayoktimuktālatā is a collection of ingenious verses on various topics indicating an indirect meaning.[8]

184. Kalhana was the son of Campaka. Campaka was minister of King Harṣa of Kāśmir (1089-1101 A.D.). When that king fell into trouble and was finally assasinated he was faithful to him and kept away from politics. Campaka had a brother Kanaka to whom King Harṣa taught music. Kalyāṇa or Alakadatta was his patron.[9] Kalhana was well-versed in all legendary lore and was by nature well-fitted for historical investigation. His ambition was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kaṣmir. After Sussala's son Jayasimha (1127-1159 A.D.) came to the throne and he was in his Court. He began his work in 1149

1. See para 70 *supra*.
2. Ed. London.
3. *PR*, I. 11-12. See para 72 *Supra*. *CC*, I. 636. *Raj*, VII. 948.
4. Vallabhadeva in his Subhāṣitāvali quotes poets Tho-Ānanda, Bhattānandaka, Rajanakānandaka and Randaranda and it is not possible to identify them. There is a poet Ānanda referred to in Padyāvali.
5. अशेषभिषगग्रण्यं शरण्यं शास्त्रपद्धतेः ।
ववन्देऽथीतमानन्दं सुतं शम्भुमहाकवेः ॥ *Srikan.* XXV. 97.
6. He says पुंसामेकमखण्डनं पुनरिदं शम्भोर्मते मण्डनम् ।
यन्निष्व्रीडितपार्वणेन्दुशकलस्यन्दोपमास्सूक्तयः ॥
7. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay. He refers to Munja (verse 17).
8. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, See *PR*, I. 81.
9. See under Mankha, para 72 supra.

A.D.,[1] and completed his Rājataranginī in a year with the prevailing sentiment Śānta.

Kalhaṇa was at once a poet and chronicler. He did not forget his poetry in the course of his narration. His was a Mahākāvya in every sense of the term, with *śānta* as the prevailing sentiment. The turbulent times of his boyhood and the pathetic story of King Harṣa to whom his father *adhered* must have made him pessimistic and there is a vain of satire everywhere. He was very god-fearing and his devotion to Śiva was extreme and Him he praised in his Arḍhanārīśvarastotra.[2] It appears as if his motive in writing the History of Kings was not merely to record a story of events mundane, to which he attached little importance, but to illustrate the unreality of human fortunes and the vicissitudes of pompous royalty. Just as Vālmīki did, Kalhaṇa realised that the doctrine of fate was the sensible solution of life.[3]

Before proceeding to attempt the poem he rightly realised his duty and when he said

श्लाघ्यस्स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृता ।
भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥—I. 7.

and he kept up this ideal unaffected by the events of his chronicle.

According to Kashmir tradition, he wrote a poem Jayasimhābhyudaya, apparently a history of the achievements of King Jayasimha.[4]

185. Kalhaṇa mentions previous writers :—"Suvrata,[5] whose work, he says, was made difficult by misplaced learning ; Kshemendra who drew up a list of kings, *Nṛpāvali*,[6] of which, however, he says, no part

1. Ed. by Durga Prasad and by Troyer. Translated into English by Y. C. Datta and by M. A. Stein "*Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*" with a valuable introduction. For editions and translations and for notes on Kalhaṇa, see *IA*, IV. 107 ; VI. 264 ; XVIII. 65, 97 ; XL. 97 ; XVII. 301. See also *JBRAS*, Extra No. 1877. On the close logical affinity between Harṣacarita and Rajataranginī, see *VOJ*, XII. 33 ; *JRAS*, (1894), 485 and Stein's Int. I. 133.

2. क्षणभङ्गिनिजन्तूनां स्फुरितेपरिचिन्तिते ।
मूर्धाभिषेकः शान्तस्य रसस्यात्र विचार्यताम् ॥—I. 23.

3. Printed, Kāvyāmālā, Bombay.

4. A verse of this poem is quoted in Ratnakaṇṭha Sārasammuccaya. For verses quoted in anthologies, see Peterson *Int.* to *Subh.* 18.

5. There are poets Suvraṭa and Suvraṭadaṭṭa quoted in *Skm.*

6. Mentioned in Kāvyāmālā I, 35 Rājāvali is a history of Kings of Hindustan from before of Kaliyuga up to Warren Hastings by Vijayagovinda Simha. *CC*, I. 603.

was free from mistakes; Nilamuni, who wrote the NILAMATAPURANA:[1] Helaraja, who composed a list of kings in twelve thousand verses; and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the SRICHCHHAVILLA. His own work, he tells us, was based on eleven collections of RAJAKATHAS or stories about kings and on the works of Nilamuni." He verified the traditional dates by reference to grants, inscriptions, manuscripts etc.

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1. Ed. by Kanajilal with preface and appendices. See *Bhau Daji*, 110; *Stein*, 202.

In the introduction to Rājataraṅgiṇi, Stein says "The oldest extant text, which deals in detail with Kasmirian Tirthas, is the *Nilamatapurana*. This work which Kalhana used as one of his sources of information, claims to give the sacred legends regarding the origin of the country, and the special ordinances which Nila, the lord of Kasmir Naga, had revealed for the worship and rites to be observed in it. It is unnecessary to refer here to the legends which are related at the commencement of the work, and to 'the rites proclaimed by Nila' which are next detailed, and with the former occupy about two-thirds of the extant text. These parts have been fully discussed by Prof. Buhler in his lucid analysis of the Nilamata. The remaining portions, however, deserve special notice. For, to use Prof. Buhler's words, 'they form a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kasmir and their legends.'

In the first place we find there a list of the principal Nagas or sacred springs of Kasmir (vv. 900 975). This is followed by the interesting legend regarding the *Maha padma* lake, the present Volur, which is supposed to occupy the place of the submerged city of Candrapura (vv. 976-1008). The Purana then proceeds to an enumeration of miscellaneous Tirthas chiefly connected with Siva's worship (vv. 1009-18). To this is attached a very detailed account, designated a *Bhutesvaramahatmya* of the legends connected with the numerous lakes and sites on Mount Haramukuta sacred to Siva and Parvati (vv. 1019-1148). Of a similar Mahatmya relating to the Kapatesvara Tirtha, the present Kother, only a fragment is found in our extant text (vv. 1149-68). The list of Vishnu Tirthas which succeeds it (vv. 1169 1218), is comparatively short, as indeed the position of this god is a secondary one in the popular worship of Kasmir.

After a miscellaneous list of sacred Sangamas or river confluences, Nagas and lakes (vv. 1219-78), we are treated to a somewhat more detailed synopsis of the chief Tirthas of Kasmir (vv. 1271-1371). This is of special interest, because an attempt is made here to describe these Tirthas in something like topographical order, and to group with them such localities as are visited along with them on the same pilgrimage. It is thus possible to determine, with more certainty than in the case of other Tirtha lists, the particular holy sites really intended by the author. This synopsis starts in the east with the fountain of the Nilanaga (Verunaga), and follows with more or less accuracy the course of the Vitasta and its tributaries down to the gorge of Varahamula. A short *Vitastamahatmya*, describing the original and miraculous powers of this holiest of Kasmir rivers (vv. 1371-1401) closes the text of the Nilamata, such as it is found in our manuscripts."

34

He used the Laukika era in his computation. "The 24th year of the Laukika corresponds with the year 1070 of Sakakaḷa."[1]

186. Book I treats of Gonanda dynasty. Book II brings us to a new line of Kings and Book III mentions the restoration of Gonanda line under Meghavāhana. Book IV begins in Karkota Dynasty. The dynasty was overthrown by Avanṭivarman, grandson of Uṭpala. Book V narrates the history of the Uṭpala dynasty. The Lohaṛa dynasty succeeds peacefully in Book VI and Book VII concludes with the assasination of King Harṣa. In Book VIII there is a long account of the country of

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1. लौकिकाब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य सांप्रतम् ।
सप्तत्याभ्यधिकं यातं सहस्रं परिवत्सराः ॥

"Laukika era is placed on Caitra Suddha I of Kali year 25 (expired) or the year 3076-75 B.C. Laukika year is counted at present in Kasmir from the first day of the bright half of the luni-solar month Caitra. Kalhaṇa follows the identical reckoning. In *Raj.* VII. 311. Kalhaṇa says that Uccala was murdered on 6th Pausa Suddha of Laukika 4187 and the dethronement of his successor who 3 months and 27 days later, that is, 3rd Vaisakha Suddha of Laukika 4188. The months are reckoned by his Purṇimāṇṭa as it is to day in Kāṣmir. For a full discussion of the Laukika era, see Buhler's *Rep.* 59 *et seq* and Cunningham's *Indian Eras* 6-17. The omission of the centuries in giving Laukika dates is an ancient custom."

"The Lok-kal, or "common era," called also the Sapt-Rishikal, or "era of the seven Rishis," is a cycle of 2700 years divided into twenty-seven centenary periods, a new reckoning being started at the beginning of each century. The theory of the cycle is, that the seven Rishis, or stars of Ursa Major remain for one century in each of the twenty-seven nakshatras, or lunar mansions. All authorities agree in making Aswini the first of the Nakshatras, and in stating that the Mahabharata took place when the Rishis were in the lunar constellation Magha, the tenth of the series. The Puranas, and the practice of all the people who still use this cycle, excepting only the Kashmiris, agree in making the era of Yudhishthira the same as the Kali-yuga. All, however, agree in stating that, at the time of the Mahabharata, the seven Rishis had already passed 75 years in Magha. But as Varaha places the Great war 653 years after the beginning of the Kali-yuga, or in 2449, B.C., that year should have been the 76th of the tenth Nakshatra, and the 976th year of the cycle. This would fix the first year of each centenary period to the 25th year of each century B.C., and to the 76th year of each century A.D. But to prevent the confusion that would thus have arisen Varaha simply ignored the generally accepted belief that the Rishis had spent 75 years in Magha when the Mahabharata took place and retained the initial points of the Saptarshi centuries only bringing Magha down from B.C. 3177 (or 3102 & 75) to B.C. 2477. Accordingly, Varaha's followers place the initial point of the Vribaspati Chakra in 3377 B.C. in Aswini so that each century begins in the 26th year of each century of the Kali-yuga exactly as Dr. Buhler was informed. This also accords with the statement of my Kashmiri informant that the Rishis had completed three revolutions less 25 years in the Dwapara-yuga before the Kali-yuga began; that is, their Chakra preceded the Kali-yuga by 275 years, equivalent to B. C. 3377, or 3102+275 years."— *Cunningham.*

forty years from the accession of Uccala. The book mentions Jayasimha, son of Sussala, as the reigning sovereign,[1] and concludes by an apt simile comparing the seven parts of his chronicle with the seven branches of the Godāvarī.[2]

187. Kalhaṇa criticises the view that Mahābhārata was fought about beginning of Kali Yuga and fixes it as 653 years later. He equates the 24th year of Laukika era 1070 years of Saka era and places the first King Gonanda in the year 653 Kali. There he was in error and his attempt to go against the tradition landed him in a misapprehension.[3]

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1. In all, the books treat of the dynasties of (i) Gonanda (1st and 2nd) (ii) Karkota (Duralabhavardhana to Anangāpida: 601-855 A.D) (iii) Uṭpala (Avantivarman to Sankatavarman and Pārṭha: 855 to 939 A. D.) (iv) Viradeva (Yasaskaradeva) and Sangrāmadeva: 940 to 949 A.D. (v) Divira (Parvaguptа to Bhima: 950 to 1003 A D, (vi) Lohara (Sangrāmaraja to Jayasimha: 1004 to 1158 A.D. For geneology, see C. V. Vaidya's *History of Med. India*, I. 202-24.

2. गोदावरी सरिदिवोचुमुलैस्तरङ्गै-
वैक्रैस्फुटं सपदि ससभिरापतन्ती ।
श्रीकान्तराजविपुलाभिजनाब्धिमध्यं
विश्रान्तये विशति राजतरङ्गिणीयम् ॥

3. In the Introduction to Rājaṭaranginī, Stein says: "Kalhana takes as the starting-point of the chronological calculations the traditional date indicated by Varahamihira's Brihatsamhita for the coronation of Yudhisthira, the Pandava hero of the epics, viz. the year 653 of the Kali era. The date of this legendary event is accepted by him also for the accession of Gonanda I, the first of the 'lost' kings of Kasmir, whose name, as we are told, was recovered by the Chronicler (or his predecessors) from the Nilamata Purana. The exact reason for the equation of these dates is nowhere given. But it appears that the story as contained in the earlier version of the Nilamata which Kalhana had before him, represented Gonanda I in a general way as a contemporary of the 'Kauravas and Pandavas.'

Kalhana next assumes a period of 2268 years as the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda I and his successors as detailed in Book I. For this statement Kalhana does not adduce his authority, though it is one of the main basis of his chronology. But the importance which he attached to it, is evident from the trouble he takes to prove its correctness. He does this by showing that if to the figure of 2268 years are added the 653 years from the commencement of the Kali era to Gonanda I.'s accession, as well as the years (1328) representing the rough total of the reigns described in Books II-VIII, we arrive at an aggregate of 4249 years which corresponds exactly to the 4249 years of the Kali Yuga elapsed in Saka 1070, the date when Kalhana wrote his introduction.

Kalhana himself tells us that the calculation of a total of 2261 years for the regnal period of the first Gonanda dynasty had been "thought wrong by some authors." As the ground of their objection he indicates the belief (according to him, erroneous) which placed the 'Great War' of the Kurus and the Pandavas at the close of the Dvapara Yuga, i.e. at the commencement of the Kali era. From this remark it is evident that

188. Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī was followed by Jonaraja and Śrīvara. Jonaraja wrote the history from King Jayasimha to Sultan

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Kalhana was not the first to propose the above figure for the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda and his descendants, and, further, that the connection of Gonanda I's date with the legendary date of the Bharata war was generally assumed by writers on Kasmir history. Kalhana's reticence does not allow us to go beyond this. We know neither the source from which he obtained that base of his chronological system, nor by what figure the critics he alludes to were prepared to replace it.

Kalhana's Introduction furnishes us only with two more chronological statements of a general character. One is that at the time of Kalhana's writing or in Saka Samvat 1070, "on the whole 2330 years had passed since the accession of Gonanda III," and the other that 1266 years were "believed to be comprised in the sum of the reigns of the fifty-two lost kings."

In explanation of the first statement it has to be noted that it is only from Gonanda III onwards that Kalhana is able to indicate the length of individual reigns. With this ruler begins in fact the continuous list of kings which Kalhana professedly obtained from the works of earlier chroniclers. We have already seen that a 'rough calculation,' as implied by Kalhana's expression (*prayah*, 'on the whole') of the aggregate duration of those reigns actually gives us the total of 2330 years. Kalhana does not tell us distinctly whether he took the figures for individual reigns summed up in this 'rough' total, also from the "works of former scholars" which supplied the dynastic names from Gonanda III onwards. It is hence *a priori* not certain whether these earlier sources already knew the date of Gonanda III's accession as indicated by Kalhana's calculation, viz. 1919 Kali or 1182 B.C.

As regards the second statement, allotting 1266 years to the whole of the reigns of the 'lost' kings who preceded Gonanda III, it is evident that this figure could easily be computed either from the traditional sum of 2268 years for the whole period of the first Gonanda dynasty or from the rough total of 2330 years just discussed. Kalhana's words, in fact, seem to imply that this computation had been made by himself.

Period from the death of Cippata-Jayapida, Laukika-Samvat 38 (iv. 703), to the date of Kalhana's Introduction, Laukika-Samvat 42 (i. 52).—335 0 0

The exact total of these figures would be 1329 years, 3 months and 28 days, But if we disregard the odd months and days found in the aggregate of Books ii. and iii., the result will be again 1328 years. We are all the more justified in adopting this manner of calculation as Kalhana's words (i. 53) distinctly imply that he himself had arrived at the figure of 2330 years for the total from Gonanda III to his own time by a similar 'rough' reckoning.

Total of reigns of the first Gonanda dynasty.	..		2268
Deduct for reigns from Gonanda dynasty, to Yudhisthira I	..		1002
Results a total for 'lost' kings' years.	..		1266
The same result is obtained by deducting from	..		
the number of Kali years elapsed in Saka Samvat 1070	..	—	4249
the aggregate number of years of known reigns.	..	2330	
& the number of Kali years passed before Gonanda I.	..	653	
			2983
			1266

Jainlabidin (1417-1467 A.D.). His pupil Śrīvara continued the history from 1419 to 1486 A.D. The story of a few more years till the annexation of Kasmir by Akbar was told by Prājyabhatta and his pupil Suka in Rājāvalipaṭāka.[1]

The following calculation shows that the year in which Kalhana wrote his introduction, was Laukika samvat 4224 :—

Distance between Kali 25 (initial date of Laukika era) and the initial date of the Saka era.	.. 3154
Distance between Sakasamvat 1 and Kalhana's time.	.. 1070
Total of Saptarsi years	.. 4224

We are led by two calculations to the total of 1328 years as Kalhana's aggregate of the reigns from the close of the first Gonanda dynasty to Kalhana's time. Deducting from the total of 2268 years for the reigns comprised in Book i, these 1266 years which Kalhana allows "for the sum of the reigns of the fifty-two lost kings" (i. 54), there remain 1002 years for the aggregate rule of the kings the length of whose reigns is specified in Book i, (from Gonanda III. to Narendraditya I.), and of Yudhisthira, the last king of Book I, the duration of whose reign Kalhana has omitted to indicate. If we deduct these 1002 years from the rough total of 2330 years which Kalhana mentions as having elapsed from the accession of Gonanda III. to his own time (i. 53), we get result of 1328 years as the aggregate length of the reigns in Books ii.-viii.

The other calculation we may follow is to add up the figures given in the seven later Books. These are, according to the text, adopted for our translation as follow :—

	Years.	Months.	Days.
Total of reigns of Book ii.	192	0	0
" iii.	589	10	1
" iv.			
from Durlabhavardhana to Cippata-Jayapida.	212	5	27

P. L. Narasimhaswami says (*IA*, XL. 162). "The fallacy of Kalhana's calculation will be evident on a little consideration. He says that 2330 years have elapsed between Gonarda III and himself, and 1266 years between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. Therefore (2330-266) 3596 years must have elapsed between Gonanda II and himself, who lived in 1070 Saka. This assigns a date (3596-1070) 2526 years before the Saka era to Gonanda II. But from older authorities, Kalhana learns the fact that king Gonanda II was too young at the time of the Great Battle to take part in it. According to the old view, the Battle of Mahabharata took place 3179 years before the Saka era (i.e. at the beginning of the Kaliyuga), while Kalhana's calculation makes the time of Gonanda II (a contemporary of Pandhavas) to 2526 years before Saka era. So to get over this difficulty, Kalhana brings down the Pandhavas to 635 (3179-2526) Kali. This is the explanation of Kalhana's calculation. The author's real mistake lies in th statement that 1266 years have elapsed between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. For he says in his own book पञ्चत्रिंशन्महीपाला मग्नाविस्मृतिसागरे Thirty-five Kings were drowned in the ocean of forgetfulness. Such mistakes in his chronology led him to his wrong conclusion."

1. These are printed along with Kalhana's work in Bombay.

Jonarāja was son of Nonarāja and grandson of Lovlarāja.[1] He wrote commentaries on Kirātārjunīya,[2] Pṛthvīrajavijaya,[3] and Śrīkanthacarita. Śrīvara also wrote Subhāṣitavali, Jainarājataraṅgīṇi, and Kathākautuka in verse, a history of Yusuf and Zulika translated from the original Persian poem of Jami.[4]

189. SANDHYAKARANANDIN, son of Prajāpatinandin, describes the history of King Ramapāla of Bengal, who regained his ancestral kingdom which had been usurped by Bhīma and ruled in 1104-1130 A.D., in the poem Rāmapālacarita.[5]

190. Jalhana[6] is mentioned by Mankha with admiration as a minister at the Court of Rājapuri the capital of King Somapāla, son of Sangrāmapāla. When Sussala was preferred to his eldest brother Uccala to the throne of Kasmir, he went away displeased to Rājapuri.[7] On the history of that king he wrote a poem Somapālavilāsa[8] on which Rājānaka Rucaka commented.[9] His Mugdhopadesa is ethical.[10]

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1. *CC*, I. 208; see Peterson *Int.* to *Subh.* 43.
2. Composed in 1449 A.D.
3. *BKR*, 161 x, xiii; *CC*, I. 667; *BR*, (1883-4), 54.
4. Printed (foreign) with a translation by Rich. Schmidt.
5. Ed. by Haraprasad Sastri, *Mem. ASB*, III. See *EI*, IX. 821.
6. He is different from Ārchaka Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa, author of Suktimutavalī (*JBRAS*, XVII. 57), on which see under SUBHASITAS *post*.
7. See para 72 *supra*. Peterson, *Sudh*, 41-2.

श्रीमद्राजपुरीसन्धिविग्रहस्य नियोगिनम् ।
अथानर्च वचोभिस्तं जल्हणं विनयाञ्चितैः ॥

8. संग्रामपाले नृपतौ तस्मिन्नवसरे मृते ।
तत्सूनुस्सोमपालाख्यं पितृराज्यं समादधे ॥
राज्यार्हमग्रजं बुध्द्वा सोभिषिच्यत चाक्रिकैः ।
इति कोपान्नरेन्द्रोऽभूत्क्रुध्यन्राजपुरीं प्रति ॥

9. This is quoted by Ratnakantha in Stutikusumāñjali. See *CC*, I. 202. There is a verse of the poem preserved in Kāvyaprāśa-sārasamuccaya.

मार्गं निसर्गादवलम्ब्य वक्रं सुधारसौघं मधुरं वमन्ती ।
चान्द्री च मूर्तिः कवितुश्च सूक्तिर्न धार्यते मूर्धनि नेश्वरेण ॥

10. Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay.

191. Jayadratha,[1] (Rājānaka) was the son of Śṛngāraratha,[2] and brother of Jayaraṭha of Kaṣmir. He was a pupil of Subhaṭadatta and Śankhadhara. He says in his Tantrālokaviveka that his great grand-father's brother Śivaratha was minister of King Uccala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.)[3] Jayadratha quotes from Pṛthvīrājavijaya composed in about 1190 A.D. and must therefore have lived about the beginning of 13th century A.D.[4] In poetics he wrote Alankāravimarśinī,[5] and Alānkārodāharaṇa.[6]

His poem HARACARITACINTAMANI[7] "relates in thirty-two cantos as many legends connected with Siva and his various Avataras. Eight of these legends are localized at well-known Kasmirian Tirthas, and give the author ample opportunity of mentioning sacred sites of Kasmir directly or indirectly connected with the former. Jayadratha's detailed exposition helps to fix clearly the form which the legends regarding some of the most popular of Kasmirian Tirthas had assumed in the time immediately following Kalhana. The local names as recorded by Jayadratha, agree closely with those of the Rajatarangini. They prove clearly that the forms employed by Kalhana must have been those generally current in the Sanskrit usage of the period. For the interpretation of the Nilamata's brief notices the Haracaritacintamani is of great value. Its plain and authentic narrative of the various local legends enables us often to trace the numerous modifications which the latter as well as the names of localities connected with them have undergone in the extant Mahatmyas. Jayadratha has well earned the honour unwittingly bestowed upon him by those who brought his fourteenth canto which deals with the story of Kapatesvara, into general circulation as the authoritative Mahatmya of that Tirtha at the present day."[8]

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1. The published texts have the name Jayaratha. In Stein's Kasmir Catalogue, the name Jayaratha is given as author of Alankāravimarśinī and Jayaratha and Jayadratha are treated as identical. Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 200, 201, 754; II, 157, 754) treats them as brothers and makes Jayadratha author of these works given above and Jayaratha as author of Tantrālokaviveka and relies on Peterson's manuscript of Ratnakantha's Sārasamuccaya.

2. Śṛngāra's verses are quoted in *Skm*, V. 25.

3. *Raj*, VIII. 111.

4. Jacobi identifies Jayadratha's father's patron Rājarāja with Rājadeva who ruled at Satisaras in 1203-1226 A.D. (See Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini*, 79).

5. This is a commentary on Ruyyaka's Alankārasarvasva. Printed, Bombay.

6. *SKO*, 59 (where the name is found as Jayaratha).

7. Ed. by Sivadatta and Parab, Bombay. *CC*, I. 754; *BKR*, XIV. 61; *PR*, II. 18.

8. Steins *Int.* to *Raj.*

192. Pṛthvirajavijaya[1] is an epic by Chandakavi on the life of Pṛṭhvīraja, the Chahaman King of Ajmeer. He defeated Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori in 1191 A.D., but was however overcome and killed later on. Soon after the victory the poem seems to have been begun and was left unfinished probably owing to his adversity. Jonarāja had commented on it.

193. Vasudevaratha, son of Govinda of Atreyagotra, flourished in the court of Puruṣottama (Anangabhīma) of Kattak about 1423 A.D. His father's father Śrinivāsa wrote a poem in 20 cantos Laliṭarāghava.

In his GANGAVAMSANUCARITA,[2] in prose and poetry, he describes the dynastic history of the Ganga princes who ruled over Kalinga.[3] It is mostly in the form of dialogue between Viḍyārṇava and his wife Līlāvaṭi who seem to have previously visited the Magaḍha and the Karnāta countries. "He at first goes to a miserly Andara King. He then visits Sri Kurma and thence proceeds to Puri. The car festival of the place is described and the history of Purusottama, the traveller's chief patron, is described at length. Anangabhima, as early Ganga prince, is said to have founded Padmanabhapura as an agrahara for South Indian Brahmins. Bhimapura was likewise constructed and called after his name. Ananga's great-grandson bore his name and conquered the princes of Katak in 1193 A.D. His twelfth descendant established Kapilendra of the throne. The Gangas left the Oriya country and settled at Gudarikataka. In the eighth Pariccheda is given a detailed genealogy of the Gangas down to Purusotamadeva. His third ancestor Padmanabha, is said to have killed one Mallik, a Muhammadan general sent by the Emperor of Delhi, at a place called Nindapuri. A more detailed examination of the work will furnish the historian with much useful material for his purpose.

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1. Ed. *BI*, by S. K. Belvalkar with Jonarāja's commentary. *CC*, I. 345. See Harbilas Sarda, *JRAS*, (1913), 259. There is a Pṛthvīrājacariṭa (printed, Bombay). One Pṛthvirāja has written a poem Rukmiṇikṛṣṇavalli in prakrit, CC, I. 527.

2. *TC*, IV. 4415.

3. For Ganga dynasty, see *IA*, XII, III, XIII, 187.

For inscriptions of Devenḍravarman, see *IA*, X 243, XVI, 204, XVIII. 143, of Inḍravarman, *IA*, X. 243, XIII. 119, 124, XVI. 131, Saṭyavarman, *IA*, X. 243, XIV. 10, Nandaprabhanjanavarman, *IA*, X. 243, XIII. 48, Ananṭavarman, *IA*, XVIII, 161, dated Saka 1003, 1040 and 1057.

For a short sketch of history of Kalingas by S. Krishnasami Iyengar, see *AHQ*, I. 1-11.

On Inḍravarman plates by R. Subbarao, see *AHQ*, III. 183.

VRAJASUNDARA was the son of Balabhaḍra of Caiṭanya school. He was a poet of the Court of King Anangabhīma. In his poem Sulocanā-māḍhava he describes the story of the marriage of prince Māḍhava, son of Vikrama, king of Ṭālaḍharaja with Sulocana daughter of Guṇākara, King of Ḍīvyanṭi in Plaksaḍvīpa.[1]

194. Virupaksa's COLACAMPU contains a fictitious account of the Cola King Kuloṭṭunga and his son Ḍevacola. This is said to be contrary to epigraphical evidence. Śiva came as a Brahmin to him and pleased with his devotion gave him sovereignty. He refused it but consented on condition of repairing all Siva temples. Siva revealed himself and went away. Kubera then appeared, related the story of Tanjasura who obtained salvation through the favour of Ānanḍavallī at Śamīvana (ancient site of Tanjore) and crowned Kuloṭṭunga at Tanjore. He repaired several temples, crowned his son and went to heaven.[2]

SADAKSARIDEVA, the well-known Canarese poet, lived at Dhanugoor in Mysore. He was a pupil of Uḍḍandaḍeva who flourished at the beginning of the 15th century. In his Kavikarṇarasāyana or Mahācola-rajīya he describes in 10 cantos the history of a Cola King.[3]

195. UDAYARAJA was the son of Prayāgaḍāsa and pupil of Rama-ḍāsa. His Rājavinoda celebrates the life and doings of Sultan Mahommad He calls him Rājanyacūdāmaṇi and says that he surpasses Karṇa in liberality and in his footsteps attend Śrī and Saraswaṭī. In seven cantos, he describes the genealogy of Mahomad from Myzaffar Khan, his Durbar hall and amusements and his exploits in war. This eulogy by a Hindu Brahmin writer leads us to doubt whether all that is said in our published Indian Histories about the cruelty and persecutions of Sultan Mahomad may not after all be true.[4]

196. P. G. Rāmārya narrates the life Ghazni Muhammad in Ghazni Mahamadcariṭa.[5]

Biruḍāvali is an alliterative poem in praise of Emperor Jehangir.[6]

1. *TC*, IV. 5665 (breaks off in 14th canto).
2. *HR*, III. 2031. His Śaraḍāsārvari is a commentary on Canḍrāloka (*Ibid.* 1617).
3. *CMy.*, 243 (only two cantos are available). He praises Pārakurti Somanāṭha. There is a commentary by Vengana, Telugu poet of Madura.
4. See A.E. Gough, *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 131.
5. *Sah*, XVIII.
6. *CSC*, (1903), 95. There are other works of the same name by Kalyāṇa and Raghuḍeva (*Ibid*, 96, 97).

AKBARNAMAH is a Sanskrit translation of the Persian work of that name relating the history of Emperor Akbar.[1] There is the poem Ṭodarmallakāvya on the life of Todarmal, his financial minister.[2] Kālidāsa Vidyāvinoda wrote Śivājicarita.[3]

LAKṢMIPATI was the son of Viśvarūpa, son of Jayadeva. He wrote Avadullacarita on the life of king-maker Abdulla who lived in 18th century. The poem is not divided into cantos or chapters and contains many Persian terms.[4]

197. Keladi Basavabhupala was the son of Somaśekhara and Cennāmbā. The family of Keladi to which he belonged traces its descent from Basava whose son Counda distinguished himself as a great warrior and was made the Governor of Pulladesa by the King of the country. His son Sadāsiva fought under Emperor Rāma Rāya of Vijianagar. Under his successors the viceroyalty was augmented by presents conquered territories by the Emperor. During Basava's minority, Cennāmbā acted as regent and once vanquished the forces of the general of Emperor Aurangazeb. Basava was proficient in the Śivādvaita and worshipped Śiva in the form of Vīrabhadra. He had the titles Rajādhirāja, Kotikolāhala and Parayādavamurari.

His SIVATATVARATNAKARA[5] is a unique encyclopaedia, said to incorporate the essence of all arts and sciences treated in the Vedas and the Āgamas. The work was completed in Śaka Candrāgnyṛtukṣmā (1631) that is 1709-10 A.D. Apart from the valuable information it collects on different topics, it gives a history of the House of Keladi and a legendary account of the foundation of the City of Vijianagar by Vidyāranya and a history of the emperors that ruled there. The work is divided into Ṭarangas and Kallolas after the manner of Kathasaritsāgara.

Rājakālanirṇaya of Vidyāraṇya, gives a history of Kings of Vijianagar from its foundation. It is said that Harihara and Bukka were guardians of the treasury of Vīrarudra and after him of Suratrāṇa.[6]

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1. *CSC*, (1904), No. 5.
2. *CMy, OMS*, 684.
3. *Jl. of Sam. Sah. Parishat*, XI.
4. *CSC*, (1904), No. 6.
5. Printed in Madras. For extracts see *SVH*, 194, 337-364,
6. *DC*, XX. 8587. On Vidyāranya, see para 125 *supra*.

198. **Rudra**[1] was the son of Ananṭa and grandson of Keśava. He belonged to the Deccan and appears to have gone abroad to Courts of Northern India. In Mayūragiri, he was patronised by King Nārāyaṇa Shah and his son Pratāpa Shah. In his RASTRAUDHAVAMSA, a poem of 20 cantos he describes the history of the Bagulas of Mayūragiri, from the first King of the dynasty, Rastraudha, King of Kanouj. This poem was composed in 1596 A.D. Later he wrote a work in prose, divided into Ullasas, *Jehangir* SHAH *Charitra.* Fragments of this work have been discovered in Nasik. The poet thus gives a mythical origin to the dynasty "Once Siva was playing at dice with Parvaṭi on the peaks of Mt. Kailasa. One of the dice accidently struck the moon in Siva's crest and a boy of eleven sprang from the moon. Pleased with his prayer, Siva granted him the kingship of Kanyakubja. At this time Latana, who seems to be the tutelary goddess of the kings of Kanyakubja, requested that the boy should be given to her for the throne of Kanouj. Siva granted her request. Virabhadra presented him with a sword of victory. Latana then took the boy and gave him to the king Narayana of Kanouj of solar race, who was praying God for a son. The goddess remaining invisible, told the king that the boy will be known as Rashtraudha as he would support both his kingdom and the family." The poem describes in later cantos the expeditions of King Narayana Shah and his son Pratapashah, the last of which was directed against Bālāpura in the Virata country."[2] Rudra's poetry is enchanting and many of his fancies are rare and original.[3]

199. Ṭarācanḍroḍaya of Vaiḍyanātha (Maithila) given in 20 cantos the history of King Tārācanḍra.[4] Canḍraśekhara was the son of

1. He is different from the poet and rhetorician Ruḍra or Ruḍrata, for whom see Chapter of Alankara *post.*

2. Ed. by Embar Krishnamachariya, with summary of poem and an elaborate historical introduction by C. D. Dalal in *Gaek. Or. Series.*

3. For instance see :

लसन्मालतीमालिकां कण्ठदेशे नवालक्तकं च बिम्बाधरोष्ठे ।
कुचे चन्दनं वीक्ष्य काचित्सपत्न्याः प्रिये सापराधेऽपि योषा तुतोष ॥
आरामशोभामवलोकयन्त्या वसन्तलक्ष्म्याश्चरणाम्बुजोत्थान् ।
लाक्षानुरागानिव नीरजाक्ष्यो बालप्रवालान् ददृशुर्लतासु ॥
वधूजने चिन्वति पुष्पमाला भयाकुलाः षट्पदपायिकावाः ।
आरामपाला इव कामराजं कोलाहलैर्जागरयांबभूवुः ॥ XV, 59-6.

4. *CC*, I, 229; *JBRAS*, XII. The manuscript is dated *Sam.* 1736.

Jinamitra of Gauda country. His Rajasūrjanacaritra in 20 cantos describes the life of his patron of King Sūrjana.[1]

Visvanatha was the son of Nārāyana of the Vaidya family.[2] He was patronised by Kings Kāmadeva and his son Jagatsimha of the Rānaka race and in their praise wrote his Jagatprakāśakāvya in 14 cantos.[3] Among his other works are Śatruśalyakāvya[4] and Kōśakalpataru.[5]

Mallabhatta Harivallabha describes the history of Jeypoor State in Jayanaganpancaranga.[6]

Mayuravarmacaritra in prose and verse in 8 parts is a history of King Mayūravarman, the founder of the Kādamba dynasty of Jayantīpura (Banavāsi).[7] Jāmavijaya, a poem in 7 cantos, on the history of Jama dynasty of Kaccha and Navagara was composed by Vāṇinātha about the end of 16th century A.D.[8] Vamśalatā of Udayanācārya contains geneologies of Kings, historical and mythical.[9] Ratnasenakulapraśasti of Bhāvadatta contains a geneological account of the Sena dynasty of Bengal.[10] Yācaprabandha by Tripurāntaka is a biography of Kings Yāca of Venkatagiri, who was an ancestor of Sarvajnasingabhūpāla,[11] Rāmacandrayasafprabanda by Govindabhatta is in praise of King Rāmacandra of Bikaneer.[12] Devarājacaritacampu[13] is biographical. Vellapurīviṣayagadya is a prose account of Vellore and in praise of its ruler Keśaveśarāja.[14]

200. Itihāsatamomaṇi gives an account of the conquest of India by the English and was composed in 1813 A.D.[15] Angarejacandrika by Vināyakabhatta composed in 1801 deals with the British Dominion in India.[16] Rajangalamahodyana of Rāmaswāmi Rāja, Āngalasāmrājya

1. *Mitra* (1870).
2. *PR*, IV. cvx.
3. *PR*, III. *Ap.* 354.
4. *PR*, III. 342.
5. *PR*, II. 123.
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. *IO*, 1570. 2703, 2730.
8. *IO*, 1510, 2351, Vaninatha's son Kavitarkika wrote Kautakaratnakara Prahasana (*IO*, 1618).
9. *IO*, 1517, 2364.
10. *IO*, 1515, No. 3386
11. *Mack*, 98, see Velugotivarivamśacaritramu (in Telugu) 34. See further chapter of Alankara *post*.
12. *Bik*. 247.
13. *CC*, I.
14. Taylor, I. 22.
15. *CSO*, IV. 183.
16. *Oxf*, 134.

of Rājarājavarma and Ānglādhirājyasvāgata of Paravastu Rangācārya describe the history of British rule in India. Vidyālankāra Bhattācārya describes the reign of Queen Victoria in Vijayinīkāvya. Śrīnivasa Vidyālankāra describes Dehli Darbar in Delhimahotsava Kāvya, G. V. Padmanabha, author of Pavanadūta, describes the life of King George V in his Jārjidevacarita.[1]

The greatness of Maharaja Kṛṣṇarāja Odayar of Mysore has been depicted by Bhagavata Kṛṣṇa in Kṛṣṇarājabhyudaya,[2] by Śrīnivasa Kavi in Kṛṣṇarājaprabhāvodaya,[3] by Trivikrama Śastrin in Kṛṣṇrājaguṇāloka,[4] and by Gītācārya in Sri Kṛṣṇarājodayacāmpū.[5]

201. Rājaśekharasūri was the pupil of Tilakasūri. He was a Jain. He wrote Prabandhakośa, a collection of 24 stories in prose at Delhi under the patronage of Mahanasimha,[6] in Sam. 1405 (1348 A,D.) Of the stories related in the Prabandhakosa, ten refer to teachers (suri), four to poets, seven to kings, and three to laymen in royal service. The four poets are Śrīharṣa, Harihara, Amaracandra and Digambara-Madanakīrti. Among the seven kings are Lakṣmanasena and Madanavarman.[7] A manuscript ends with a list of thirty-seven Chahamana kings down to Hammīradeva, who is stated to have ruled from Sam. 1342 to 1358, and his ancestor Pṛthvīrāja from Sam. 1226 to 1248. The list also mentions the names of the Sultans with whom some of the Chahamana kings were at war.[8]

202. VIKRAMODAYA is a series of metrical tales on Vikramāditya of which the extant manuscript ends in 28th canto which treats of Śālivāhana.[9] VIRACARITA is a heroic poem in 30 adhyayas by Ananta. It narrates the events supposed to have taken place at Pratiṣṭhana (Paitha) on the Godāvari in connection with Śalivāhana, the conqueror of Vikramaditya of Ujjain and his son Sakti Kumāra. The leading features of the narrative are the heroic achievements of Śudraka, the

1. Printed within the last fifty years.
2. Printed, Madras.
3. Printed Bangalore.
4. Printed Madras.
5. *Mys OML*. He is the father of Chakravarti, author of the romance Śalvalini, for whom, see Chapter on Sanskrit Prose, *post*.
6. His father Jagatsimha was a contemporary of Muhammad Bin Toghlak, see *JBRAS*, X. 31.
7. Printed Bombay. *PR*, III. 272, IV. cv.
8. *HR*, III. vii.
9. *IO*, 1501, 1957.

friend and afterwards co-regent of Śālivāhana and subsequently of his son, and his ultimate usurpation of the throne.[1]

203. Sivadasa narrates the history of Śālivāhana the hero of his name, in his Śālivāhanacarita in 18 cantos. The poem describes the early life of Śālivāhana, his war with Vikrama, his victory and marriage with Vikrama's daughter Maḍayantī. Of that marriage was born Trailokyasundara who married Padminī, daughter of King Sūryasimha of Simhala. Śālivāhana performed horse sacrifice on the banks of the Godāvarī and retired from the world. The last canto relates to Trailokyasundara and his wife, their departure to paradise, by giving up their mortal coils at Benares.[2]

204. SALIVAHANACARITA is a poem on king Śālivāhana. The author's own name is unknown. "Salivahana was the gandson of a Ksatriya, Lata Simha by name, whose residence was Pratisthananagara on the banks of the Narmada. Śālivāhana was born to his daughter Sasikala by Taksaka, one of the eight Nagas, who assumed the form of her husband during his absence. Sasikala fearing a social scandal threw her son into the Narmada in a covered earthern pot. A potter got the pot while floating in the river and took the babe to his house. The child grew up in the pot-maker's house and afterwards became the great Emperor Salivahana."[3]

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1. *IO*, 1502, 2799. For an elaborate account by Jacobi see *Ist*, XIV, 97-160.
2. *IO*, 1567.
3. *CSC*, (1896) No. 145. For the story in *Lilavati*, see para 106 *supra* and *Jess. Cat.*, 28, 43.

CHAPTER IX

Mahakavya (*contd.*)

Section 1

205. Alwars. The traditions of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas mention 12 Saints or Alwars.[1] Garudavāhanapaṇḍita in his Divyasūricarita,[2] and Anantācārya in his Prapannāmṛta,[3] describe their story. The traditional dates,[4] ascribed to many of these Ālwars are not accepted by "modern" scholars, probably because according to them tradition cannot be accepted as history. It is not known however why the innocent Vaiṣṇavas should forge chronology, for their reverence to these sages is not due to the time that has gone by, but to the intrinsic merit of their teachings. Speculation cannot displace tradition.

Of these Ālwars, some of whom were born in Dvāpara,[5] some in Kali,[6] Kulaśekhara was the first, born in Kali year 27, Parābhava,

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1. See *Vaishnavite Refomers of India* by T. Rajagopalacarya; *Early history of Vaisnavism in South India* by S. Krishnasami Ayyangar, *Life of the Alwārs* by A. Govindacarya. V. Rangachariar, *Successors of Ramanuja*, *JBRAS*, XXIV. 102 and Guruparamparas of the different Sects.

2. Printed *Sahṛdaya*, Madras, and Mysore. Garudavāhana or Śrīnivāsa was also known as Kavivaidyapurandara [*DC*, XXI. 8125, *TC*, IV. 5093, 5943].

3. This is a long poem in 125 cantos dealing with the lives of Sri Vaiṣṇava Ālwars of India. Printed Bombay and Madras. [*SVH*, 34, 71, 202, 251.].

4. Bhaktāvaibhavaprakāśikā of Venkateśa, son of Prativādibhayankara, gives the date, month, year, constellation of the birth of the several Ālwārs (*TC*, II. 2010). For Venkateśa's many other works, see *TC*, II. 2025-2052, among which several are stotras.

5. (i) Mahat (Peyalwar) in Dvāpara, 860900 (862901?), (Siddharthi), Āśvayuja, Śukla 10th, Guru, Śatabbiṣa, at Mayurapuri (Mylapore) (ii) Bhuta (Pudattalwar) in Dvāpara, 860900 (862901?), (Siddharthi), Āśvayuja, Śukla, 9th, Budha at Mallāpuri (Mahābalipuram) (iii) Kāsāra (Poigai) in Dvāpara 860900 (862901?), (Siddhārthi), Āśvayuja, Śukla, 8th, Guru, Sravaṇa, at Kānci, (iv) Mathurakavi in Dvāpara 863879 (863878?) (Iśvara), Caitra, Śukla, 14th, Śukra, Citrā, at Tirukkoloor (Tinnevelly Dt.) (v) Bhaktisāra (Tirumalisai) in Dvāpara, 892901, (Siddharthi), Puśya, Kahula, 1st) Ādi, Makhā, Tulālagna, at Tirumalisai.

6. (i) Periyalwar (Visnucitta) was born in Kali 47, Krodhana, Jyestha, Śukla, 12th Svāti, at Dhanipuri (Srivilliputtur), (ii) Āndāl born in Kali 98, Nala, Āṣādha, Śukla, 14th, Mangala, Pubbhā, (iii) Vipranārāyaṇa (Tondaradippadi Alwar) in Kali 107, Prabhava, Margaśira, Jyestha, at Mandangudi (iv) (Tiruppāni Alwar in Kali 162 (3432?) (Bahula 2nd,) (Durmati) Kartika, Sukla, 15th (Krittika?) Budha, (Orayur) Rohini ? at Niculāpuri (v) Parakāla (Tirumangai Alwar) in Kali 217 (399?), (Nala), Kārtika, 15th, Guru, Kṛttikā at Parirambhapurī.

3075 B.C. He was son of Dṛdhavrata.[1] His famous lyric Mukundamāla displays harmony and devotion.[2]

Among Alwars, Nammālwar or Śathagopa of Kurukapuri,[3] also known as Parāśara or Vakulābharaṇa was the greatest. He was the son of Kari and Uḍayamangai and was born at Tirukkuruhur in the 43rd year Kali of 3059 B.C.[4] His original name was Maran. After a period of contemplation while yet a child, he became inspired and the result of it was the singing of the Tamil Prabandham Nālāyiram. This has been rendered into Sanskrit Kurukeśagaṭhanukaraṇa' by Rāmānuja, son of Govinḍa of Kāśyapagoṭra,[5] and in Ṭāṭparyaraṭnāvali by Veḍānṭaḍeśika.[6]

Among the Ācāryas was Ālavanḍar (Yāmunācārya) who occupied the apostolic seat at Śrīrangam. He was the son of Īśvarabhaṭṭi and Ranganāyakī,[7] and grandson of Nāthamuni.[8] He was a great devotee and his lyrics Cāṭussiokī, Sṭoṭraraṭna,[9] and Śrīsṭuṭi,[10] are famous for their piety and melody. He lived between 915-1040 A. D.

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1. Kulaśekhara was according to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava tradition born at Kolipattanam in Keralas, in Kali, 27, (Parābhava) Māgha, Sukla, 12th, Guru, Punarvasu. But Ganapathi Sastri in his preface of *Tapaṭisaṃvaraṇa (TSS)*, says that that Kulaśekharalwar mentioned in Tamil Prabanḍhas is said to have lived in Kali 1680 (1422 B.C). The source of information is not given.

2. See Chapter on Laghukāvya, *post*.

3. Śathagopasahasra is a thousand verses in praise of Śathagopa by Venkatārya. (*TC*, IV. 4612, 4660) Śathagopaguṇālankaraparicaryā is a treatise on rhetoric with illustrations in praise of Śathagopa (*TC*, II. 2310, IV. 5232) probably by a member of the Bhatta's family of Srirangam in 17th century A.D. For other eulogies, see *TC*, III. 2035, IV. 5292, 5221, 5232, 4664, *DC*, XVIII. 4842. For a short account, see *Ind. Rev.* (1918), 646.

4. He was born in Pramadi, Vāiśākha sukla 16th, Śukra, Vaiśakha (*TC*, XVIII. 6881.

5. *TC*, III. 3492.

6. *TC*, III. 4152.

7. He was born in Kali 4017 Dhāṭu Āṣāḍha Śukla 15th, Buḍha Uttarāṣāḍha. See *Ind. Rev.* IX. 585.

8. According to Prapannāmṛṭa, Nāthamuni was born in Śobakṛt, Kali 3684, Āni, Wednesday, Kṛṣṇa 13th, and he is said to have lived 330 (340?) years. See *Ind. Rev.* IX. 275.

9. See *TC*, II. 2600.

10. Printed, Madras. There is commentary by Veḍānṭaḍeśika (*DC*, XVIII. 7204) and a summary of this commentary Rāmānujasuḍhī (*Ibid.* 7206). See also *TC*, III. 2938.

206. Ramanuja was Ālavanḍār's son's daughter's son. He was born in Kali 4119 (1017 A.D.) at Śrīperumbudūr.[1] His father was Āsūri Keśava Bhattar of Hārītagoṭra. Rāmānuja was first named Lakṣmaṇa and to this day he is called Lakṣmaṇamuni and an incarnation of Ādiśeṣa. He studied under Yādavaprakāśa at Kāncī, but became estranged from him on account of his jealousy. After escaping an attempt at assassination, he lived at Kāncī, until he was called to Śrīrangam to take the place of Ālavanḍār. He reached Śrīrangam barely to see the remains of Ālavanḍār about to be consigned to the funeral pile.[2] At Maḍhurānṭakam, he was initiated into Veḍānṭa by Perianambi and soon he became an ascetic.

He wrote his commentary on Vyāsasūṭras and a Bhāṣya on the Gīṭa and three works on Veḍānṭa. In his tour in Kāṣmir, his commentary on the sūtras was approved by Sarasvaṭī and at her bidding it was called Śrī Bhāṣya. He installed the Viṣṇu deity at Melkote, in 1099 A.D.,[3] settled disputes at Tirupati and arranged for the performance of festivals in several Viṣṇu shrines. He passed away after a life of 128 years in Ḍurmaṭi 1137 A.D.[4]

Apart from his works on philosophy,[5] his literary merits are indicated in his GADYATRAYA viz. Vaikunthagaḍya, Raghuvīragaḍya, Śaraṇāgaṭigaḍya.[6]

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1. The formula is धीर्लब्धा, Śaka 939 (Kali 4118) Pingala, Caiṭra, Śukla 7th, Guru, Ārḍrā, Karkata (*TC*, XVIII, 6882).

2. "Ramanuja was taken close to the body to take a first and final look at the great master, when he saw three out of the five fingers of the right hand folded. Struck with this, he enquired whether the defect was noticed in life and the answer came that the defect was not physical and was not noticed in life. On further enquiry Ramanuja was told that the master had three of his cherished objects unfulfilled, namely, an easily read and understood commentary upon the Brahmasutra; the giving of the names of Parasara and Sathagopa to suitable persons that would make these names live among the people. Ramanuja promised to see these fulfilled and the fingers straightened." *Sri Ramanujacharya* by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, page 8.

3. On this subject, see *Jirṇoḍḍhārakrama*, a work preserved in the Yaṭirājā Mutt at Melkote, summarised by N. T. Narasimha Ayyangar, *JRAS*, (1915) 147.

4. His active life embraced the reigns of the Cola Rājas, Kuloṭṭunga I (1070-1118 A.D.), Vikrama (1118-1133 A.D.) and Kuloṭṭunga II. (1135-1146 A.D.).

5. See *CC*, I. 521, II. 523.

6. Ed, Madras, Bombay.

On the life of Rāmānuja,[1] there are Rāmānujasucaritaculaka by Rāmānujadāsa,[2] Yatīndracampū[3] by Vakulābharaṇa, son of Śaṭhagopa of Ātreyagotra and desciple of Varada of Vātsya family, Rāmānujadivyacarita,[4] Rāmānujacarita,[5] Rāmānujavijaya by Annayācarya,[6] Rāmānujīya,[7] Śrībhāṣyakāracarita by Kauśika Venkateśa,[8] Śrīśailakulavaibhava by Nṛsimhasūri.[9]

His desciple Āndhrapūrṇa (Vaduhanambi) wrote Yatirājavaibhava.

207. Kurattalvar or Śrīvatsānkamiśra, son of Rāma Somayāji, was born at Kūram near Kāncī in Kali 4141 (1039 A.D.).[10] He was a pupil of Rāmānuja. He belonged to a wealthy family but abondoned his riches and migrated to Śrīrangam to join Rāmānuja. There he became a mendicant and lived by alms. His memory was supernatural and it is said that when Rāmānuja was not permitted in Kashmir to make a copy of Bodhāyana's Vṛtti on Brahmasūtra, Kureśa could by a single reading of it repeat the work. Thus he helped Rāmānuja in his composition of Śrībhāṣya of which he was his ananuensis. When King Kulottungacola I summoned Rāmānuja to his presence to accept the Śaiva faith, Kūreṣa personated Rāmānuja and when he attempted to argue the superiority of Vaiṣṇava faith the cruel king ordered his eyes to be put out. Kūreśa is the founder of the family of the Bhattars of Śrīrangam.[11]

He was a great poet and his verse combines in it the fluency of lay fancies and the sanctity of theological allusions. His Vaikunthastava describes the glory of Viṣṇu in Vaikuntha, his Atimānuṣastava,[12] the great deeds of Viṣṇu in his incarnations, his Sundarabāhustava, the

1. See also Life of Sri Rāmānuja by C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar; Rāmānuja Grantha (*Opp*, II. 4882); Rāmānujavamśāvali (*CC*, I. 522). For Stotras in his praise, see *TC*, I. 14, 595, 768; *DC*, XVIII, 6855, 6706, 6849, 6831, 6841, 6869, 6995, 6842, 6785, 6847.

2. *TC*, III. 3581.

3. *TC*, IV. 5210.

4. *Opp*. II. 3528.

5. *TC*, III. 3051.

6. *Rice*, 240.

7. *Opp*. II, 1801, 7722.

8. *Mys. OML*, 260.

9. *Ibid*., 260.

10. *DC*, XVIII, 6382. He was born in Saumya, Makara, Kṛṣṇa 5th, Budha Hasta.

11. For a short account of his life, see *Sah*. XVII. 65, 89, 113, 130.

12. There is a commentary by Rāmānuja (*DC*, XVIII. 6919).

grace and purposes of idolic forms of Viṣṇu, his Varadarājastava the particular merit of Varadarāja of Kancī and Śrīstava, the qualities of Lakṣmī. These together go under the name of Pancastavī.[1] I Kūreśavijaya, probably by Kūranārāyaṇa,[2] relates his history.[3]

Śrīvatsanka's son was Parāsāra Bhatta, born in Śaka 983 (1061 A.D.).[4] He wrote Viṣṇusahasranāma-Bhāṣya and Śrīrangarājastava,[5] Śrīguṇaratnakośa,[6] Kṣamāsoḍaśī,[7] Taniśloki and Aṣtaslokī.[8] Doddayācārya[9] relates his history in his Pārāśaryavijaya.[10]

208. Vedantadesika or Venkatanātha was the high priest of the Vadagalai Śrīvaiṣṇava sect. His life and works have been noticed in a previous Chapter.[11]

209. Saumyajamatrmuni (or Manavāla Mahāmuni)[12] was the high priest of the Tengalai Sri Vaiṣṇava sect. He was born at Kuntīnagara and was a desciple of Lokācārya.[13] He lived in 1370-1444 A.D.[14]

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1. Ed. Madras, with the commentary of Śrinivāsa, son of Rāmānuja of Atreya Gotra.

2. Kuranārāyaṇa was the author of *Sudarśanaśataka* (Kāvyamāla, VIII).

3. *DC*, XVIII, 6958; *Opp*. 5516, 7909, II. 1052, 1280.

4. He was born in Subhakṛt, Vaiśākha, Śukla, 15, Anurādha and died in the year Jaya, Kārtika.

5. Printed, Madras. There are commentaries, one anonymous and another by Venkaṭācārya, *DC*, XVIII., 7118, 7119.

6. Printed, Madras. For commentary by Rāmānujācārya, see *DC*, XVIII. 6884, by Veeraraghava (*Ibid*., 6860), by Venkaṭanivāsa (*Ibid*., 6880), and by Jagannātha (*TC*, II. 1440).

7. Printed, Madras. *TC*, IV. 4675.

8. Printed, Madras.

9. Doddayacarya of Vādhulagotra of Kandāla family lived at Sholinghur. He lived in the days of King Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar. See para 124 *supra*. Among his other works are Candamāruta, Vedāntavidyāvijaya and Sadvidyāvijaya. He wrote Vedāntadeśikavaibhavaprakāśikā (*DC*, XIX. 7677). See *SVH*, 202 and *CC*, I. 263.

10. *Rice*, 154.

11. See para 120 *supra*.

12. He was also called Śrīśaileśa (see Śrīśaileśāṣṭaka by Devarāja (*TC*, III. 4146). For other stotras in his praise, see *DC*, XVIII. 7301-10 and *TC*, IV, 5293, 5219, 5220. See also Yatindrapravaṇacampu by Vakulābharaṇa (*Mys. OML. Sup*. 12).

13. He is known as Pillai Lokācārya. He lived for 28 years in 1265-1373 A.D. He composed Śrīvacanabhuṣaṇa in Tamil of which there is a summary of Venkaṭeśa (*TC*, II. 2019). He died at Jyotiṣkudi. He was a friend of Vedāntadeśika. (See extract from Prapannāmṛta, *SVH*, 31).

14. He was born on 24-1-1370 A.D. in Saka 1292, Sādhāraṇa, Arpisi, 26, Guru, Śukla, Caturdaśi, Mula, 1.

He composed Yatirājavimśati,[1] in praise of Rāmānuja and Kastūritilakastava.[2] In Sucaritacaṣaka, Raghavārya, son of Nṛsimha, describes the incidents of his life. Rāghava lived at Bhūsara or Tirumalisai near Chingleput.[3] His daughter's son Abhirāmavara or Varavaramuni of Saumyavara, son of Dīpraśāyana,[4] wrote Nakṣatramālā, a hymn in praise of Śathagopa.[5]

210. In the heirarchy of **Ahobalam Mutt** of which ADI VAN SATHAGOPA Swāmi was the first pontiff, there were many poets of a high order.[6] ADI VAN SATHAGOPA swami of Tirunārāyaṇapuram lived in 1379-1458 A.D. (Tirumalai Nambākam) NARAYANA was his successor (1458-1472). He is known to have written 60 works on various topics and in the field of poetry his Nārāyaṇacarita and commentary on Ālavandarstotra are known. (Vangipuram) PARANKUSA was 6th (1497-1511) and wrote Narasimhastava. SATHAGOPA was 7th (1512-1522) and wrote the play Vāsantikāpariṇaya.[7] (Kalyāṇapuram Cakravarti) PARANKUSA RAMANUJA was 24th (1762-1774) and wrote Śrīprapatti, Narasimhamangalāśāsana etc. (Elanagar Gadādharapuram) VIRARAGHAVA was 27th (1827-1830) and wrote Kṛpāsāgarastava, Ksīranadīstava, Vihageśvarastava, Devarājastava, Lakṣmīnarasimhastava and Vaikunthavijayacampū in answer to Nīlakanthavijaya. (Attipattu Mādabūsi) SATHAGOPA RAMANUJA was 34th (1878-1881) and wrote Kavihṛdayaranjinī and Vedagirivarṇana (Turagagati). (Pillaipakam Ilayavalli) VIRARAGHAVA (1897-1898) was 37th and wrote Śārīrakasuprabhāta and Śrīgosthināthastava.

211. Among the pontiffs of the **Parakala Mutt** of Mysore, Śrīnivasa was the 29th. He lived in 1802-1861 A.D. and wrote Alankārasangraha.[8]

Śrī KRSNA Brahmatantra Parakālaswāmi was the 31st Head of the Parakāla Mutt at Mysore. His original name was Kṛṣṇamācārya. He was the son of Tātācārya and Kṛṣṇāmbā of the village of Amidella on

1. Printed, Madras. There is commentary on it (*TC*, II. 2490).
2. *TC*, IV. 4729; *DC*, XVIII. 6939, with commentary.
3. *TC*, III. 4127.
4. See *TC*, II. 2019 for this relationship.
5. *TC*, II, 2268, with commentary by Jagannātha.
6. See Guruparamparā of that Mutt published in Tamil at Madras. See the Ahobalam inscription of Śrīrangarāja, dated Śaka 1506 (1584-5 A.D.) extracted in *SVH*, 233.
7. See Chapter on Sanskrit Drama, post. *DC*, XXI. 8500.
8. See Guruparamparā of that Mutt, published in Mysore.

the Pennar. He was born in 1839 and passed away about 1916 A.D. He was for some time in the courts of Vanaparti, Āṭmakūr and Ānagondi. He wrote 67 works on various branches of learning. Among campūs are Rangarājavilāsa, Kārtikotsavadīpikā and Śrīnivāsavilāsa. Among poems are Capetāhatistuti, Uttararangamāhātmya, Rameśvaravijaya, Nṛsimhavilāsa and Madangopālamāhātmya.[1] His Alankāramaṇihāra is an elaborate work on rhetoric with illustrations in praise of the deity Śrinivāsa of Tirupati.[2]

212. Lakṣmikumara Tatacarya of Śaṭhamarṣanagoṭra is a famous personage in South Indian Vaiṣṇava history. He was born at Kumbakonam in 1571 A.D. He was adopted by Venkatācārya, better known as Pancamaṭabhanjana[3] Ṭāṭadesika of Conjeevaram. He was preceptor and minister of Emperors Śrīranga and Venkatapaṭi of Vijianagar and was practically the ruler of the empire in the later half of the 16th century. He was accorded the first honours in all the shrines of South India and was celebrated for his acts of charity. His titular name Kotikanyādāna indicates the marriages of several maidens performed at his instance. He passed away in 1631 A.D. His HANUMADVIMSATI is engraved on the walls in Devarājswāmi temple at Conjeeveram of which his descendants are still the trustees.

The greatness of his line is described by Rāmanujadāsa in Ṭāṭāryavaibhavaprakāśa.[4] His life is described by his descendant Ranganātha in the poem Lakṣmīkumārodaya.[5]

SECTION 2.

213. Sri Madhva Acarya or Ānandatīrtha,[6] was born in the village of Belle near Udipi in an orthodox brahmin family in the year Yuva, 4300 Kali or 1198 A.D.[7] on the last day of Navarāṭri. That day is now known as Madhvanavamī. His mother was Vedavallī. His original

1. For full account, see Guruparampara (Mysore).
2. Ed. *Mys*, series.
3. See para 124 *supra*. *SVH*, 252, where an extract from Prapannāmṛta is given.
4. *DC*, XIX. 7242.
5. Printed, Kumbakonam.
6. He is also known as Anantānandagiri, Ānandagiri, Ānandajnāna, Ānanajnānagiri, Jnānānda, Jnānānandagiri. (*CC*. I. 46), See Grierson, *ERE*, VII. 282; Bhandarkar, *VS*, 57 and *BR*, (1882-3), 207.
7. C.M. Padmanabhacarya in his *Life of Śri Madhva* discusses the question and fixes the year 1223 A.D. as the date of birth or of taking the order. H. Krishna Sastri agrees with him. But the inscription at Śrikurma dated Śaka 1203 indicates the earlier date. (*EI*, III. 260-8). See Introduction to *Translation of Geetābhāṣya* by S. Subbarao and *A Sketch of the History of Madhva Acaryas* by G. Venkobarao (*IA*, XLIII, 239).

name was Vāsudeva. His early life displayed miracles of divine powers. By twenty five,[1] he became learned in all the sciences and Vedas. His knowledge was so profound that he was called Pūrṇaprajña. At that age he renounced his family and became an ascetic on the initiation of Acyutaprakāśa under the name of Ānandatīrtha. In his tours throughout India he engaged himself in philosophical controversies and became the founder of the Advaita school of philosophy. He expounded his Dvaita doctrine in his Bhāṣyas on Vyāsa Sūtras, the Upanaiṣads, and the Gītā. He spent his last years at the Saridantaram, the duab between the rivers Netrāvati and Kumāradhāra in S. Canara and he lived for 79 years, 6 months and 20 days and disappeared in Pingala, 1278 A.D.[2]

Of his 37 works,[3] many on philosophy, his mastery of the language is displayed in his poem YAMAKABHARATA, where he narrates the story of Mahābhārata in Yamaka verse.[4] Among his stotras are Āryāstotra, Gurustotra, Kṛṣṇastuti and Dvādaśastotra.[5] Bhāgavat tātparyanirṇaya[6] and Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya[7] are learned critiques on Śrī Bhāgavata and Mahābhārata. Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtamahārṇava,[8] Śankaravijaya and Śankarācāryavatārakathā are also attributed to him.[9]

214. Trivikrama. Among the immediate desciples of Śrī Madhva was Trivikrama,[10] whom he converted to his faith after a long series of discussions. He wrote Uṣāharaṇakāvya and Vāyustuti.[11]

Trivikrama's son was Nārāyaṇa. To him we owe the first account of Śrī Madhva's life in his poems Madhvavijaya,[12] Aṇumadhva-

1. Some say it was thirteen.

2. According to the other view this was on 11th January 1318 A.D. See B. Venkobarao, *Life of Sri Vyāsarāja*, XXVIII. Bangalore.

3. Granthamālikāstotra (*TC*, II. 2008) gives the list.

4. Printed Bombay and Madras. There are commentaries on it anonymous (*DC*, XX. 7955) which refers to a prior commentary in verse (*TC*, II. 1143).

5. Printed, Madras, Bombay.

6. Printed, Madras and Bombay with Janārdanabhatta's commentary. See *TC*, II. 1161. For a short summary of it, see *TC*, II. 1995.

7. See page 43 *supra*. For commentaries, see *TC*, II. 1143; by Vitṭalācārya (*TC*, II. 4912); by Chettu Keri (*TC*, II. 1549); by Lakṣmīnṛsimha (*TC*, II. 1409).

8. *BTC*, 107; *Rice*, 196.

9. *CC*, I. 46.

10. Printed, Bombay with the commentary of Sumatīndra. Sumatīndra extolled King Shahaji of Tanjore in his Sumatīndrajayaghoṣaṇa. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 3284.

11. *TC*, II. 1111, 1907, with commentary (*TC*, II. 1914) by Kavidarpaṇa Vedāngamuni.

12. Printed, Bombay, with commentary by Śeṣācārya, *TC*, II. 1159.

vijaya,[1] and Maṇimañjarī.[2] His Pārijātaharaṇa is a Yamaka poem.[3] He wrote also Śivastuti, Viṣṇustuti, Nṛsimhastotra and Sangraha-Rāmāyana.[4]

215. Of Madhva's desciples, four succeeded as pontiffs, one after another, Padmanābha, Narahari, Mādhava and Akṣobhya. From Akṣobhya,[5] Jayatīrtha got his initiation. He is said to have died in 1388 A.D. The life of Jayatīrtha is described in poems by Vyāsatīrtha in his Jayatīrthavijaya,[6] by Kṛṣṇa in Jayatīrthavijayābdhi,[7] by Sankarṣaṇa in Jayatīrthavijaya,[8] and by Karkohalli Śrīnivāsa in Jayīndrodaya.[9]

216. After Jayatīrtha, the most famous among the Madhva Acāryas was Vyāsarāya.[10] He lived in 1447-1539 A.D. He was practically the moving influence in the Court of Vijianagar from the days of Sālva Narasimha to Acyutadevarāya who ruled in 1486-1542 A.D.[11]

The life of Vyāsarāya is described in the Vyāsayogicaritacampū by Somanātha,[12] which was continued by Śrīvidyāratnākarasvāmi,[13] and the poem Vyāsavijaya. Somanātha's prose is enchanting. The reader feels as if it is Kādambarī. He is reported to be the sister's son of Anantabhatta, author of Campūbhārata, who lived about 1500 A.D. Somanātha was introduced to his hero Vyāsarāya in the reign of King Acyutadevarāya and must have lived about 1535 A.D. Somanātha's grand-father Bhatta Gayamukti Bhāskara, known as Kālameghādhvarin, was a great poet.[14]

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1. There is a commentary by Venkaṭabhatta, *TC*, II. 1665.
2. Printed, Bombay with Subrahmaṇya's commentary. There are commentaries by Anantācārya (*DC*, XX, 7945), by Jammi Bhāvanāsyācārya (*TC*, II, 7946) and by Vittalācārya (*TC*, II. 2003).
3. Printed, Poona. *DC*, XX. 7936.
4. Printed, Bombay and Belgaum. In *DC*, XV. 7976, there is an anonymous commentary.
5. Akṣobhya, Vidyāraṇya, Vedanta Deśika and Jayatīrtha were contemporaries.
6. Printed, Mysore.
7. *Mys. OML. Sup.* 10.
8. Printed, Belgaum.
9. *Mys. OML, Sup.* 10.
10. He was desciple of Brahmaṇyatīrtha, whose life is described in Brahmaṇyatīrthavijaya (See B. Venkobarao's *Int. to Sri Vyasayogicarita*, LXXIII). Brahmaṇya died about 1523 A.D.
11. See para 124 *supra*.
12. Ed. Bangalore with a long introduction dealing with the contemporary history of Kingdom of Vijianagar by B. Venkobarao.
13. *Op. cit.* lxxii.
14. See B. Venkobarao, *op. cit.* iiii-ix.

217. Purandaradāsa, the distinguished author of Kanarese devotional songs, was Vyāsarāya's desciple. So was **Vadiraja**. Vādirāja is said to have opened an old treasury at a crisis, for King Acyutadevarāya. He rebuilt the temple at Udipi, but before the golden dome was erected the Kingdom of Vijianagar was subverted by defeat at the battle of Talikota.[1] He was a great poet and among his poems are Rukmiṇīśavijaya,[2] Sarasabhāratīvilāsa,[3] Tīrthaprabandha,[4] Ekībhāvastotra,[5] and Daśāvatārastuti.[6] His life is described in Vādirājavṛttaratnaśangraha by Raghunātha.[7]

Satyanāthatīrtha's original name was Raghunāthācarya. He died in 1674 A.D.[8] His life is depicted in Satyanāthamāhātmyaratnākara,[9] in Satyanāthābhyudaya[10] by Sankarṣana, son of Seṣācārya, and in Satyanāthavilāsa by Śrīnivāsa.[11]

There are poems on the lives of Dvaita Ācāryas:[12] Viśvapriyaguṇalīlāvilāsa by Setumādhava,[13] Raghavendravijaya by Nārāyaṇa,[14] and Satyanīdhivilāsa by Śrīnivāsa,[15] Seturāyavijaya,[16] Satyabodhavijayā,[17] by Kṛṣṇa.[18]

SECTION 3.

218. **Basava**, the founder of the Veeraśaiva cult of the Lingāyats, was the prime minister of the Kalacuri King Bhijjala who came to the throne at Kalyan in 1156 A.D.[19] The tradition is that the sect was founded by five ascetics—Ekorāma, Panditārādhya, Revaṇa, Marula,

1. See B. Venkobarao, *op. cit.* CLXXIII.
2. *CC*, I. 562.
3. Printed, Belgaum.
4. Printed, Calcutta.
5. Printed, Bombay.
6. Printed, Belgaum.
7. *CAL*, II. 25.
8. *CC*, I. 688.
9. *CC*, I. 689.
10. *Mys. OML. Sup.* II; *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2676.
11. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2676, 2680.
12. On the history of Madhva Acaryas, see *IA*, XLIII. 238, 262.
13. *Mys. OMS. Sup.* 11.
14. *SVH*, 252. Raghavendra was contemporary of Yagnanārāyaṇa Dikṣita. (See para 150 *supra*).
15. *Mys. OMS. Sup*, 11.
16. *CAL*, II. 16
17. *Ibid.*,
18. *Mys. OML. Sup.* 11.
19. See *IA*, V. 175.

Viśvārādhya—who are held to have sprung from the five heads of Śiva, incarnate age after age. These are regarded as very ancient, and Basava is said to have been but the reviver of the faith.[1] Yet the early literature shows that the five were all his contemporaries, some older, some younger.[2] In the poem Basaveśavijaya,[3] Śaṅkarārādhya describes his life, and so does Somanātha in his Basavapurāṇa,[4] and Basavanagadya. Somanātha also wrote a poem Paṇḍitārādhyacarita on the life of Paṇḍitārādhya, the Lingayat Guru. Somanātha (Palkurki), of Bhṛṅgiritagotra and son of Gurulinga, lived in the time of King Pratāparudra I (1140-1196 A.D.).[5]

SECTION 4.

219. Sri Gauranga, whose original name was Nimai, was born of Jagannātha and Śacī at Nadia in Phalgun, of Śaka 1407 (1486 A.D.) on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī. His childhood foretold his future greatness. He married Viṣṇupriyā, daughter of Sanātanamiśra. He was called Gaurāṅga or Gour for his fair complexion. When he became inspired and an ascetic, he took the name Sri Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. He sang the glories of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and became the founder of the school of Bhakti or devotion. He passed away in 1527 A.D.[6] Among his poems are Gopālacaritra,[7] Premāmṛta,[8] Saṅkṣepabhāgavatāmṛta,[9] Harināmakavaca,[10] Dānakélicintāmaṇi.[11]

220. Rupa[12] was born in 1490 A.D. He was a scion of the Goswāmi line and Kumāra was his father. Vallabha and Sanatāna were his brothers. His sixth ancestor Aniruddha was a Raja of Karnat about

1. On Lingayat legends and literature, see *IA*, IV. 17, 211 ; V. 183.
2. Farquhar, *ORL*, 260. For bibliography, see *Ibid.*, 387.
3. Printed, Mysore.
4. *Mys. OML.* 548 ; *Ibid.*, *Sup.* 34.
5. See Veeresalingam's Works, X. 220.
6. For an account of his life, see S. K. Ghose, *Lord Gauranga*, Calcutta ; R. B. Dineschandra Sen, *Chaitanya and his age* and *Chaitanya and his companions*; M. T. Kennedy, *Chaitanya and his movement* ; Y. Sarcar, *Chaitanya's pilgrimages and teachings* ; Farquhar, *ORL*, 476.
7. *CC*, I. 161.
8. *CSC*, (1907), No. 54 ; (1908) No. 67, with commentary by Vitthala.
9. *CC*, I. 864.
10. *CC*, I. 758.
11. *CSC*, (1908) 67.
12. For an account, see D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Literature* (Calcutta), 503 ; Introduction to Ujvalanīlamaṇi (Kavyamāla) ; Introduction to Caitanyacandrodaya (Kavyamāla).

Śaka 1338. His family was immensely rich. Rūpa and Sanāṭana were made the prime ministers of Hosen Sahara, Emperor of Gauḍa.[1] By nature, of a religious disposition, they were attracted by the teachings of the reformer Caitanya,[2] and gave up home to become ascetics. Their greatness as religious teachers is described in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal.[3] Rūpa passed away in 1563 A.D.[4]

As a poet and rhetorician, Rūpa is of a high order.[5] The poetic instinct saturated with bhakṭi or love for Kṛṣṇa manifested itself in several forms of composition, always with the life of Kṛṣṇa as its theme. Viḍagḍhamāḍhava, and Laliṭamāḍhava[6] are dramas in seven acts describing the loves of Kṛṣṇa, and Rāḍhā as related in the Bhāgavaṭa, Ḍānakelikaumuḍi[7] and is a bhāṇa with its hero, Kṛṣṇa. Hamasḍūta and Uḍḍhavasanḍeśa are poems of message,[8] on the model of Meghaḍūṭa. Paḍyāvali is an anthology and names the authors it quotes.[9]

Among his other works,[10] are Ujjvalacanḍrikā (a dialogue between Caiṭanyacanḍra's sister Rāḍhā and her friend about Kṛṣṇa), Yamunāsṭoṭra, Ganḍharvaprārṭhanāsṭoṭra, Gaurāngasṭavakalpaṭaru, Kusumasṭabaka, Mukunḍamukṭāvali, Cātupuṣpānjalisṭava, Uṭkalikāvallari, Laghu-Bhāgavaṭamṛṭa, Ānanḍamahoḍaḍhi, and Mathurāmahimā.[11] By far his greatest work is the Ujjavalanīlamaṇi.[12] As a treatise on poetics it describes classes and conditions of lovers and the several stages and modes of their affection and is profusely illustrated with verses, all

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1. Rupa is mentioned by Rajaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmsa Rupadeva mentioned in *Skm*, and Padyavali and Rupadeva, author of commentary on Giṭagovinḍa, are different poets.

2. Sanāṭana lived between 1484—1558 A.D.

3. For a fuller account, see Narahari Chakravarṭi's Bhakṭiraṭnākara.

4. Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay. There is a commentary on it by Cakravarṭi. It is in fact Giṭagovinḍa dramatised. "The piece is also in its different portions supposed to be applicable to the different seasons of the year, at which the chief festivals in honour of Kṛṣṇa are held, or the festival of Spring in Chaitra or Vaisakha, that of the birth of Kṛṣṇa in Sravana of the rains, and the Rāsayātra or dance of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis in the autumn." Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 393.

5. For a list of his works, see *CC*, I. 533.

6. *IO*, VII. 4179; *CC*, I. 542; III. 115; also note a commentary by Nārāyaṇa.

7. *DC*, XI. 8406. There are commentaries on it by Jivāgresari and Raghunāṭhaḍāsa. See Vaiṣṇavaḍharmaprakāsikā (Murshidabad), Parts I to VI.

8. There is a commentary on Hamsaḍuṭa by Māḍhavamiśra *alias* Puruṣoṭṭama.

9. See Thomas, *Kav.* 11.

10. *CC*, I. 533, III. 118; *TC*, IV. R. No. 3050.

11. *CC*, I, 63. Composed in 1560 A.D.

12. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, 95.

devoted to Kṛṣṇa. There are commentaries on it by Jīvagoswāmi,[1] by Viśvanāthacakravartin,[2] and three anonymous.[3] His Nāṭakacandrika[4] is a treatise on drama based on the Nāṭyaśāstra and he refers to the views of Viśvanātha as opposed to Bharata.

221. Rūpa had two brothers. Vallabha and Sanātana. Sanātana commented on Rūpa's Ujjvalanīlamaṇi and wrote among other works,[5] Haribhaktivilāsa[6] and Bhāgavatāmṛta.[7] He lived in 1484-1558 A.D.

Rūpa's desciple RAGHUNATHADASA wrote the short but beautiful poem the Muktācarita,[8] a funny tale in which Kṛṣṇa told Satyabhāma that pearls could be grown as a crop and demonstrated it by sowing a pearl and watering it with milk. Then the Gopis sowed all the pearls they had, but no plants came out. After repeated entreaties, Kṛṣṇa relented and returned the pearls.

222. Jiva Goswami was the son of Vallabha, Rūpa's younger brother. He was born in Śaka 1445 (1435 ?) at Rāmakeli near Fatehbad. He became an ascetic when he was twenty and was head of a Goswami mutt at Bṛndāvana, until his demise in Saka 1540 (1618 A.D.) Among his works[9] are Gopālacampū, Mādhavamahotsava, Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, Govindabirudāvali and Jāhnavyastaka.[10]

223. Kavikarnapura was the son of Śivānanda Sena of Kancanapalli near Nadia. His father was the purveyor of the Bengali followers of Caitanya to Puri, so long as Caitanya lived, at the cost of Vasudevadatta, a millionare.[11] He was born in 1524 A.D. He was educated at Kumārahatta, modern Hailasar, north of Calcutta. He was a pupil probably of Jīvagoswāmi. In his Gaurāngagaṇoddeśadīpikā,[12] composed in Saka 1498 (1577 A.D.) he traces Caitanya's followers to their prior births; for instance, Caitanya's father Jagannātha is traced to Nanda, the father of Kṛṣṇa, and to Dasaratha, the father of Rāma. Every follower of Caitanya is traced to one of the Gopikas or

1. Ed. Bombay. Composed in 1580 A D.
2. Ed. Bombay. Composed in 1695 A.D. He wrote a commentary on Bhāgavata in Kavikarṇapura's Alankārakaustubha.
3. *CC*, I. 62; *CSC*, XI. 3.
4. Ed. Kasimbazar. *DC*, XXIII. 8669.
5. See *CC*. I. 693.
6. See *CC*, I. 758. There is another work of this name by Gopāla Bhatta *Ibid.*
7. See *CC*, I.. 403-4.
8. *TC*, IV. 4880-2.
9. For a complete list of his works, see *Int.* to Ujjvalanīlamaṇi, *loc. cit.*
10. *TC*, IV. 4471-4.
11. See *CSC*, (1909), No. 36.
12. *CSC*, (1907), 45; *HPR*, II. (for an account).

milkmaids in the Kṛṣṇa incarnation and to one of the monkeys in the Rāma incarnation.

In his play Caiṭanyacanḍroḍaya,[1] composed in 1543 A.D., he depicted the life of Caiṭanya. Besides Alankārakausṭubha,[2] on rhetoric, he wrote Camaṭkāracanḍrikā,[3] and Ānanḍabṛnḍāvanacampū,[4] on the loves of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

224. Among the great men of Goswami's order, Śrīḍāsa wrote Rāḍhākunḍasṭava, Raghunāṭha wrote Vilāpakusumānjalīsṭava, and Kṛṣṇakavirāja wrote Rāḍhāsṭaka,[5] and Govindadāsa (1537-1612 A.D.) wrote Sangitamadhava and Karṇāmṛṭa.[6] In his Bhakṭirasāmṛṭasinḍhu, Sanāṭana describes the four varieties of Bhakṭi to Lord Kṛṣṇa and develops the sentiment according to the theories of rhetoric.[7]

Raghunāṭha's desciple Kṛṣṇaḍāsa wrote the poems Govinḍalīlāmṛṭa,[8] and Kṛṣṇalīlāsṭava.[9]

SECTION 5.

225. Vallabha Acarya, the famous religious teacher, was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta and Guru of Puruṣoṭama. He lived in 1478-1530 A.D. He commented on Vyāsa's Brahmasūṭras. The followers of Vallabha school, like Caiṭanya's, worship Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being. Among his works[10] in poetry are Premāmṛṭa,[11] Maṭhurāmāhāṭmya,[12] Maṭhurāsṭaka, Yamunāsṭava, besides discourses on Śrī Bhāgavaṭa.

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1. Printed Calcutta and Bombay.

2. Ed. partly by Sivaprasad Bhatācārya; *Oxf.* 209. There are commentaries by Lokanātha (*CC*, I. 31) and by Bṛnḍāvanacandra (*IO*, 240).

3. *IO*, 1463; *Mitra*, VI. 212 and 2150.

4. *IO*, 492, 645. There is another of that name by Paramānanḍaḍāsa (printed Benares) and another by Keśava (*NP*, X. 16).

5. See *TC*, IV. No. 3050-3. Yadunanḍana wrote Vilāpakusumānjali, *CSC*, (1907) No. 59.

6. See D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, 547.

7. In *CC*, I 390 Aufrecht gives it as the work of Sanāṭana composed in 1542 A.D. (*IO*, 820). But in *TC*, VI. 4434, it is cited as the work of Rupagoswāmi.

8. This poem is described as the work of (i) Raghunāṭhaḍāsa (*IO*, VII. 3875); (ii) Raghunāṭhabhatta (*Mitra*, II. 571). But the real author of Kṛṣṇaḍāsa (*Ulwar*, 36). See article by C. Chakravarti (*IA*, LVII. 208).

9. See *TC*, IV. R. No. 3053.

10. For list of his works see *CC*, I. 555-6; *Ind. Rev.* (1918), 643. For Sṭoṭras, see Vallabhācāryāstutiraṭnāvali by Gokulāḍhiśa (Printed, Bombay). For Vallabhacarya-vamśāvali. see *Ibid.*, 556. Bhandarkar, *VS*, 76 and *History of Vallabhacarya in Western India* (London); Grouse, *Mathura*; Farquhar, *ORL*, 377.

11. *BR*, IV. 70 with commentary by Vitthala.

12. *BR*, II. 46.

His life is described by Gopāladāsa in Vallabhākhyānaka,[1] by Babu Sitārama Saśtri in Vallabhadigvijaya.[2]

Vallabha's sons were Gopīnātha and Vitthala. Vitthala was born in 1515 A.D. and was as great a writer as his father. Among his poems,[3] are Kṛṣṇapremāmṛta,[4] Yamunāṣṭapadī,[5] Rasasarvasva,[6] and commentary on Gītagovinda. Vitthala's sons were Giridhara and Raghunātha. They wrote verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa.[7]

Vallabha's brother Rāmacandra, born about 1484 A.D., wrote the poems Kṛṣṇakutūhala, Gopālalīla, Rasikaranjana and Romāvalīśataka.[8]

226. Devarāja and Gangarao describe the life of Guru Nānak in Nānakcandrodaya.[9]

SECTION 6.

227. Ravisena Acarya composed his Padmapurāna in Nirvāṇa Samvat 1205 (678 A.D.) Jinasena in his Harivamśapurāṇa says

कृतपद्मोदयोद्योता प्रत्यहं परिवर्तिता ।
मूर्तिः काव्यमयी लोके रवेरिव रवेः प्रिया ॥

"Padmapurāṇa is the earliest complete Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa unless the Prakrit work Paumachariya of Vimala Suri and another work of the same name by Svayambhudeva which are said to bear on the same subject, really prove to be works of an earlier date, as is alleged. Later writers have all based their works dealing with this subject, on the book of Ravisenacharya. The incidents related in Padma-purana are said to have occurred during the period (Tirtha) of Santinatha, the 16th Tirthamkara. The story of Rama as narrated here differs in many material points from that of the Ramayana of Valmiki. Rama and Ravana are both claimed here to have followed Jain religion. Lakshmana is stated not to have been a full brother of Satrughna, but son of a fourth wife of Dasaratha, Suprabha by name. Sita was born from the human womb of the queen of Videha, Dasaratha did not die

1. Printed, Bombay.
2. Printed, Benares.
3. For his works, see *CC*, I. 572.
4. *Hall*, 151;
5. *Hall*, 152.
6. *CC*, I. 496.
7. *Hall*, 146, 152.
8. Printed *Pandit*, VI. 108 and *Kāvyamāla*, Bombay. Rasikaranjana was composed at Ayodhya in 1524 A.D.
9. Printed, Bombay *CC*, I. 285.

on account of the banishment of Rama; he is represented to have become disgusted with the ways of the world and he retired to the forest to practise penance. Bali, Sugriva and Hanuman were not of any monkey race, but were powerful rulers of the forest regions. Rama never killed Bali. The latter of his free will relinguished the throne in favour of his younger brother Sugriva and himself became an ascetic. Ravana was not a Brahmana, but a Kshatriya, and met his death not at the hands of Rama but those of his younger brother Lakshmana. The latter recovered from the effects of Ravana's Sakti not by life giving drug but by the presence of a virtuous lady Visalya, who afterwards became his wife. These are some of the points of difference. A comparative and critical study of the whole will be interesting."[1]

228. To **Jinasena** are attributed[2] Harivamśapurāṇa[3] and Ādipurāṇa.[4] The former was written in Saka 705 (783 A.D.) "when Indra Sri Vallabh the son of Krishna was reigning in the South, Vatsaraja at Avanti (Ujjain) and Varaha Vira in Saurya mandala. In the Mangalacharana, which Dr. Peterson has omitted to quote in full, Jinasena pays his tribute to Samantabhadra (the author of Jivasiddhi and Yuktyanusasana). Siddhaseana, Indra, Chandra, Arka and Deva (Devanandi) the grammarians. Vajra Suri, Mahasena (the author of Sulochanakatha). Ravishena (the author of Padma-purana), Varangacharita, Kumarasena, Virasena and Jinasena. The mention of the last two names has given rise to a controversy as to the relation between Jinasena, author of Harivamsapurana, and Jinasena, author of Adipurana. It has been suggested that the reference above is to the author of Harivamsapurana and hence he is one with the author of Adipurana. But the difference in the dates of composition of the two works is at least 50 years which makes their authorship by the same person very improbable. Again, the genealogies of the two authors are different. The author of Harivamsa-purana was the pupil of Kirtisena who belonged to Punnātagan, while the author of Adi-purana was the pupil of Virasena who belonged to the Senagana. Also the manner in which Jinasena has been referred to in Harivamsa-purana shows that the author is referring to a person other than himself. The verse is :—

यामिताभ्युदये तस्य जिनेन्द्रगुणसंस्तुतिः ।
स्वामिनो जिनसेनस्य कीर्तिस्संकीर्तयत्यसौ ॥

1. Hiralal's, *Cat. C.P.* Int, xxi.
2. See *para* 5 *supra*.
3. For an analysis and extract, see *Mitra*, VI, 74. *PR*, IV. 167-7;
4. For an analysis, see *BR*, (1883-4).

An author indulging in these terms in regard to himself would certainly be accused of being over presumptuous. But there arises another complication when we prove the two authors to be different. If we accept the date of the completion of the work as given by the author, the mention of Virasena and Jinasena cannot refer to the authors of Jayadhavala-tika and Adi-purana respectively, for they are known to have lived after the date of Harivamsa-purana. To obviate this difficulty we must suppose that two other Acharyas of those names lived before the composition of Harivamsa-purana."[1]

Ādipurāṇa was left unfinished by Jinasena and was completed by his pupil Guṇabhḍra,[2] under the name of Uṭṭarapurāṇa. Guṇabhḍra also wrote Jinaḍaṭṭacarita.[3] Among poets praised in Āḍi-purāṇa is Kaviparameśvara.

229. Jinaprabha was the pupil of Jinasimha of Laghukharaṭaragaccha. He was honoured by Emperor Sahi Muhammad at Delhi. He was very prolix in poetry and there was no day where he did not compose new sṭoṭras, of which there are now 700, such as Gauṭamasṭoṭra, Pārśvanāṭhasṭava, Śrīvīrasṭava, Śāraḍāsṭoṭra, etc.[4] His Ḍyaśrayakāvya, like the one of that name of Hemacanḍra, describes the life of Śrenika. It was composed in Sam. 1356 (1300 A.D.).[5]

KIRTIRAJA in his poem Nemināṭhamahākāvya in 12 cantos narrates the life of Nemināṭha who was a Bālabrahmacārin,[6] with exquisite descriptions of the seasons, marriage, etc. Kirṭirāja wrote the Praśasti engraved in Parāvajinālaya in Jessalnir Mandir in Sam. 1473 (1417 A.D.).[7]

SOMAKIRTI of Nanḍiṭaṭagaccha was pupil of Bhīmasena. He wrote Sapṭavyasanacariṭa and Praḍyumnacariṭa in 1474 A.D. and Yaśoḍharacariṭa in 1476 A.D.[8]

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1. See Hiralal, *loc. cit.* xxii.
2. He is different from Guṇabhaḍra, author of Dhanyakumāracariṭa, *Cat. CP.* 1655.
3. *Cat. CP.* 643. From the legend of Prince Jayakumāra in this work, Brahmakāmaraja wrote Jayakumāracariṭa (*Ibid l. c.*).
4. Printed, Kāvyamāla, VII, Bombay.
5. See *Jes. Cat.*, 58. Hiralal, *loc. cit.* xxiv.
6. Printed, Bhownagar, from a manuscript dated *Sam.* 1495 and written at Śriyoginipura (Delhi).
7. This Praśasṭi is printed in *Jes. Cat.*, 64-5.
8. See Hiralal, *Cat. C.P.* Int. xxxvii.

Paḍmasāgaragani describes the life of his Guru Hirāvijayasūri in his poem Jagaḍgurukāvya. It was composed in Sam. 1633 (1577 A.D.).[1]

Raṭnacanḍra's Praḍyumnacariṭa, a poem in 18 cantos, describes as a Jain version the story of Praḍyumna and ends with the ascent of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to heaven and salvation of Nemi. It was composed in Sam. 1674 (1618 A.D.).[2]

230. Subhacandra was the pupil of Vijayakīrṭi of Mūlasangha. Besides PANDAVAPURANA also called Bhāraṭa composed in *Sam.* 1608, (1552 A.D.) he says he wrote Canḍranāṭhacariṭa, Paḍmanāṭhacariṭa, Manmaṭhamahimā or Praḍyumnacariṭa, Jīvakacariṭa and Nanḍiśvarakaṭhā, etc.[3]

231. Padmasundara was the pupil of Padmameru of the Ṭāpagaccha.[4] He was successful in a literary contest at the Court of Akbar and was honoured with gifts of villages, etc.[5] He wrote his Rāyamallābhyuḍaya in Sam. 1615, (1559 A.D.) describing the lives of 24 Tirthankaras ending with Royamalla of the Agritaka,[6] class. Same year later he wrote his Pārśvanaṭha Kavya.[7]

Śrīvallabha Pathaka in Vijayaḍeva Māhāṭmya describes the life of Śrī Vījayaḍevasūri of Ṭāpagaccha in 21 cantos. He was born in Sam. 1634, and was honoured by Emperor Jehangir.[8]

232. Sakalakirti was a Bhattāraka of the Jain religion, His Ḍhanyakumāracariṭa,[9] a poem in seven Adhikaras, describes the life of Ḍhanyakumāra, son of Dhanapala, a Vaisya of Ujjain, who by his devotion was regarded as a Saint. He wrote poems Suḍarśanacariṭa,[10] Śrīpālacariṭa,[11] and Vṛsabhānucariṭa.[12] Mahāvīrapurāṇa is an extensive work.[13]

1. Printed, Benares. Hiravijaya was born in *Sam*, 1583. *PR*, IV. 26.
2. *Bh. ORI*, 92. The epilogue mentions Jain priests honored by Emperor Akbar See *Mod. Rev.* VII.
3. *PR*, (1883-4), 113. *PR*, IV. 143, 149, 156. *PR*, V. list of authors.
4. *PR*, IV. lxxv.
5. *BR*, (1882-3), 43.
6. *PR*, III. 255.
7. *Bod. Cat.* 392.
8. Printed Jaina-Sahitya-Samśoḍhaka-Granṭhamālā, Ahmedabad.
9. *DC*, XXI. 8128-
10. Printed, Bombay.
11. *Mys. OML*, 260.
12. *DC*, XX. 8103 ; *PR*, IV. 138.
13. Printed, Bombay.

233. Vadirajasuri *alias* Śanmukha, a Jaina ascetic, was called Dvādaśavidyāpati, probably on account of his proficiency in twelve arts. His Yaśodharacarita is a poem narrating the life of Yaśodhara, son of Yaśodhara and Candrāvati of Ujjain, a saintly King of Jaina sect.[1] He also composed Pārśvanāthacarita.[2]

234. Somacaritragani's Guruguṇaratnākara describes the life of Lakṣmīsaragaṇi of Tapāgaccha. It was written in 1485 A.D. and is of great value of Gujrat history.[3]

235. Other Jain poems are here collected:

Pṛthvīcandracaritra of Śāntisūri (*Sam.* 1225);[4] Neminathacarita of Ratnaprabha, pupil of Vādideva (*Sam.* 1233);[5] Kuvalayamālākathā of Ratnaprabha, pupil of Paramānanda;[6] Puṇyasārakathānaka of Vivekasamudragaṇi, pupil of Jineśvara (*Sam.* 1334);[7] Vijayacandracarita of Candraprabha (*Sam.* 1127);[8] Harivikramacaritra of Jayatilaka, (about *Sam.* 1350);[9] Ādināthacaritra of Vardhamānācārya, (about *Sam.* 1330);[10] Vāsūpūjyacarita of Vardhamāna, pupil of Vijayasimha,[11] Pṛthvīcandracarita of Satyarājagaṇi;[12] Pṛthvīcandracaritra of Jayasāgara, pupil of Jinarāja (*Sam.* 1503);[13] Paramahamsacaritra by Nayaranga, pupil of Guṇaśekhara (*Sam.* 1624).[14]

Abhayakumāracarita of Candratilaka, pupil of Jineśvara (*Sam.* 1312);[15] Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra (*Sam.* 1334);[16] Kāvyamanohara

1. Printed, Bombay. *DC*, XXI. 8136. There is a commentary on it by Lakṣmaṇa. There is another poem of the same name by Kṣamākalyāṇa, printed in Bombay and composed in *Sam.* 1839 (1783 A.D.). See *Jes. Cat.* 42; *PR*, IV. 162.
2. Printed, Bombay.
3. Printed, Benares. *Mys. Arch Rep.* (1924), 13. It mentions the Pragvāta dynasty.
4. *Jes. Cat.*, 67. This was composed at Kumārapāla's Court.
5. *Jes. Cat.*, 40.
6. Printed Bombay. This is a Sanskrit rendering of Dākṣiṇyacaritasuri's prakṛt work (*Jes. Cat.*, 43) composed about the middle of the 13th century A.D. He calls it a campu. He mentions earlier poets (now unknown) Pāṣalipta, Satparṇaka, Vimalānka, Devagupta, Prabhanjana. In *PR*, II. 28, Haribhadra is wrongly named as the author of this poem.
7. *Jes. Cat.*, 56.
8. *PR*, VI. List of authors.
9. *Ibid.*, 1.
10. *Ibid.*, 42.
11. *Ibid.*, 24. The manuscript was written in *Sam.* 1327.
12. *Ibid.*, 47. This contains many styles of poetry and prose.
13. *Ibid.*, 56.
14. *Ibid.*, 57.
15. Printed Bhownagar, *Jes. Cat.*, 4.
16. Printed Bombay. There is another work of the same name by Candraprabhā (Printed Bombay).

of Maheśvara (*Sam.* 1504),[1] Vardhamānacarita of Asaga, pupil of Nāgānandin (*Sam.* 1679),[2] Uktiratnākara of Sādhusundara *alias* Sadhuratna, pupil of Devasundara,[3] Pārśvanāthacarita of Bhāvadeva,[4] Jambūsvāmicarita of Jinadāsa,[5] Pārśvastavana of Padmaprabhadeva,[6] Mallicarita of Vinayacandra,[7] Minaketūdaya of Devanātha, Jagadgurucarita of Suvarṇānanda, Śantināthacarita of Munisundara and another of Bhāvacandra, Candraprabhaswāmicarita of Devendra,[8] Amāmaswāmicarita of Muniratnasūri,[9] Upamitibhāvaprapañcakathā of Siddharṣi,[10] Sumitracaritra of Harṣakunjaropādhyāya,[11] Pārśvacaritra of Devabhadra,[12] Śāntinātamahākavya of Munibhadra.[13]

Vīrollāsa of Bhrusundi, and Nāgakumārakāvya of Mallisena,[14] Munisuvratakāvya of Arhatdāsa,[15] Pradyumnacarita (i) of Mahāsenācārya *alias* Pappadaguru, pupil of Cārukīrti,[16] and (ii) of Yaśodhara,[17] Bhadrabāhucarita of Ratnanandi,[18] Candraprabhavijaya of Ravigupta,[19] Neminirvāṇa of Vāgbhata.[20]

[Kumārasambhava of Jayaśekhara; Pārśvanāthacaritra of Bhāvadeva, Dhānyacarita of Jinakīrti; Prabhāvakacarita of Candraprabha, Bhaktāmarakathā of Royamalla, Malayasundarīkathā of Māṇikyasundara

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1. Int. to Apabhramsakāvyatrayī (*GOS*), 35.
2. *PR*, IV. 169; *DC*, XXI. 8138.
3. He was author also of Yājitakalpavritti written in *Sam.* 1455. See *PR*, IV, V. xxvii, Klatt, *IA*, XI, 255.
4. Printed Bombay. Probably composed at Avanti in *Sam.* 1412. (*PR*, IV. 108 XV. List of authors). He was also the author of Kalikācāryakathānaka (*PR*, I. *Ap.* 30)
5. *Mys. OML*. 246; *PR*, V.
6. *PR*, III. *Ap.* 212, with commentary by Muniśekhara.
7. *PR*, IV. 144. His pupil Dharmadāsa was also a poet. He lived about *Sam.* 1286.
8. *Gough*, 87, 95, 96, 106.
9. *PR*, III. 37–39.
10. *PR*, III. 42, 41 and *App.* 168; IV. 129 gives the year 962.
11. *Jes. Cat.* 54.
12. *Ibid.*, 37.
13. Printed, Benares.
14. *Mys. OML*, 247, 251. This latter work throws light on Nāga history. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1924), 10.
15. *Ibid.*, 253, *CAL*, II. 238 with commentary.
16. Printed, Bhownagar. *TC*, IV. 5398. The same story is told in the play Arthapancaka (*DC*, XXI, 83377) of unknown authorship.
17. *DC*, XX. 793.
18. *DC*, XX. 7940.
19. *PR*, IV, civ. *PR*, I. *App.* 68.

and Raṭnacūdakaṭhā by Jnānasāgara] ;[1] Uḍiṭoḍayacariṭa of Śikhāmaṇi ;[2] [Guruguṇaraṭnākara of Somacariṭagaṇi (*Sam.* 1541),[3] [Gaḍyapāndavacariṭa of Ḍevavijayagaṇi; Vijayacanḍrakevalicariṭa by Canḍraprabhamahaṭṭara, Rauhineyacariṭa of Ḍevamūrti, Raṭnapālanṛpa-kathānaka by Somananḍana, Kumāracariṭra of Cāriṭrasundaragaṇi, and Mahavīracariṭa of Nemicanḍra].[4] Śrenikacariṭra by Gajāḍharlal and Jambūswāmicariṭa of Ḍīpacanḍra,[5] Nāgakumāracariṭa of Raṭnayoginḍra,[6] Padmacariṭra of Vimala,[7] Śrīpālacariṭa by Sakalakīrṭi.[8]

Mṛgānkacariṭra by Ṛḍḍhicanḍra,[9] Haribhaḍrasūricariṭra by Harigovinḍaḍāsa,[10] Mahāvīracariṭa by Nemicanḍra,[11] Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka,[12] Śānṭināṭhacariṭa (i) by Bhāvacanḍra[13] and (ii) by Ajiṭaprabha.[14]

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1. Printed, Bombay.
2. *Mys. OML. Sup.* 34.
3. Printed, Benares.
4. Printed, Bhownagar.
5. Printed, Surat.
6. *PB*, III. 125.
7. *PB*, IV. 104, also called Rāmacariṭra.
8. *Mys. OML*, 260.
9. Printed, Bhownagar.
10. Printed, Benares.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Printed, Benares.
13. *Mys. OML*, 654.
14. Printed, Calcutta.

CHAPTER X

Mahakavyas *(contd).*

SECTION 1.

236. Caturbhuja's Haricaritakāvya is a poem in 13 cantos on the adventures of Kṛṣṇa composed on 1493 A.D. at Rāmakeli, a suburb of the Gauda capital of Bengal, then under the rule of Khojas and Habsis. As soon as he was born his father wrote some verse on his tongue with a golden pen tipped in honey and he became a poet.[1] His son Kamalākara wrote a commentary on Lolambarāja's Harivilāsakāvya[2] and Ghatakarpara.[3]

237. Divakara was son of Vaidyeśvara and Muktāmbā of Bhāradvāja Gotra. He was in the court of King Kṛṣṇadevarāja of Vijianagar (1509-1529 A.D.).[4] From King Rudra he says he got the title Kavicandrarāya. His brother Madhusūdana wrote Dhūrtacaritabhāṇa.[5] Besides the play Pārijātaharaṇa, Rasamanjarī, and Devīstuti, he wrote the poem Bhāratāmṛta in more than 40 cantos on the story of Mahābhārata.[6]

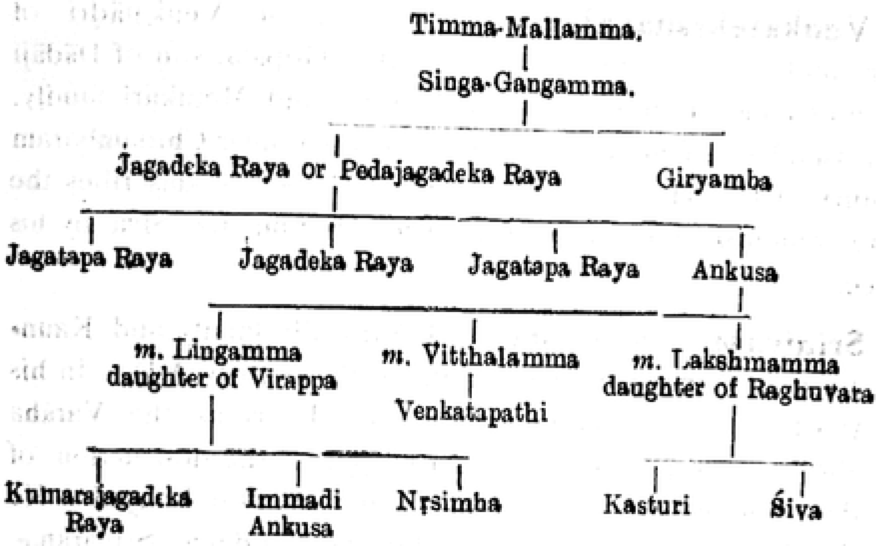
238. Ekamranatha was born in Kondavidu. He came to the Court of Immadi Ankusa of Rāṇa family, of 16-17th century A.D. In his two poems, Jāmbavatīpariṇaya and Satyāpariṇaya, he gives the genealogy of Ankuśa and a running history of his patron and his ancestors which furnishes valuable history. He also wrote the poem Vīrabhadravijaya.[7] At the beginning of the poems,[8] as usual the poet gives a lengthy account of the family of his patrons: "Among the members of the fourth caste (Sudras) was a family which became famous as the Rana vamsa. In that family was born Timma who married Mallamma. Their descendants are represented in the following genealogical table:—

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1. *BKR*, 17 : *CC*, III. 156.
2. *PR*, III. *Ap*, 896.
3. *IOC*, 2525.
4. See *para* 182 *supra*.
5. It is apparently different from Dhurtacaritaprahasana mentioned in Sāhityadarpaṇa, 536.
6. *TC*, IV. 4308, 5502. The last verse now available is

   चक्रे च तथा पृथासुतानां संकीर्णशिबिरं शवैकशेषम् ।
   पारावतपञ्जरान्तराळे संविष्टो मथितं यथा बिडालः ॥

7. *Rice*, 242 where another poem of this name by Muktesvara is mentioned.
8. *DC*, XX, 7732, 7789.



Of these chiefs Jagadeka Raya or Pedda Jagadeka Raya is said to have fought with the ruler of Burana Nagari (the City of Burhan, Nizam Shah and defeating him, to have captured innumerable horses and elephants. Of his sons Jagadeka Raya was the most famous. In a battle he is said to have captured as prisoner a Muhammadan chief Chittakhan, defeated the troops of Nuru Khan and Murtija Khan and killed the chief Sujata Khan."[1]

239. Venkatesa was the son of Śrīnivasa of Ātreyagotra.[2] Born near Kānci in 1595 A.D., he lived for more than fifty years.[3] His Rāmacandrodaya is a long poem of thirty cantos describing the history Rāma and was composed at Benares in 1635 A.D. So is his Yamakārṇava composed in 1656 A.D.[4]

240. Utpreksavallabha, whose real name appears to be Gokula, was a votary of Śiva and was also known as Śivabhaktidāsa. He lived in Malabar about the 16th Century A.D. His BHIKSATANAKAVYA,[5] in 40 Paddhatis, is a fine poem describing "how Siva went about as a mendicant for alms from Rājarāja Cola King to test his liberality and how the appearance of Siva influenced the women of the City." The poem is replete with descriptions of high fancy, interspersed with didactic matter. He wrote Sundarīśataka[6] at the request of King Madana.

1. *SVH*, 227-36.
2. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. xxxi.
3. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2658.
4. *Ibid.*, 2631.
5. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bombay.
6. Printed, Kāvyamāla Bombay. From this poem, it appears that Gokula was called Utpreksavallabha.

241. Venkatekrsnayajan was the son of Venkatādri of Vādhūlagotra and wrote at the instance of King Gopāla, son of Dādāji and grandson of Bālāji, brahmin of Vasisthagotra and Metukāri family. King Gopāla ruled as a feudatory of Śivacchatrapati near Chidambaram in 17th century A.D. His NATESAVIJAYA[1] in 7 cantos describes the story of the vanquishment of Kali at Cidambaram by Śiva by his cosmic dance.

242. Srinivasa, son of Varada of Vīravalli family and Kaundinyagotra, lived at Śrīmuṣnam early in the 17th century A.D. In his poem BHUVARAHARIJAYA,[2] in eight cantos, he describes the Varāha incarnation, the sacrifice performed at Śrīmuṣṇam, the destruction of demon, Dandaka's father, and Bhūvaraha's marriage with Lakṣmī. He wrote several other works, of which Ambujavallīdandaka, Śrīvarāhacūrṇikā, Dhyānacūrṇikā, and Śrīrangadandaka are in prose. Among his poems are Ambujavallīpariṇaya, Varāhavijaya, Vārahacampū, Vakulamālinīgītāpariṇaya, Sitādivyacaritra, and commentaries on Māgha, Raghuvamśa, Naiṣadha, and Amaruka.

His son Varadadesika was equally great. Besides Lakṣmīnārāyaṇacaritra, Raghuvaravijaya, Rāmāyaṇasangraha, Ambujavallīśataka, and Śrīvarāhaśataka, he wrote Gadyarāmāyaṇa, narrating in prose the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Varadadesika's son was Appalācārya and the latter's son Venkatavarada wrote the drama Kṛṣṇavijaya[3] and in the prologue the works of many of his ancestors are described.

243. Gangadasa was son of Gopāladāsa of Vaidya caste. In six chapters, he describes in his Chandomanjari,[4] the varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa. He also wrote ACYUTACARITA, a poem in 16 cantos and DINESACARITA in praise of the Sun. His father wrote a play Parijātaharaṇa.[5]

244. Abhinava Ramanujacarya bore the title of Māyāvādimadagaja-Kanthīravācārya. He was the son of Venkatāraya of Naidhruvakāśyapagotra of the family of Vadībhakesarin. He was probably a contemporary of Timmajagatpati (of Karvetnagar) of the 19th century. His ŚRINIVASAGUNAKARA is a poem in seven cantos describing the greatness of Śrī Venkatesa of Tirupati. He wrote his own

1. *DC*, XX. ११४१.
2. *DC*, XX. ११०३.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8569-७४.
4. Ed. everywhere with commentary, *IOC*, 305.
5. *CC*, I, 336.

commentary on the first 8 cantos and his brother's son Varadarāja wrote a commentary on the rest of the poem.[1]

245. Krsnarama was a professor in Āyurveda in Jaipur State about 1900 A.D. In his Kacchavamśa and Jayapuravilāsa, he described the greatness of the rulers of Jaipur. Among many poems he wrote are Āryālankāraśaṭıka, Palāndusaṭıka, Mukṭaka, Mukṭāvali, Holamahoṭsava and Sāraśaṭıka, a poetical epitome of several important Sanskrit works. In metrics he wrote Chandaśchatāmardana.[2]

246 Laksmanasuri was the son of Muthusubba Iyer of Punalveli near Śrīvilliputtūr, in Rāmnād. He lived between 1859-1919 A.D. He was well-versed in all the Śāstras and was given the title Mahāmahopāḍhyāya. He was Professor of Sanskrit in the Pachayappa's College, Madras. His KRSNALILAMRTA is a long poem on the story of Krṣṇa. Among his minor poems are Viprasandeśa, Mānasasandeśa and Venkaṭeśastava. His play Delhi-Sāmrājya represents the story of Durbar of King George V at Delhi and Paulastyavaḍha the story of Rāmāyaṇa. His commentaries on Anargarāghava, Uṭṭrarāmacariṭa, Mahāvīracariṭa, Veṇīsamhāra, Bālarāmāyaṇa and Raṭnāvali are well-known. He revised the broken fragments of Maḍana's Pārijāṭamanjarī.

In the field of simple prose he has set an example. His BHISMA-VIJAYA narrates the life of Bhīṣma, the great Kaurava warrior and imports the ideal of virtue and discipline. His Bhāraṭasangraha and Rāmāyaṇasangraha are easy epitomes of Mahābaraṭa and Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

247. Ganapati Sastri was the son of Ramasubba Iyer. He was born at Taruvai, in Tinnevelly district in 1860 A.D. He attained high preficiency Sanskrit study very early and in his seventeenth year wrote a drama Māḍhavīvasanṭa. He was principal of the Sanskrit College, Trivandrum and latterly Curator of Sanskrit publications, in Trivandrum; under the patronage of the Maharajah of Travancore. The title of Mahāmahōpāḍhyāya was conferred on him. He passed away a few year ago. His name has been known to the world as the discoveror of Bhāsa's lost dramas. His researches in literary history are of high merit and they are embodied in the introduction to his editions of works in the series. His original works are many. He has commented on the plays of Bhāsa and edited them himself.

1. *TC*, III. 2919.

2. See Śivadatta's Introduction to Naiṣaḍha. Another work on Jaipur is Jayanagarapancaranga of Mallābhatta Harivallabha (*Printed*, Bombay).

3. Some of his works have been printed in Madras.

Among his poems are Śrīmūlacaritra, a history of Kings of Travancore, Bhāratavarṇana, a description of India, Ṭulāpuruṣadānakāvya, on the Ṭulābhāra ceremony in the palace, Aparṇāstava in praise of Pārvatī, and Cakravartinīguṇamaṇimālā, on the greatness of Queen Victoria. His Arthacitramaṇimālā is a rhetorical work with illustrations in praise of King Viśākha Rāma Varma, Mahārāja of Travancore.

By far the most appreciable of his works is SETUYATRANUVARNANA, a romance in learned but easy sanskrit prose with its theme the description of a pilgrimage to Rameśvaram. It describes and decries many of the social evils of the day and impresses on the reader's mind, the sanctity and utility of Hindu ideals.[1]

248. Nilakantha Sarma is the son of Punnasseri Nambi Nārāyaṇa Śarma. He was born in 1858 and is one of the famous living authors of Malabar. He maintains the Sanskrit College at Pattāmbi and edits a journal in Sanskrit Vijnāna-Cintāmaṇi. Besides works on astrology, he wrote poems, Paṭṭābhiṣekaprabandha, Śailabdhīśaśaṭaka and Āryāśaṭaka.

249. Vidhusakhara Bhattācārya of Śantiniketan, Bengal, is a great Sanskrit and Bengali scholar. Besides works in Pāli, he wrote poems in Sanskrit, Yauvanavilāsa, Umāpariṇaya, Hariścandracarita and Cittavilāsa and romance Candraprabhā. He is the editor of Mitra-goṣṭhī, a Sanskrit Journal in Benares.

SECTION 2.

250. Poems on the story of Mahabharata are Pāndavābhyudaya (R. No. 391); Taruṇabhārata (*TC*, IV. 5116), Abhinavabhārata of Narasappamantrin (*DC*, XX. 7690); Pāndavavijaya by Hemacandrarāya Kavibhūṣana (*Printed*, Patna); Pāndavacarita by Lakṣmīdatta (*CC*, I. 537); Vikramabhārata by Śrīśvar Vidyālakāra (*Printed*, Calcutta), Bhāratodyota of Citrabhānu.[2]

251. Poems on Sri Krisna are Rādhāvinoda by Rāmācandra, son of Janārdana (*PR*, II. 396; *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2829) with commentary by Trilokanātha (*CC*, I. 505) and by Bhatta Nārāyaṇa (*Mitra*, IV. 299); Kṛṣṇābhyudaya (i) by Elayavalli Śrīnivasarāghava, son of Venkatācārya of Kauśikagotra (*TC*, IV. 5962; *Mys OML.* 244); and (ii) by Varadadeśika, son of Appāyārya of Ātreyagotra (*DC*, XX. 7726); Kṛṣṇārjunīya (*Ibid.* 7731); Yadunāthacarita (*Ibid.* 7795); Kṛṣṇabhakticandrikā of

1. The manuscripts of these works are now in the author's home.
2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. A., Madras.

Ananṭaḍeva (*PR*, II. 23, 103) Kṛṣṇacariṭa (*TC*, IV. 5893); Kṛṣṇavinoḍa by Moṭirāma (*Oudh*, IV. 9); Kṛṣṇakrīḍiṭa by Keśavārka (*Oxf.* [341); Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛṭa (*CC*, I. 121); Kṛṣṇacariṭa by Mānaveḍa[1] (*TC*, III. 4032); Kṛṣṇalīlā by Maḍana (*CC.* I. 123); Kṛṣṇalīlābhūṣana and Kṛṣṇalīlasāra (*Opp.* II. 3329, 4538); Kṛṣṇavilāsa (i) by Prabhākara (*Opp.* 1427, 2590); and (ii) by Śeṣaḍīkṣiṭa (*Rice*, 230); Kṛṣṇavilāsacariṭamahārṇava (*Opp.* II. 4539); Kṛṣṇacanḍroḍaya by Govinḍa, son of Śrīnivāsa of Āṭreyagoṭra (*TC*, IV. 5677).

Govinḍalīlā by Rāmacanḍra (*Printed*, Benares); Aiśvaryakāḍambinī by Viḍyābhūṣaṇa (*CC*, I. 76); Kṛṣṇacariṭamṛta and Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛṭa [*CSC*, (1907), 17]; Kṛṣṇāmṛṭamahārṇava (*Opp.* II. 65); and Vrajavilāsa [*CSC* (1908), 76]; Vilāpakusumānjali of Yaḍunanḍanaḍāsa [*CSC* (1908), 72]; Kṛṣṇabhakṭikāvya of Ananṭaḍeva (*PR*, III. App. 394); Bhāgavaṭoḍyota of Ciṭrabhānu;[2] [Kṛṣṇalīlābhūṣaṇa of Ḍaṭṭāṭreya, Kṛṣṇavilāsa of Puṇyakoti, Kṛṣṇābhyuḍaya of Ṭimmayajvan and of Varaḍarājayajvan, Bālabhāgavaṭa, and Bhāgavaṭāmṛṭa, Mukunḍavilāsa of Nīlakantha, Govinḍacariṭa] (*CAL*, II. 4, 510, 66).

Premenḍusāgara by Rūpagoswāmi (*CC*, I. 36); Premokṭyuḍaya (*CC*, I. 365); Premāmṛacampū by Canḍraḍāsa (*CC*, I. 365); Rāḍhāsuḍhākara (*Opp.* 6165); Rāḍhāmānaṭaranginī (composed in *Sam.* 1696) by Nanḍakumāraśarma in the reign of King Canḍra of Navaḍvīpa and Rāḍhārasamanjarī by Caiṭanyacanḍra (*CC*, I. 504); Rāḍhārasasuḍhāniḍhi by Hiṭa Harivamśa Goswāmin with commentary by Naroṭṭama (*IO*, 146); Rāḍhārahasya by Kṛṣṇaḍaṭṭa (*PR*, III. 362); Rāḍhāvinoḍa by Ḍineśa and with commentary by Nārāyaṇa, son of Rangānāṭha (*CC*, I. 505); Rāḍhāvilāsa (*CC*, I. 505); Rāḍhāsounḍaryamanjarī by Subalacanḍrācārya (*CC*, I. 505); Kṛṣṇavijaya by Rāmacanḍra (*CC*, I. 511); Gopālalīla by Rāmacanḍra (*Printed*, Bombay) and Bṛnḍāvanamanjarī by Mānasimha (*CC*, I. 899); Bṛnḍāvanavinoḍa by Ruḍranyāyavācaspaṭi (*CC*, I, 599); Vrajavihāra by Śrīḍharaswāmī (*Printed*, Haberlin); Vrajenḍracariṭa by Saḍānanḍa (*Bik*, 249); Kṛṣṇābhyuḍaya by Varaḍarājayajvan (*CAL*, II. 4); Mukunḍavilāsa by Raghūṭṭamaṭīrṭha (*CC*, II. 106); Harilīlā by Bopaḍeva (*CC*, I. 760, *OR*, III. 390); Harikelilīlāvaṭi by Kavikesari (*HPR*, I. 421); Harivilāsa by Kaviśekhara, son of Yaśoḍhacanḍra (*IO*, 1177); Kṛṣṇlīlā by Kṛṣṇamiśra (*HPR*, II. 41); Kṛṣṇabhavanāmṛṭā (*IO*, 1180); Kṛṣṇalīlā by Maḍana, son of Kṛṣṇa (*IO*, 2538); Kṛṣṇalīlā-

1. See para 176 supra.
2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., Tirupati, more than 400 years old. See Ciṭrabbānu's commentary on Bhāravi (*TSS*, Trivandrum).

taraṅgiṇī by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (*CC*, III. 27); Gopālacarita by Padmanābha Bhatta (*CC*, III. 35); Gopālaviveka (*PR*, VI. 333); Madhukelivalli by Govardhana (*Ulwar*, 1066); Camatkāracandrikā by Kavikarṇapūra (*IO*, 1177); Rasakalpalatā by Mohanānanda (*HPR*, II. 176); Rāsakalpasāratattva by Brindāvanadāsa (*HPR*, I. 307); Rasakṛṣṇamādhurī by Ananyadāsasvāmin (*CC*, III. 105); Rāsarasodaya (*CASB*, 164).[1]

Vāsudevacarita by Veṇīdatta, son of Jagjjīrāma (*IOC*, 584-1459); Harivamśakāvya (*CC*, I. 750); Bālaharivamśa by Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇa (*Mys. OML*. 250); Kamsanidhana by Rāma (*PR*, III. *Ap*. 393); Śrīkṛṣṇacarita (*TC*, IV. 5406); Gopikonmāda (*TC*, IV. 5616); Kṛṣṇāmṛtataraṅgikā by Venkateśa (*Printed*, Bombay); Gopālavijaya by Girisundaradāsa (*HR*, II. No. 1155); Kṛṣṇodanta by Bhāskara (*CAL*, II. 5); Sundaradāmodara by Lolambarāja (*CAL*, II. 16); Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta by Viśvanātha [*Printed*, Brindabun; *Mitra*, VI. 269. Composed in 1786 A.D.]; Kṛṣṇvijaya by Śankarācārya (*Opp*. 3715).

KRSNAYANA is a work on the life of Kṛṣṇa in imitation of Rāmāyaṇa. As the latter was called Ādikāvya, this is called Anantarakāvya. The style is charming, but the manuscript breaks off in the 7th canto. It is stated to have been related by Bharadvāja, and must have been a production of the 12th or 13th century by a follower of Rāmānuja cult. He says he describes the origin of the world according to Purāṇas, Smṛtis and Rāmānuja (*DC*, XX. 7729).

252. Poems on Ramayana are: Rāmavilāsa, Rāmacaritra of Raghunātha, Udārarāghava of Candīsūryakavi, Kalyāṇarāmāyaṇa of Śesakavi, Bhadrādri-Rāmāyaṇa of Vīrarāghava, Rāmakathāsudhodaya of Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsa, Rāmāmṛta of Venkatarangā, and Yādavarāghavīya of Narahari (*Mys. OML*. 253-5); Raghuvīravaryacarita of Tirumalakoṇayārya (*Ibid. Sup*. 11); Daśananavadha by Yogindranatha (*Printed*, Calcutta); Raghuvīracarita by Sukumāra (*Trav. Cat*, 86).

Sītārāmavihāra by Lakṣmaṇasomayaji, son of Organti Śankara (*IO*, 1481); Rāmaguṇākara by Rāmadeva [*Mitra*, (1872) 315; *CC*, I, 510]; Rāmakhetakāvya by Padmanābha (*CASB*, 163, composed 1839 A.D.); Rāmavilasa by (i) Rāmacaraṇa and (ii) Harinātha (*Ox*, 132, 214).

Rāmacandrakāvya of Śambhu Kālidāsa (*Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2887); Udārarāghava (*DC*, XX. 7694); Prasannarāmāyaṇa of Devaradikṣita, son of Śrīpāla (*DC*, XII. 7780); Rāmacandrodaya of Kavivallabha (*Ibid*, 7844); Rāmacarita of Viṣvaksena (*Ibid*. 7846); Rāghavollāsa (?) by

1. See under Subhāṣita *post*.

Advaita Rāma Bhikṣu (CC, I. 500, IO, 1138, 1479) and (ii) by Pūjyapāda Devānanda (CC, I. 500); Āścaryarāmāyaṇa (Opp, II. 3108); Bālarāghavīya by Sāṭhagopācārya (Opp, II. 590); Sītārāghavīya (CC, I. 485); Ramaṇīyarāghava by Brahmadatta (Rice, 240); Abhirāmakāvya by Rāmanātha (CC, I. 26); Rāmakutūhala by Rāmeśvara, son of Govinda (composed in 1680 A.D. Oxf, 198); Rāmakautuka by Kamalākara, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, (IO, 107, 1487); Rāmakathāmṛta by Giridharadāsa (NW, 456, 488); Rāmaguṇākara by Rāmadeva Nyāyālankāra (CC, I. 510); Rāmavilāsakāvya by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa[1] and by Harinātha (CC, I. 179, 518); Rāmacarita (i) by Kāśīnātha and (ii) by Mohanaswāmi (IO, 978, 1184); Rāmalīlodaya by Ramākānta, son of Bāṇeśvara (CC, I. 518); Rāmābhiṣeka by Keśava (BTC, 161); Rāmakāvya by Rāmānandatīrtha (CC, I. 507); Rāmābhyudaya by Venkateśa[2] (BTC, 161, 214). Rāmābhyudayatilaka (Opp, 1555); Sitikaṇṭharāmāyaṇa by Sitikaṇṭha (Opp, 6683).

Sītārāmavijaya (Opp. 6695); Raghuvīravilāsa by Lakṣmaṇa, son of Dāmodara of Bhāradvājagotra (TC, IV. 5460); Raghupativijaya by Gopīnātha (CC, III. 104); Rāmacarita by Mohanaswāmi[3] (IO, 978, 1481); Rāmacandrodaya (i) by Puruṣottamamiśra (Opp, II. 3780; TC, IV. 4805); (ii) by Rāmadāsa (TC, II. 2513); Rāmacandramahodaya by Saccidananda (CC, I. 587); Rāmakāvya by Bālakṛṣṇa (CC, III. 108); Rāmaratnākara by Madhuvrata (Oudh, V. 6); Rāmarasāmṛta by Śrīdhara (CC, I. 512); Rāmacandrodaya by Kavivallabha (Trav. Cat. 156).

Raghunandanavilāsa (i) by Venkatācārya (CAL, II. 12) and (ii) by Pātrācārya son of Sāthagopa Tātācārya, probably of Kumbakonam (TC, III. 2931); Vikramarāghava by Naṭanakālidāsa (CAL, II. 15; Sītāpativijaya, (Ibid, 16); Paulastyarāghaviya by Rāmacandra of Pulyeka family (TC, II. 2410); Srirāmavijaya by a pupil of Aruṇācalanātha (TC, IV. 5140); Uttararāghaviya (DC, XX. 7694); Raghunāthaguṇodaya by Navyacaṇḍisahāya (SKC, 71, composed in 1570 A.D.); Bālarāmarasāyana by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri (CAL, II. 8); Rāmāyaṇasārasangraha by Iśvaradīkṣita (CAL, II. 14); Lalitarāghava by Śrīnivāsa Ratho, Jānakyānandabodha by Śripati Govinda (Mitra, II. 193; IO, 1489); Rāmalingāmṛta by Advaita, son of Bāyabhatta of Benares, composed in

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1. He wrote his Sāhityadarpaṇavṛtti in 1701 A.D. (IO, 313).
2. He also wrote poems Venkateśvaravijaya and Kṛṣṇarājavijaya (Opp. 8852, 8858) and plays Unmattaprahasana and Bhānuprabandhaprahasana and Rāghavānandanāṭaka (BTC, 172).
3. It was probably he that wrote Mohanasaptaśati (CC, I. 468).

Śaka 1530 (*IO*, 1483); Sītārāmavihāra by Lakṣmaṇa, son of Śankara of Organti family (*TC*, III. 3215. *IOC*, 3918-19).

253. Miscellaneous Poems on Weddings are here collected: Padminīpariṇaya by Vedāntācārya and Malayajāpariṇaya (*CAL*, II. 8); Pārvatīpariṇaya by Īśvarasurati (*BTC*, 159); Jnānamudrāpariṇaya (*Opp*, II. 3648); Sāvitrīpariṇaya by Varadācārya (*Rice*, 244); Sundarīsvayamvara (*Opp*, 3077); Rukmiṇīpariṇaya by Govinda, son of Lakṣmaṇa (*CC*, II. 34); Satīpariṇaya by Candrakānta Tarkālankāra (*Printed*, Dacca); Madrakanyāpariṇaya (*Mys. OML*, 251); Tatātakāpariṇaya of Śankarasubrahmaṇya (*Ibid*, 247; *TC*, IV. 5466); Rukmiṇīpāṇigrahaṇa by Govindāntarvāni (*Printed*, Bombay); Saugandhikāpariṇaya (*Gough*, 187); Sītāpariṇaya by Sūryanarāyanādhvarin (*DC*, XX. 7904; *TC*, II. 1206, 1603); Sītākalyāṇa (*Opp*. 2487, 6692); Gaurīkalyāṇa by Govindanātha (*TC*, IV. 4204-8); Sītāsvayamvara by Kāmarāja (*Printed*, Bombay; see also *CAL*, 16 where author's name is not given); Vaidēhīpariṇaya by Kāśīnātha (*CC*, I. 660); Satyabhāmāpariṇaya by Rāmācārya (*Rice*. 244) and by Kṛṣṇa (*CAL*, II. 141); Rameśvaravivāha by Raghunātha of the Court of Muthurāmalinga Setupati of Rāmnād (*TC*, II. 1805); Hemodvāha by Śriśvar Vidyālankara (*Printed*, Calcutta); Ambikāpariṇaya (*BTC*, 156); Vakulamālinīpariṇaya (*TC*, IV. 4675); Vedavullīpariṇaya by Rāmānuja (*CAL*, II. 141).

Lakṣmīkāvya of Uttamarāya Tirumalādhīśa in 18 cantos describes the marriage of Lakṣmī, daughter of a Cola king, with God Ranganātha of Śrīrangam and a festival relating to it.[1]

254. Miscellaneous Poems on Puranic Themes: Kāmākṣīvilāsa (*Opp*, II. 8832); Indirābhyudaya by Raghavācārya (*Rice*, 226) and Raghunātha (*CAL*, II. 136); Cakrapāṇikāvya by Lakṣmidhara (*CC*, I. 175); Pancatantrakāvya by Dharmapandita (*NP*, IX. 14); Śiśupālakathā (*Opp*, 7420); Draupadyupatti (*Rice*, 230); Draupadīvastrāharaṇa by Govardhana (*PR*, III. 394); Tārakāsuravadha (*Opp*, 5986); Candraprabhavijaya by Ravigupta (*CC*, I. 180); Candraprabhīya by Dhananjaya (*Opp*, II. 434); Citrabhānukāvya by Harihara (*CC*, I. 762); Mīnaketūdaya by Devanātha (*CC*, I. 453); Yakṣadigvijaya (*CC*, I. 469); Kakusthavijaya (*CC*, I. 550); Syamantakaprabandha (*Opp*, 6292); Uṣāharaṇa by Harṣanātha (*CC*, I. 764); Haihayendrakāvya by Hari (*CC*, I. 769); Kumarīvilasita by Sudarśana on the story of Kanyākumāri (*TC*, IV. 5638); Vajreśvarīkāvya by Jagannātha (*Radh*, 22), Rukmāngadīya by Padmanābha (*CC*, I. 527);

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1. *TC*, II. 1769. The preface gives the names of Śrī Vaiṣṇava teachers of Śrīrangam.

Jagannāṭhavijaya (i) by Ruḍrabhatta (*CC*, I. 528); and (ii) by Venkāmāṭya (*Mys, OML*, 633); Karpūramanjarī by Rajanīvallabha (*CC*, I. 82); Cakrapāṇivijaya (*CC*, I. 125); Candīkānṭamahākāvya (*CC*, I. 176); Prahlāḍavijaya by Kathanāṭha (*Mys. OML*. 634); Kumāravijaya by Rāmasūri (*Mys. OML*, 9); Kārṭikeyavijaya by Girvanenḍra (*Ibid*, 243); Kharaniḍhana (*DC*, XX. 7816); Kirāṭaprabanḍha on the story of Kirāṭārjunīya (*DC*, XX. 7913); Kārṭavīryodaya by Canḍracūda [*Mitra* Bik. series, 296; *CSC*, (1904) 13]; Bāṇavijaya by Sivarāma (*CC*, III. 78); Narakāsuravijaya by Māḍhavāmāṭya (*Tanj. Cat*. IV. 2772); Ḍevāvaṭaraṇa by Sivarāma on the myths of the shrine at Tirukkandiyur (*Tanj. Cat*. VI. 2778); Śāraḍāṭilaka by Śeṣagiri describing the festival at Śrirangapatam (*Mys. Library*).

Lingalīlāvilāsacariṭa by Mahālinga (*Rice*, 322); Ḍhruvacariṭa, Prahlāḍacariṭa, Vāmanaciṭracariṭa, Govarḍhanaḍhṛṭakṛṣṇacariṭa, and Ajāmilopākhyāna by Jayakṛṣṇa (*CC*, I. 199); Hariścanḍracariṭa (*CC*, I. 761); Canḍracūḍacariṭa by Umāpaṭiḍhara (*CC*, I. 180); Varasāviṭrīcariṭa (*Opp*, 7392); Haraḍaṭṭacariṭra (*Opp*. 3896); Kalyāṇarājacariṭa by Maḍana (*Oxf*, 127); Kārṭavīryacariṭa, Nanḍīcariṭa and Prajāpaṭicariṭa by Kṛṣṇa (*NW*, 442, 478); Uṣācariṭa, Kuberacariṭa, Gaurīcariṭa, Valmīkicariṭa, Sāmbacariṭa, Mārkandeyacariṭa by Brinḍāvana Śukla (*NW*, 440); Pāḍmapāḍacariṭa, Maṇikyavākyacariṭa, Viḍyāraṇyacariṭa, Suḍāmacariṭa by Śrīnivāsa (*CAL*, II. 25); Śivabhakṭacariṭa (*HR*, III. 2189); Vancīpuranāṭhacariṭa by Navanīṭakavi (*Ibid*. 2186); Ambarīṣacariṭa (*Mys*, *OML*. *Sup*. 91); Śivacariṭa by Kavivādisēkhara (*HR*, II. 1094); Uḍḍhavacariṭa by Raghunanḍana (*IO*, 823); Canḍravamśa by Canḍrakānta Ṭarkālankāra (*Printed*, Calcutta); Kṛṣṇārjunīya (*DC*, XX. 7731); Canḍrāmgaḍacariṭra by Śankarakavi,[1] and Surenḍracariṭa on the story of Inḍra and Ahalyā (*DC*, XX. 7905); Sivamālā by Rājānaka Gopala (*CC*, I. 651); Gangāvaṭāra by Śankara (*IO*, 119); Maṭsyaprabanḍha (*TC*, IV. 4436).

Sāmbhuvilāsa by Viśvanatha (*IO*, 1148)); Gangāḍharavijaya by Venkatasubba (*CAL*, II. 8); Vikramānkacariṭa by Hamsakavi; Hariścanḍroḍaya by Ananṭasūri; Markandeyoḍaya by Venkatasūri; Sudarśanavijaya by Sunḍarabāhu; Ambarīṣacariṭa; Kucelavṛṭṭa by Bhatta Nārayaṇa; Kārṭikeyavijaya by Gīrvaṇenḍravajvan; Kumāravijaya by Śivacaraṇareṇu; Śrīnivasakāvya by Ṭryambaka, son of Śrīḍhara; Guruvamśakāvya by Lakṣmaṇasūri; Virollāsa by Bhrusundi, Viśvaḍeśika-

1. This poet is not the same as author of Kṛṣṇavilāsakavya (See para supra) He died 4 years ago. Manuscript is with Bhāskara śāṣṭri of Adoni.

vijaya by Lakṣmīnṛsimha ; Kūṣmāṇḍīcarita by Śikhāmaṇi] (*Mys. OML*, 243, 250, 257, 260. *Ibid. Sup.* 9-11); Kaunteyavṛtta by Vidyāvāgīśa; Vasudevavijaya by Rāmanātha (*Printed*, Bombay); Satīvilāsakāvya by Kṛṣṇamūrti (*Printed*, Kalladakurci) ; Bhāratāmṛta by King Divākara Kavicandra (*CC*, III. 85).

Priyankarakathā, Śrīpālacarita, Śivarājacarita, Campakacarita, Nalakathārṇava, Saubhāgyapancamīkathā, Kanakakuśalakāvya, Śailendravilāsa and Dhananjayavilāsa (*Gough*, 91, 141-144).

Nīlācalanāyakacarita by Vādhūla Venkateśa (*TC*, III. 4025); Uṣāniruddha by Govindaratha,[1] (*Ibid.* 4045); Hanūmatkāvya (*Ibid.* 5520); Hanūmadvijaya (*DC*, XXI. 8177); Udayabhānukāvya by Ananta (*PR*, II. *App.* 393): Candravijayaprabandha by Mandanāmātya of Śrīmūla family (*BR*, II. 1907); Rasābdhimahākāvya by Devakīnandana (*Printed*, Bombay); Īśvaravilāsa by Śrīrāma (*PR*, III. *App.* 393); Śaśisenākāvya by Jagannātha Prasad (*Cat.*, *ASB*, 195); Puṣpapanjara by Rādhāmangalam Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī[2] (*Printed* partly in Madras); Rāvaṇapuravadha by Śivarāma.[3]

Ratnapāṇi's Maithileśacarita describes the present dynasty of Darbhanga.[4]

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1. This mentions the King Bāṇapurīśa as the author of poem Jagannāthakāvya.

2. He is professor of Vyākaraṇa in the Sanskrit College, Tiruvādi, Tanjore Dt. He was born in 1882.

3. SKC, 78, 292. He was son of Kṛṣṇarāma probably identical with Kṛṣṇarāma mentioned in para 215, *supra*. For his other works and commentaries see Chapter on GADYAKAVYA, *post*.

4. Jayaswal's Cat of Mss. in Mithila, I. No. 295.

254-A. Navilpakam Rāmānujacarya (Caṭurveḍi Śaṭakraṭu) wrote Paḍmanābhakhadga and Rāmānujakhadga. He passed away about 1935. His son Sunḍarācārya wrote Hanumaḍvilāsa, Aṣṭaprāsa, and Komalāmbākucasāṭaka.

Valathur Varaḍa Viṣṇu Ācārya lived near Ayyampet, Tanjore and wrote Bhāraṭakhadga.[1]

Mahāmahopāḍhyāya Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛṭiṭirṭha was born in March 1870 in a family of Pandits at *Bhatpara* near Calcutta and died on January 25, 1934. He edited several smṛti texts and composed poetry mostly of panegyric and topical character.[2]

254-B. Kesavasuri, popularly known R. Kesava Aiyangar, M.A., B.L., is the son of Rājam Aiyangar of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. He was born in Nanḍana (1892-1893) at Chakravalanallur near Ḍevīpatnam in Rāmnad District, (Madras). He is an Advocate of the Maḍras High Court His heritage of poetry has manifested itself in a series of devotional poems, which in point of grace, piety or eloquence vie with similar eulogies of our great religious teachers. Among his sṭoṭras are Śrīkeṣavasṭava, Śrīsaṭyāḍrināṭhasṭava, Śrīlakṣmīnarasimhasṭava.[3]

254-C. RAMAKRSNASARMAN known as Kuppusāmi Ayya (Nāgapūdi) was born about 1854. He has now retired from practice as a lawyer and lives at Tirupati. His Sṭavaraṭnāvali, a lyric in praise of various deities, exhibits an ardent devotion.[4]

254-D. SOMAKAVI (Allamrāju) is son of Sīṭārāmayya and lives at Chebrole near Pittapuram. He wrote Cāṭuḍhārā, Camasākarasaraṇi and Āḍiṭyakarṇāmṛṭa.

254-E. VARADACARYA is son of Nārāyaṇa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He was born in Ḍurmukhi (1896) and lives at Tanapalli near Tirupati. He wrote Karṇabhāskarasamvāḍa, Bhagavaḍḍhyānasopāna, and Sāyanṭ ṭanīsagaravelā and has translated Tagore's *Renunciation* into Sanskri verse.

254-F. Vijayaraghava Acarya (Vīravalli) is the son of Varaḍārya of Kaundinyagōṭra He was born at Maiyūr near Kancī in 1884.

1. Printed, Vanivilas Press, Srirangam.
2. *Ind. Rev.* (1934), 517.
3 Printed, Madras.
4. Printed, Madras by his son, N. Candrasekhara Iyer, now District Judge, Madura.

He studied at Kānci and attained high proficiency in rhetoric. He has been specially trained in Epigraphy and he is now the Epigraphist of Śrī Vēṅkateśwara Ḍēvasthānam of Tirupati. Among his several works are, besides the play Ciṭrakūta, the poems Vaibhavavilāsa (on Lord Śrīnivāsa of Ṭirupaṭi), Ghaṇṭāvaṭāra (on Vēḍānṭaḍēśika), Guruparamparāprabhāva, Nīṭinavaraṭnamālā, Abhinavahiṭopaḍeśa, Kavanēnḍumaṇdālī, Vāsanṭavāsara, Ḍānapraśamsā, Ḍivyakṣeṭrayāṭrāmāhāṭmya, Āṭmasamarpaṇa, Navagrahasṭoṭra, Ḍaśāvaṭārasṭava, Lakṣmīsṭuṭi and Pancalakṣmīvilāsa in 5 sections of 200 verses each on Ḍhanalakṣmī, Ḍhānyalakṣmī, Jayalakṣmī, Gṛahalakṣmi and Ārōgyalakṣmī. In his Surabhi-sanḍēśa there are descriptions of all modern cities. In his poems, Gānḍhimāhātmya, Ṭilakavaiḍagḍhya, and Nehruvijaya, there are delineations of the Indian National heroes, Ganḍhi, Bālagangāḍhar Tilak and Motilal Nehru.

254-G. Sadaksara was the son of Mahāḍeva and Gangāḍevī. He was born at Yalandur in Mysore State in Saka 1536 (1614 A.D.). He was one of the famous galaxy of poets who graced the Court of Karnāta King Cikaḍevarāja. Blessed with a divine poesy by birth his name soon became glorious. Sadakṣara bore the title of Kavikunjara. Besides several poems in Canarese he wrote in Sanskrit a major poem Rasārṇava or Kavikarṇarasāyana (24 cantos) and minor poems Raṭṇāvali, Kavikoti, Ambāṣṭaka, and Bhaḍrasṭava. He passed away in his 22nd year in Śāka 1556 He studied under Vāsavarāja and admired Vāsavarāja's Kāvyamīmāmsā on which Paḍmakavi wrote a commentary.[1]

254-H. Banesvara Vidyalankara (Śobhākara) was the son of Rāmaḍeva, the great extempore poet. He lived at Gupṭapalli in Hughli about the end of the 18th century. His Ciṭracampū was composed in 1744. His Kāliḍāsasṭava is printed in Śyāmākalpalaṭikā. His verses are often quoted in Bengal.[2]

25·-I. Yagnasubrahmanya or Swāmi Ḍīkṣiṭa was the son of Aṇṇā Ḍīkṣiṭa and Valliyambā of Kaundinyagoṭra. He lived in about 1832-1879. He was born at Ettiyapuram, Tinnevelly District and with a high proficiency in all the Śāsṭras and in poetry, he was the State Pandit in the Ettiyapuram Samsthānam and was called Kavikesarīn. Besides works on other topics he wrote poetic descriptions of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi of 1875 and of the visit of the Prince of Wales in that year and a campū Vallīpariṇaya which is (in 12 ṭarangas) quite familiar in South India. There is a commentary on it by Ilaṭhūr Sunḍararāja Aiyangar.[3]

254-J. Candamaruta Acarya was son of Parimalaranga of Vaṭsagoṭra. He was born at Alisur near Kāncī. He studied under his father and visited various States and received honours. He was patronised particularly by Ravivarma, Chief of Itabalapuri on whose poem

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1. This information is from an article by Gaurīsankara Sarma, in Śāraḍā, I. 29. See para 521 *post*.

2. See para 546 and S. B. Jl. Here is a verse of his

लज्जा मानसुता ममाधवनिता भिक्षा परा दैन्यजा
तातैश्वर्यविगर्विता बलवती भिक्षा प्रगल्भाभवत् ।
सा लज्जानिहता तथैव तनयाशोकेन मानो मृतः
भिक्षा दैन्यसुता चिरात्परिचिता नाद्यापि मां मुंचति ॥

3. These works are printed and the unprinted works are with his nephew Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, M.A., Principal, Rameswaram Devasthanam Sanskrit College, Madura.

B

Viḍhuravilāpa he wrote a commentary.[1] He was lastly Professor of Sanskrit in San Thome, Madras. Besides writing Laghurasakusumāvali on poetics, he answered Jagannāṭha's critique on Ciṭramīmāmsā in a work named Ciṭramīmāmsoḍḍhāra. His poem Alinarājakaṭhā was left incomplete in 6 cantos. He passed away in 1900.[2]

Candamāruṭa had a literary rival Venkatavaraḍa Ācārya of Alavoor (near Kāncī) of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He was born in 1879 and lives at Kāncī. He wrote under the name KOMALAMARUTA aud his poems and stray verses appeared in Manjubhāṣiṇi and Vijnānācinṭāmaṇī Journals.

254-K. Srinivasa Sastrin was of Kaundinyagoṭra. His brother Nārāyaṇaśāsṭrin is a renowned writer whose works will be noticed (in para 727 post). He studied uuder the famous Mahāmahopāḍhyāya Ṭyāgarāja Śasṭrin (Rājū Śāsṭrin) of Mannargudi (Tanjore District). He upheld the doctrine of Śivāḍvaiṭa propounded by Appayya Ḍīkṣiṭa by commenting on all the Upaniṣads. His erudition in Śāsṭras was unique and he edited a Journal Brahmaviḍyā. His works were many and his titles were equally so, marks of honour bestowed on him everywhere. Among his minor poems are Vijnapṭiśaṭaka, Yogibhogisamvāḍaśaṭaka, Śāraḍāśaṭaka, Mahābhairavaśaṭaka, Heṭirājaśaṭaka, Śrīgurusaunḍaryasāgarasasahaṭrikā etc., and a play SAUMYASOMAM. He is known to have written a several poems and plays, but information is not available. He passed away about 1900.[3]

254-L. Ambikadatta Vyasa was the son of Durgāḍaṭṭa, a Gauda brahmin of Bhanapura in Jaipur State. He was born in 1859. He was an extempore poet and his proficiency in avaḍhānam was unique. He was awarded several titles, Vyāsa, Sāhiṭyācārya, Ghatikāsāṭa, Bhāratabhāskara etc. He was for some time Professor of Sanskrit in Bhagalpur. Among his several works on Śivarājavijaya, a long work in prose on the life of Emperor Śivāji, and minor poems Raṭnāṣṭaka, Prasṭāraḍīpikā, Gaṇeśaśaṭaka and Śivavivāha. He passed away in 1901.[4]

254-M. Venkataraghava Acarya (Setlur) was son of Ranganāṭha of Kauśikagoṭra and lived at Srirangam in 1849-1906. He was head Sanskrit Pandit in S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly. Besides the

1. Printed Conjeevaram.
2. For a short account see Samskṛṭa-Canḍrikā, Vol. VIII
3. For a short account of his life and works, *see* Samskṛṭa-Canḍrikā, Vol. IX-X.
4. For a short account see Samskṛṭa-Canḍrikā Vol. VIII. Śivarājavijaya is printed in that Journal.

poems Rāmāstaprāsamanjarī, Ranganāṭhāstaprāsa, Śrīranganāyikā-nakṣaṭramālikā and Āryāsapṭaṭi, he wrote the plays Manmaṭhavijaya.[1]

254-N. Ganapati Sastrin was the son of Subrahmaṇya and Siṭālakṣmī of Mouḍgalyagoṭra of the village of Painganādu in Tanjore District and lived in 1871-1913. He was the chief Pandit of the Aḍvaiṭa-Sabhā of Kumbhakonam and latterly of the Śankara Mutt there. He bore the titles Mahāmahopāḍhyāya and Veḍānṭakesari. Learned in all the Śāsṭras, he has had illustrious pupils among whom is Kadalangudi Natesa Śāsṭri, whose labours in connection with Sanskrit Literature are now well known. Besides several works on other topics, he wrote the poems Katākṣaśaṭaka, Ānyāpaḍeśa, Ṭatāṭakāpariṇaya, Ḍhruvacariṭa, Rasikabhūṣaṇa, Gururājasapṭaṭi and some sṭuṭis (mentioned in the Index) and Vṛṭṭamaṇimālā on prosody.

Pancapagesa Sastrin (Kaviraṭna) is his brother. He was born in 1874. Like his brother he was chief pandit at Śankara mutt in Kumbhakonam for about 20 years and is now retired and lives in Tyagarajanagar, Madras. Besides works on Śāsṭras he wrote campūs Hariscanḍravijaya and Ṭātankapraṭisthāmahoṭsava and the poems Kāvyakolāhala, Gaurīcaraṇasapṭaṭi, Vyāsapūjāmahoṭsava, Śankaragurucariṭasangraha and several sṭuṭis which are mentioned in the Index.

254-O. Srisvara Vidyalankara was the son of Kṣiṭiśvara Bhattācārya of Rangpur, Bengal, of Vāṭsyagoṭra and a poet of Bengal of great renown. He passed away in 1905. His poem Vijayinīkāvya (in 12 cantos) describes the life of Queen Victoria and Delhi-Mahoṭsava (in 5 cantos) describes the Delhi Darbar of 1901 and Śakṭiśaṭaka is in praise of Ḍurgā.

Śrīśvara's son is KOKILESVARA ŚASTRIN (now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University) was born in 1871 and was greatly honoured by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, in whose College he was Professor of Sanskrit for a number of years, and he delivered Sree Gopal Basu Mullick's Fellowship Lectures in 1930-31. His exposition of the philosophy of the Upanishads has had a wide appreciation.[2]

254-P. Gopalasastrin (Nadiminty) was the son of Bhagavaṭ Paṭanjali Śasṭri and Kāmākṣī of Kaundinyagoṭra. He was born at Nāgur Agraharam near Pārvaṭīpuram, Vizagapatam District. He lived

1. The drama is printed in Bombay and the poems are with his son V. Rajagopalasarma B.A., West Chitra Sheet, Srirangam.
2. He has recently published *A History of Sanskrit Literature*.

in 1853-1928. Like his father and grandfather he was initiated in Śrīvidyā and he wrote the poems Śiragaurīpariṇaya and Sītārāmābhyudaya. His father Bhagavat Patanjali Śāstri was a State Pandit in Nepal and was the recepient of agraharams from Kuruppam Samsthanam. His poem Paramapuruṣadhyānam is now available in part. Patanjali's father was Sarvamangaleśvara Śāstrin (1759-1839). He went to Benares and became famous enough to be called Abhinavakālidāsa. His poetry was oft times satirical and had full vent in the Court of Mahārāja Anandagajapati of Vizianagaram. Besides works on the Śāstras, his poems Lalitāstaka, Suryāstaka and Jagannāthāstaka are now available and many stray verses of extempore variety are now preserved and are of a high order.[1]

254-Q. Ramavatara Sarma was the son of Devanārāyaṇa Pandeya and Govindadevī of Bhāradvājagotra. He was born at Chapra (U.P.) in 1878 and passed away in 1929 Having studied at Benares he became Professor of the Hindu College, Benares and was later on in the College at Patna. He was a literary prodigy and his contributions to literary and historical criticism are well-known and unique. Besides several works on darsānas, he wrote poems Mārutinadakam, Mudgaradūta and a play Harṣa-Naiṣadhīyam. His Bhāratīyamitivṛttam is a small literary history of India written in Anustubh metre. "It reads like the Kashmir Rājatarangiṇī. It form a very small part of a huge work, the history of the whole world. Had this huge work been published, it would have been a Mahābhārata of these days." Above all he prepared a gigantic lexicon Viśvakośa which awaits an editor.[2]

254-R. Mahesacandra Tarkacudamani lived a few years ago at Rājārāmpuram, Dinajpur, Bengal. Among modern poets and rhetoricians he is one of the foremost. Besides several minor poems like Kāvyapetikā on various topics, he wrote Dinājapurarājavamśa (in 17 cantos) and Bhūdevacaritra (in 24 cantos) and an elegy on the late Mahārāja of Darbhānga and a poetic criticism Kāvyatatvāvali.[3]

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1. His Samāsakusumānjali is printed. His Vibhaktivilāsam and the rest are with his grandson Mr. N. Patanjali Sastri, B.A., B.L., Parvatipur, Vizagapatam District.

2. Except the play the poems have been printed. The manuscripts of his unprinted works are with his son N. V. Sarma, Exhibition Road, Patna to whom I am indebted for this information.

3. Many of his minor poems are printed in Samskrta Candrikā and Mitragoṣthi Journals. Dinājpurarājavamśa has illustrations of several poetic Bandhas in exquisite form.

MAHESACANDRA NYAYARATNA who wrote a gloss of Kāvyaprakāśa was son of Harinārayaṇa of Nāriṭa village, Havida, Bengal and lived in 1836-1906.[1]

254-S. Sri Kalkisimha or Śrī Kalki (T. Narasimha (Aiyangar) Ācārya) was the son of Praṭivāḍibhayankara Tondanur Singalācārya of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He was born at Melkote in 1867 A.D. He was Sanskrit Professor in the Central College, Bangalore for 23 years. He received Inspiration Divine from Heaven through his Yogic meditations early in 1915 and along with his brother Mr. T. Narayana Aiyangar devoted himself to literary service. He was versed in all branches of Sanskrit learning and besides his works which are still in several volumes of manuscript in Vedanta Book Depot, 17 East Park Road, Mallesvaram, the Sanskrit rendering is Tiruvoymuli (printed at Bombay) and Gānāmṛṭaṭaranginī (variety of songs) are classical. His several disciples revered him as Kalki-avaṭāra and he was conscious of that divine inspiration. He passed away in 1935.

254-T. Annadacarana was the son of Kālīkinkara Thakura, a śroṭriya Brahmin of Radhiyasreni of Bengal. He was born at Sompada, Noakhali, Bengal in 1862 A.D. (1268 B.S.) in the family of the well known Ṭānṭrika Saint Sarvānanḍasarvaviḍyā (who lived about 1426 A.D.). Educated at Calcutta and Benares, his erudition was great and he was Ṭarkacūdamaṇi, Mahāmahopāḍhyāya etc. He commenced a Tol (now a Sanskrit College) at Noakhali and later became Professor of Mīmāmsa, Śankhya and Yoga in the Benares Hindu University. He was editor of Suprabhāṭa, Benares. His writings began when he was yet young. Besides several works on different Śāsṭras, he wrote the poems, Rāmābhyuḍaya and Mahāprasṭhāna (mahākāvyas), Sumanonjali and Ṛṭuciṭra and Kāvyacanḍrikā on a poetics. A combination of attainments in Śasṭras and poetry is rare and in his retirement he pursues his service to Sarasvaṭī, being an agnihoṭri in true orthodoxy.[2]

254-U. Ganganatha Jha (Mahāmahopāḍhyāya M.A.) is the son of Ṭīrṭhanaṭha Jhā and Inḍumaṭī Ḍevī of Vaṭsagoṭra. He was born in 1871. A unique scholar in Sanskrit, he has been connected with various educational institutions as a Librarian of Darbhanga Raj, as Principal, Sanskrit College, Rewa, and as Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad

1. See para 864. He wrote an essay in Sanskrit on the authorship of Mṛṭchakatika [*MG Jl.* III 28.]

2. For his stray verses and poems such as Praṇaṭikāvya, Prārṭhanākāvya, Āśā, Atmaniveḍana, see Journals Viḍyoḍaya and Samskṛṭacanḍrikā.

University for a full decade from 1923-1932. His commentary on Prasannarāghava is a lucid exposition and his various other writings on other branches of Sanskrit learning are still appearing in press.

254-V. **Batuknatha Sarma** is the son of Īśvarīprasāḍa Miśra of Bhāradvājagoṭra. Born in Benares in 1895 and educated there, he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Benares Hindu University. Besides editing Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra and Bhāmaha's Kāvyalankāra and other rare works, he wrote the poems Vallavadūtam, Śaṭakasapṭakam, Kālikāśaṭakam, Āṭmaniveḍanaśaṭakam and Siṭāswayamvaram (mahākāvyam) and a play (Prahasana) Pāndiṭyaṭāndaviṭa[1] which displays an elegance of diction in a vein of the ardent faith and devotion.

254-W. **Guruprasanna Bhattacarya** was born in 1882. He is the son of Rakhalḍāsa Bhattācārya and Kṛṣṇasakhī Ḍevī of Mauḍgalyagoṭra of Bengal and a descendant of the renowned Kāśīrāmavācaspaṭi a very respected author on Smṛṭis. Educated at Bhātpara, the famous seat of learning, he studied in the Calcutta University and after a period of service in the Benares Hindu University, he has been since 1921 Professor of Sanskrit in Ḍacca University. Among his several works, are the poems Śrī-Rāsamahākāvya and Māṭhuram and Varūṭhinīcampū, and plays Nābhāgacariṭa (6 acts), Maḍālasa-Kuvalayāsva (7 acts) and Bhāminīvilāsa (6 acts) and these contain poetry of exquisite grace and varying interest.[2]

254-X **Pramathanatha Tarkabhusana** (Māhāmahopāḍhyāya) was the son of Ṭāracanḍra and Rāmarangiṇī Ḍevī. He was born at Bhātpara, Bengal in 1866 in a Pāscāṭya Vedic Brahmin family of Vāsiṣṭhagoṭra. He studied under the great veterans of Sanskrit learning like Rakhaladas Nyāyaraṭna, Śīlacanḍra, Sārvabhauma and Kailāsacanḍraśarma. He became Professor of Veḍānṭa in Sanskrit College, Calcutta and is now the Principal of the College of Oriental Learning in the Benares Hindu University. Besides several works on Śāsṭras he wrote the poems (printed), Kokilaḍūṭa, Rāsarasoḍaya and Vijayaprakāśa. His father Ṭārācanḍra was the State Pandit of Benares Raj. Among his poems are Kānanaśaṭaka, Rāmajanmabhāṇa and Śṛngāraraṭnākara.

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1. Two Acts have been published in the Vallari. His several essays on literary topics are appearing in Oriental Journals. His unprinted manuscripts are with him at K. 31-50, Kal Bhairava, Benares City.

2. The manuscripts are with him at Dacca or at his residence at No. 6, Ramakrishna Das Lane, Calcutta.

254-Y. **Ranganatha Tatacarya** of Royadurga was born in 1894. He is the son of Raghunāṭha of Śathamarṣaṇagoṭra. He is the senior Pandit of Sarasvaṭī Mahal Library, Tanjore. Besides Śukasandeśa[1] and Hanumaṭprasāḍaśaṭaka[2] and Vākyaraṭnāvali (a book on Sanskrit idioms), he wrote short plays Nyāyasabhā and Kuṭsiṭakusīḍa[3] and prose stories Kaniyan-Grāmaṇī, Jaraṭī-Nagarapālanasabhā-ca and Navīnajāmāṭā.[4]

254-Z. **Tirumalai (Srisaila) Tatacarya** was the son of Ḍeśikācārya of Śathamarṣaṇagoṭra. He was born in 18?2. After service in the Sanskrit College at Tiruvadi, Tanjore, he is now Principal, Sanskrit College, Tirupati. His critiques on Alankāra and Mīmāmsā have got him a wide recognition at Pandīṭarāja etc. Besides his commentary on Bhāmahālankāra and Śleṣaparisuḍḍhi (on sleṣa) he wrote the poem Ḍruṭacariṭa and the novel Menakā.[5]

255-A. **Venkatacalamayya** is otherwise known as Chelamayya Śāsṭrin (Pārupūdi). He was born at Māgām village near Mukṭeśvaram in East Godavari. He was honoured by several States in and about Nizam's dominions and he is proficient in several languages. Besides some minor poems, his play Gopīcanḍracariṭa in 7 acts is a quasi-philosophical work on the plan of Jain poems in which ethics are well combined with humour and poetry.[6]

255-B. **Srinivasa Acarya** (Mudumbai) is the son of Rāghāvācārya of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra, He was born in 1887-8 at Agaram near Kāncī and was educated at Bhūṭapuri. Besides summaries of the epics and Bhāgavaṭa and some minor poems, his Maṇimekhalā and Pravālavallī are romances based on the Tamil Tales and Kairaviṇī is a prose narrative of the theological traditions of the Deity at Triplicane, Madras.[7]

255-C. **Raja Ksitindra Deb** Rai Mahasay of Bansberia Raj (Vamsavati), Bengal, was born in 1876. He was the eldest son of Raja Pūrṇenḍra Deb and Sacalā Debi of Kāśyapagoṭra. Kṣiṭīnḍra is among the foremost of Bengali noblemen, whose houses have devoted their

1. See para 323 *supra*.
2. Printed *JSSP*, Calcutta.
3. Ibid.
4. *Manjusā Journal*.
1. He is the editor of the Journal Uḍyānapaṭrikā.
1. The manuscript is with the author's son P. Subbarao, Sanskrit Pandit, Cocanada.
1. See para 378 *supra*, note.

all to the good of society. The first ancestor of his family was Devāḍiṭya who was a contemporary of Ballala Sen whose cult of Kulinism he opposed. The seat of the Raj was moved from Patuli to Bansberia[1] by Rāmeśvar Deb about 1680. Rāmeśvar was a patron of letters and he brought in scholars renowned in different branches of Sanskrit learaing from Benares and elsewhere and founded several Tols or Sanskrit Colleges. JAGANNATHA PANCANANA (the famous scholar of Bengal) was one of its first pupils. Purṇenḍu, father of Kṣiṭinḍra, was a worthy scion of this house and he maintained and improved the Tols and had the Sanskrit work Kālyarcanāviḍhi composed by eminent pandits on the ritual of Kāli worship. SURENDRA MOHANA DEVA SARMA and DHARMADITYA DHARMACARYA wrote panegyrics on the greatness of this ancient house along with the Mughal Emperors who have honoured them from time to time. Kṣiṭīnḍra is a poet and has composed minor poems. He is known as the Grandfather of the Library Movement in India. He ran the first Bengali Journal Pūrṇimā. True to the lineage he is devoutly attached to Kālī, and he lives near the temple of Kālī in Kalighat, Calcutta. Hamseśvarī temple renowned in Bengal for its architecture was built by Rāṇi Śankarī in 1814.

255-D. **Tiruvenkata Tatadesika** was son of Śingarācārya of Śathamarṣaṇagoṭra. He was born in 1892 and lives at Tekkallapadu, Nellore District. True to his traditions, he is an authority on Manṭraśasṭra and wrote the poems Nakharaśaṭaka, Nṛsimhaśaṭaka and Sṭuṭimālīkā, all printed at Ongole.

255-E. **Ramanatha Sastrin (S.)** is the son of Kṛṣṇa Bhattar of Kāuśikagoṭra. He was born in Palghat and became well versed in all the Śāsṭras. In Mīmāmsā, his learning is unique and that has been recognised by the several titles conferred on him and he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Madras. Besides works on other subjects, his drama Maṇimanjūṣa in 7 acts contains exquisite poetry and is intersperced with songs.

255-F. **Vidyadhara Sastri** is the son of Viḍyāvācaspaṭi Devīprasāḍa Śāsṭri and grandson of Bhāsyācārya Harināmaḍaṭṭa Śāsṭrin of

1. On Bansberia Raj, see W. K. Trimiuger, *Note* on Bansberia, its Raj, its temples, its missions and schools; in *Bengal past and present*, Journal of Calcutta Historical His society, 1908; *Imperial Gazeteer*, Hughly; B. V. Roy—Links with Calcutta; Shambhoo Chandra Dey, *Hoogly Past and Present*; Rao Bahadur B. A. Gupta, *Ethnology in Ancient Historical Records*, Calcutta. Original Sanad granted by Emperor Aurangazeb in 1678 is exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. He was born in an illustrious house of scholars at Churu (Bikanir State) in 1901 and is now Professor of Sanskrit in the College at Bikanir. His father was proficient in all the Śāsṭras and his extensive work Satcandīviḍhāna is an authority on ritual and his great work Gangāsimha-Kalpaḍruma still unprinted is lying in the private library of Maharāja Ganga Singh Jee of Bikanir. Viḍyāḍhara bears a number of erudite titles and among his poems are Śivapuṣpānjali, Sūryaprārṭhanā, Viḍyaḍharaśaṭaka (on niṭi) and an original drama, PURNAMALLAM.

255-G. Paramananda Sarma (Kavinḍra) belongs to Ṛṣikula Lakshmanagadh, Jaipur. Besides the poem Karṇārjunīya he has retold the story of Rāmāyaṇa in separate poems, Manṭharāḍurvilasiṭa Ḍaśaraṭhavilāpa, Mārīcavaḍha, Meghanāḍavaḍha and Rāvaṇavaḍha.[1]

255-H. Ksitisacandra Cattopadhyaya is the son of Śaraṭcanḍra and Giribālā Ḍevī of Kāśyapagoṭra. He was born in 1896 in Calcutta. He is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University and edits two Journals Manjuṣā (in Sanskrit) and Calcutta Oriental Journal (in English) which are well known. Besides various essays on topical subjects his sixty stories (Sastiṭanṭram) original and translated exhibit a graceful style which in his own words 'don't smack of the midnight all but are all palpitating with life.' For instance, they are Rasamayī, Vāyuparīvarṭanam, Mṛḍusarvaṭrabāḍhyaṭe, Dimbhasyaḍusceti̇ṭam.[1]

255-I. Vidhusekhara Bhattacarya was the son of Ṭrailokyanāṭha. He was born at Hariśchandrapura, Malda, Bengal in 1179. After spending some years at Śānṭiniketan he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University. He has been honoured by various titles for his versatile learning. His Sanskrit renderings of Milinḍapraśna is a splendid performance. He was the Editor of Miṭragoṣṭhī Journal. There and in the Samskṛṭa-Canḍrikā his several minor poems, songs and his prose essays on Sanskrit poets appeared from time to time. Besides the poems mentioned in para 249 supra, he wrote Nagilā, Baḍḍhavihaga and Kṣṭrakaṭhā (Buddhist stores) and Bharaṭacariṭra (in prose) and Ḍurgāsapṭaśaṭī in praise of Kālī.

255-J. Ratni Devi is a young girl of 13 years of Hatharsa (Hathras). Her prose narrative of Raghuvamśa is remarkable (*Sury. Jl.* IX 286).

1. See *JSSP*, Calcutta; *Sūraḍa Jl. Sury. Jl.*
1. Published in *JSSP* and *Manjuṣā Journal*, Calcutta.

Santa Sen is the daughter of Rameścandra Sen, born in 1910. She is the Professor of Sanskrit in Asutosh College, Calcutta.

Malati Sen is the wife of Jyotiścandra Sen and was born in 1903. She is a graduate of the Calcutta University. She has written learned critiques in rhetoric and has commented on Vāmana's Kāvyālankāra-sūtras[1]

Umadevi is the wife of Satindra Dev. She has composed exquisite poetry, Ābhāṇakamālā, being renderings of proverbs of different languages.[2]

255-K. Annangaracarya is the son of Annā Rangācārya of Prativadibhayankara House of Kānci. He was born in 1891. His family traces its descent from Mudumbai Nambi, one of 74 Pontiffs created by Rāmānuja for the propagation of Viśistādvaita philosophy, His ancestor Anantācārya reorganised the worship in Puṣkara temple in the last century and that work was taken up and widely accomplished by a successor of his, Gādi Anantācārya,* whose life will be noticed in a later chapter. Aṇṇangarācārya is the Principal of Vedavedānta-Vaijayanti College of Kānci, which is being maintained by himself, and his expositions of various religious topics are now commanding well-thronged halls in Madras and elsewhere. His tracts on controversial themes are many. Besides works on various śāstras he wrote Upanyāsaratnamālā, Upākhyānaratnamālā, Rāmāyaṇadandaka, Yadunandanacaritāmṛta, all in prose and the poem Kokilasandeśa and renderings in verse of the Tamil Divyaprabandha.

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1. She lives in Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta
1. Printed by Kshitishchandra Sastri, Calcutta in *COJ*, where see *Convocation Address in Ancient India*.

BOOK III

LAGHU KAVYA

CHAPTER XI

Laghukavya

SECTION I

255. Laghu Kavya or Minor Poem is one that is not a Mahākāvya in the sense described, viz., "a writing of considerable length, varying descriptions and elaborate construction, embracing a narrative theological or historical, divided into cantos for convenience of narration." In theme, many minor poems are narratives of lesser length, such as Nalodaya, and in sentiment they are erotic, religious, gnomic or didactic.

256. Niti or the ethical or didactic poem has a very ancient origin. Long before the composition of Mahābharata, which is a mine of such literature, there was aphoristic ethical poetry of which only relics have come down to us.[1]

The philosophicial turn of the Indian mind developed the science of ethics from the earliest times and the keynote of all didactic poetry in *nīti, śānti, virakti*, i.e. the vanity of earthly pleasures. To attain a mind tranquil, to get out of the trammels of birth and living, to discard pleasure and pain, to discriminate virtue and vice, to discover the Truth and the Divine and to imbibe the love of tolerance and brotherhood, these are the ends of Indian ethical poetry. "Scattered throughout the most various departments of Sanskrit literature," says Macdonell, "are innumerable apophthegms in which wise and noble, striking and original thoughts often appear in a highly finished and poetical garb. These are plentiful in the law books, in the epic and the drama they are frequently on the lips of heroes, sages and gods; and fables are constantly uttered by tigers, jackals, cats and other animals. Above all, the Mahabharata, which to the pious Hindu constitutes a moral encyclopædia, is an inexhaustible name of proverbial philosophy. It is however natural that ethical maxims should be introduced in great abundance into works which, like the Panchatantra and Hitopadesa, were intended to be handbook of practical moral philosophy."[2]

257. Stotra. Religious poetry in India is as old as Indian thought. Samhitas of the Vedas, particularly of Atharvan, contain

1. See Bohtlingk's critical edition in *Indische Spruche* and Autrecht's *ZDMG*, XVII. 1. See also J. Klatt, *De Trecentis Chanakyae Sentiis* and Muir's *Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers.*

2. *SL*, 377.

eulogistic invocations of various deities and these eulogies abound in the literature of Upaniṣads, Epics and Purāṇas. They are known as Sṭoṭra. They are either epithets, descriptive of the powers and greatness of the deity addressed, or collections of names, at times strung into verses. They are called nāmasṭroṭras or nāmāvalis. The number of the epithets are generally 108, 1000 or 1008, *aṣṭoṭṭaraśaṭa* or *sahasra* or *aṣṭoṭṭarasahasra* or shortly called *aṣṭoṭṭara*. There are also prayers in amulet form which to this day are believed to be very efficacious. They are raised to the status of manṭras and some of them are prefaced by the mention of ṛṣhi, chanḍas and ḍevaṭā and followed by the benefits of recitation.

Many of these sṭoṭras are treasures of lyrical beauty and poetic imagery. For instance, there are these lines in Laliṭāsahasranāma:[1]

श्रीमाता श्रीमहाराज्ञी श्रीमत्सिंहासनेश्वरी । चिदग्निकुण्डसम्भूता देवकार्यसमुद्यता ॥
उद्यद्भानुसहस्राभा चतुर्बाहुसमन्विता । रागस्वरूपपाशाढ्या क्रोधाकाराङ्कुशोज्ज्वला ॥
मनोरूपेक्षुकोदण्डा पञ्चतन्मात्रसायका । निजारुणप्रभापूरमज्जद्ब्रह्माण्डमण्डला ॥
चम्पकाशोकपुन्नागसौगन्धिकलसत्कचा । कुरुविन्दमणिश्रेणीकनत्कोटीरमण्डिता ॥
अष्टमीचन्द्रविभ्राजदलिकस्थलशोभिता । मुखचन्द्रकलङ्काभमृगनाभिविशेषका ॥
वदनस्मरमाङ्गल्यगृहतोरणचिल्लिका । वक्त्रलक्ष्मीपरीवाहचलन्मीनाभलोचना ॥
नवचम्पकपुष्पाभनासादण्डविराजिता । ताराकान्तितिरस्कारिनासाभरणभासुरा ॥
कदम्बमञ्जरीक्लृप्तकर्णपूरमनोहरा । ताटङ्कयुगळीभूततपनोडुपमण्डला ॥
पद्मरागशिलादर्शपरिभाविकपोलभूः । नवविद्रुमबिम्बश्रीन्यक्कारिरदनच्छदा ॥
शुद्धविद्याङ्कुराकारद्विजपङ्क्तिद्वयोज्ज्वला । कर्पूरवीटिकामोदसमाकर्षद्दिगन्तरा ॥
निजसल्लापमाधुर्यविनिर्भर्त्सितकच्छपी । मन्दस्मितप्रभापूरमज्जत्कामेशमानसा ॥
अनाकलितसादृश्यचुबुकश्रीविराजता । कामेशबद्धमाङ्गल्यसूत्रशोभितकन्धरा ॥
कनकाङ्गदकेयूरकमनीयभुजान्विता । रत्नग्रैवेयचिन्ताकलोलमुक्ताफलान्विता ॥
कामेश्वरप्रेमरत्नमणिप्रतिपणस्तनी । नाभ्यालवालरोमालिलताफलकुचद्वयी ॥
लक्ष्यरोमलताधारतासमुन्नेयमध्यमा । स्तनभारदलन्मध्यपट्टबन्धवलित्रया ॥
अरुणारुणकौसुम्भवस्त्रभास्वत्कटीतटी । रत्नकिङ्किणिकारम्यरशनादामभूषिता ॥
कामेशज्ञातसौभाग्यमार्दवोरुद्वयान्विता । माणिक्यमकुटाकारजानुद्वयविराजिता ॥
इन्द्रगोपपरिक्षिप्तस्मरतूणाभजङ्घिका । गूढगुल्फा कूर्मपृष्ठजयिष्णुप्रपदान्विता ॥
नखदीधितिसंछन्ननमज्जनतमोगुणा । पदद्वयप्रभाजालपराकृतसरोरुहा ॥
शिञ्जानमणिमञ्जीरमण्डितश्रीपदाम्बुजा । मरालीमन्दगमना महालावण्यशेवधिः ॥

1. Ed. everywhere, and with English translation of Bhāskararāya's commentary by R. Anantakrishnasastry, Madras. Bhāskararaya or Bhāsurānanda was son of Gambhirarāya Dikṣita of Benares and lived about 1629 A.D. In *CC*, I, 421, his other works are enumerated.

Later literature abounds in short pieces of eulogical poetry, also known as stoṭras. Their number is a legion. There are several collections printed everywhere according to the taste and persuasion of the editor. There are, for instance, Bṛhaṭsṭoṭraraṭnākara (Madras) Sṭoṭraraṭnākara (Bombay), Sṭavāvalī (Calcutta) and Sṭoṭraguccha (Bangalore).[1] They are saturated with expressions of devotion and philosophy, often illustrated by allusions to tales of theology and are none the less fine specimens of melodious poetry.[2]

258. Srngara or erotic poem is amorous. 'Amorous' in its widest sense is the innate and ultimate idea and whatever contributes to the story of love, its origination, dissimination and culmination is a necessary adjunct to the poetic description. Nature therefore plays a prominent part. "Various birds" says Macdonell "to which poetic myths are attached are frequently introduced as furnishing analogies to human life and love. The Chataka which would rather die of thirst than drink aught but the raindrops from cloud, affords an illustration of pride. The Chakora supposed to imbibe the rays of the moon, affords a parallel to the lover who with his eyes drinks in the beams of his beloved face. The Chakravaka which, fabled to be condemned to nocturnal separation from his mate, calls to her with plaintive cry during the watches of the night, serves as an emblem of conjugal fidelity. In all this lyric poetry the bright eyes and beauty of Indian girls find a setting in scenes brilliant with blossoming trees, fragrant with flowers, gay with the plumage and vocal with the song of birds, diversified with lotus ponds steeped in tropical sunshine and with large-eyed gazelles reclining in the shade."[3]

SECTION II.

Niti

259. Sundarapandya (Ācārya) belonged apparently to Maḍura, the capital of the Pāndyas. His Nīṭiḍvişaṣtikā[4] is quoted in Pancaṭanṭra, in Jānāśrayī and by Kṛṣnalīlaśuka. Sunḍarapāndya is mentioned as an ancestor of Arikesarin in an inscription of about 750 A.D.,[5]

1. For collections of stoṭras, see *DC*, XVIII to XIX and *Cat. Mys*, 35, 133, *Mys. OML*, and *CAL*. 17, 24.

2. See also *Stoṭra Literature in Old India* by Śivaprasaḍa Bhattācārya, Paper read at the Or. Conference, 1924.

3. *SL*, 343.

4. Ed. by Markandeyasastri, Madras, with prefaces by M. R. Kavi and by Prabhakara Sastri.

5. Madras Ep. Rep. 1930,

and must have flourished earlier than 5th century A.D. The verses in Āryā metre are pretty.[1] The poet says that it received unique honors :

> इमां काञ्चनपीठस्थां समेत्य कवयो भुवि ।
> आर्यां सुन्दरपाण्ड्यस्य स्नापयन्ति वधूमिव ॥

230. **Candragomin** or Candra[2] was the celebrated author of the grammatical treatise Candra-Vyākaraṇa. This treatise was used profusely by Jayāditya in Kāśikā. He was a Buddhist. Vasurāta, the preceptor of Bhartṛhari, was his pupil. According to Belvalkar, Candra refers to Hūṇas, probably to their expulsion by Yaśodharman in 544 A.D. and he fixes the date of Candragomin as about 470 AD. But it is probable that he lived far earlier.[3] Like his predecessors in grammatical literature he was also a poet of no mean merit. He fell into disfavour at the court of a prince Ratnakīrti and seeing the prince infatuated by wealth and power, he addressed him a letter in the form of a poem Śiṣyalekhādharmakāvya[4] on the evanescence of worldly treasures and made him forsake the world. "It is a poem of 114 verses. After an introduction of 18 verses in praise of the Three Jewels, the author begins by saying 'entering this ill smelling abode of birth which is filled with heaps of impurity, is very narrow and is pervaded by dense darkness as into some hell, he has to endure great misery with crushed limbs.' Then follow verses about the miseries of age when man will repent what he did or did not do, for 'then messengers of Yama will take him by the hair and carrying before the Judge.' The tortures of pratas and the river vaitarani are described. Then comes the admonition. Thus ends the poem : "To exert oneself in the interest of others is the true way of salvation, for those that are overcome by thirst in the desert be thou a tree, a cloud, a pond." A prayer follows that all the world may obtain omniscience.[5] Five stray verses are given in Vallabhadeva's

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1. For instance,

> सहवसतामप्यसतां जलरुहजलवद्भवत्यसंश्लेषः ।
> दूरेऽपि सतां वसतां प्रीतिः कुमुदेन्दुवद्भवति ॥—107.

2. There are variations as Candragomin, Candrayogin. Candra, the dramatist is different person.

3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 58.

4. Published in the memoirs of the Imperial Russian Archaealogical Society, IV. 1133 ; Keith (*SL*, 72) mentions Suhṛllekha of Nāgārjuna [Tr. H. Wenzel, *JPTS*. (1886), I] ; see Vidyābhuṣaṇa, *JASB*,, (1907), No 2 ; Winternitz, *IL*, II. I. 259.

5. See *JRAS*, (1889) 1133.

Subhāsiṭāvali. These are probably found in that poem.[1] He also wrote Ṭārāsāḍhanaśaṭaka.[2]

261. Bhartrhari is by tradition known to be the son of a Brahmin, Canḍraguptạ, by his Śūdra wife Sinḍhumaṭi. His step-brothers were Vikramārka and Bhatti. Bhatti is said to be a prakṛtised form of Bharṭṛ and Bhatti and Bharṭṛ have been sometimes considered to be identical.[3] Their proficiency in grammar is probably a cause of the identity. Bharṭṛhari's grammatical treatise Vākyapaḍīya is well-known.[4] ITsing says that Bharṭṛhari became an ascetic and for a long time wavered between the world and its renunciation,[5] and passed away in 600 A.D.[6] though it is probable he lived earlier.[7] He has been called a Buddhist, a Brahmin and a Saivite,[8] as the reviewer pleases.

262. His **Subhasitas** or Śaṭakaṭraya on Nīṭi, Śṛngara or Vairāgya are a specimen of sententious poetry, enveloping lofty ideas for the guidance of mankind.[9] They have suffered from interpolations and the editions of the work differ therefore to some extent in the contents.[10]

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1. विषस्य विषयाणां च दूरमत्यन्तमन्तरम् ।
उपभुक्तं विषं हान्ति विषयाः स्मरणादपि ॥
केचित् भयेन हि मजन्ति विनीतभावमन्ये जना विभवलोभकृतप्रयत्नाः ।
केचिच्च साधुजनसंसदि कीर्तिलोभात् सद्भाववाञ्जगति कोऽपि न साधुरस्ति ॥

2. Farquhar, *ORL*, 399; Winternitz, *IL*, II. i. 269
3. For these stories, see para 42 supra.
4. See *IA*, III, 285.
5. See A. B. Keith, *SL*, 176.
6. *Records of Buddhist Religion*, 178; Max Muller's *India*, 347; *Belvalkar*, *SSG*, 40; Macdonell, *SL*, 340.
7. Telang (*Int. to Śatakas*) places him in 1-2 Century A.D.
8. See Keith, *SL*, 178; K. B. Pathak, *Was Bhartrihari a Buddhist? JBRAS*, XVIII. 341. On Bharṭṛhari, see Keilhorn, *IA*, XII. 226.
9. *CC*, I. 396, II. 90, III. 86. Ed. Bombay by Gopinath with an analysis of Bhatṛharinirveḍa. Ed. Madras with notes and English translation by M.C. Alasingaracarya; Ed. Bombay with commentary by M. R. Kale; Ed. by P. Bohlen, Berlin; Ed. *BSS*, Bombay by Telang; Ed. Bombay with notes and English translation, (See *Cat. of Or.* Book Agency, Poona, 108). Tr. into English verse by Tawney (Calcutta) and with introduction and translation by B. H. Wartham (*Trubner Or. Series*, London).
10. For instance, in Vaiyagyaśaṭaka, Telang's edition contains 113 verses, while Bohlen's 100 verses only.

It has been thought sometimes that all the verses in these Śatakas are not the work of Bhartṛhari, and that they include verses of other authors chosen by Bhartṛhari. Opinions are various and A. B. Keith, for instance, says that "it seems unnecessary to exclude the probability that in his collections Bhartṛhari may have included work not his own, as well as verses compiled by himself," but he thinks that Śṛṅgāraśataka is the work of a single author, for "unquestionably there is a definite structure which may be, of course, the work of a skilled compiler, but which more naturally suggests the product of a creative mind." Bhartṛhari's Subhāṣitas have been held in high esteem for several centuries,[1] and Indian tradition accepts these Śatakas as Bhartṛhari's own. There are in the modern recensions and editions verses included in the Śatakas that are attributed in the anthologies to other authors, but these must only be interpolations, which are easily made when the verses are isolated in ideas and each verse expresses by itself a moral or a sentiment.[2]

There are commentaries on Nītiśataka by Mahābala[3] and all the Śatakas by Avanci Rāmacandra son of Kundopandita of Śāndilya gotra,[4] by Dhanasāra,[5] by Rāmarṣi,[6] by Guṇavinaya,[7] by Mīnanātha,[8] by Indrajit,[9] and two anonymous,[10] and on Nīti and Vairāgya by M. R. Kale.[11]

There is a fourth Paddhati called Śāntipaddhati with a Guzrati introduction printed in Bombay.

1. For a good appreciation, See A B. Keith, *SL*, 178-183.

2. Peterson collects verses of Bhartṛhari in Subhāṣitāvali (*Int.* 74) and details the ascriptions. He says "Of the 110 verses given in Telang's edition of Nitisataka 8 are in our book expressly assigned to Bhartṛhari, 32 are given anonymously and 13 are expressly assigned to other authors. Of the 113 verses given in Telang's edition of Vairagyasataka, 11 are in one book expressly assigned to Bhartṛhari, 11 are given anonymously and 6 are expressly assigned to other authors. Of the 100 verses given in Bohlen's edition of Vairagyasataka only one is one book ascribed to Bhartṛhari, 17 are given anonymously and 8 are expressly ascribed to other authors."

3. Printed, Bombay.

4. *DC*, XX. 8078.

5. *Mack*, 102.

6. *CC*, 397; *PR*, IV. 30; *IO*, 2555.

7. *IO*, 1564.

8. *CC*, II. 90.

9. *PR*, V. 387; *CC*, III. 86.

10. *DC*, XX. 8083, 8084; *Opp.* 2924.

11. Printed, Bombay.

Vitavṛtta[1] is a small poem describing the conduct of licentious people. Māḍhava attributed it to Bhartṛhari in his Jadavritta which in four chapters is a similar work on mad lovers and fools.[2]

263. Harihara's Bhartrharinirveda[3] is a play which is "in great part a glorification of the Yoga philosophy which teaches that the summum bonum is the discrimination and separation of soul from matter, thus leading through renunciation of the world to isolation of the ego." It has *śānta* for its sentiment. The leading man is the famous ascetic Gorakṣanāṭha or Goraknath (regarded as the incarnation of Śiva), the founder of the Śaiva sect of Kanfat Yogis in the early part of the 15th century A.D. His chief temple is at Gorakpur, less than 300 miles from the house of Harihara.[4] It is said that Bhartṛhari became upset by the sudden demise of his consort, on hearing a false news of his death. He was consoled by a Yogin and he attained such a condition of renunciation, that even when his dead wife was recalled to life, he had lost his attraction for the world.[5]

Harihara is mentioned as the author of the play Prabhāvaṭīpariṇaya.[6]

264. Bhallata[7] was a poet of the Court of King Śankaravarman of Kāṣmir (884-902 A.D.)[8]. His Śaṭaka[9] is a hard but pleasant poem on morals and quotations by Abhinavagupṭa, by Kṣemendra and Mammata attest the appreciation. Bhallata's other verses are quoted in the anthologies.[10]

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1. *DC*, XX. 8010.
2. *DC*, XX. 3000.
3. Ed. Kāvyamāla Bombay. Translated into English by L. H. Gray (*JAOS*, XXV. 197-230). Keith, *SL*, 248.
4. See Goldstucker *Lit. Remains*, I. 161; Wilson, *Sects.* 213; M. Williams, *Buddhism*, 193. Farquhar (*ORL*, 347) gives 1200 A.D.
5. *Mitra*, VII. No. 2395; *Levi*, II. 77, 88; *CC*, I. 354, 762.
6. *CC*. I. 354.
7. In some editions of Śarngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi the name is given as Mallabhatta and Bhattamalla.
8. *Raj.* V. 128. There is a Kavibhallata referred to in Nannaya's Āndhraśabḍacinṭāmaṇi.
9. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay. *DC*, XX. 8085. See *PR*, III. 395; *SR*, I. 7, 91.
10. *ZDMG*, LVI. 405; Keith, *SL*. 231; Peterson, *Subh*. 75-77.

There is another Bhallata, of a later date. His Śataka in praise of the Ḍevi (Perundevi) of Conjeevaram shows dexterous poetry.[1]

265. Silhana is a poet of Kāṣmir. He often imitates Bhartṛhari. His Śāntiśataka is quoted in Saduktikarṇāmṛta composed in 1205 A.D.[2]

266. Dhanadaraja, son of Ḍehala, wrote three Śāṭakas like Bhartṛhari in 1434 A.D.[3] Jagannātha (Panditarāja) has four chapters on Prāstāvika, Śṛngāra, Karuṇa and Śānta in his poem Bhāminīvilāsa.[4] So does Caturvargasāra of Rāḍhāmangalam Nārāyaṇasāstri.[5]

267. Somaprabha was desciple of Vajraśimhācārya, the Jain ascetic.[6] In his Sindūraprakara he describes the good and bad qualities mostly according to the tenets of the Jain religion. He wrote also Śṛngāravairagyatarangiṇī.[7] Narābharaṇa is a collection of moral and wise sayings and states what are the ornamental qualities of men.[8]

268. Among other didactic poems are :—Śāntiśataka by Silhaṇamiśra (*Printed,* Calcutta) with commentaries (*CC,* I. 641); Śāntivilāsa (i) by Subrahmaṇya (ii) by Haridāsa (*Mys. OML,* 259) (iii) by Nīlakaṇṭha (*Printed,* Bombay); Vairāgyaśataka (i) by Padmā-

1. The manuscript is said to be in the village of Navilpakkam near Conjeevaram. Here are some verses :

इति किल दर्शनरीतिः कार्यमुपादाय कारणं भिन्नम् ।
देवि तव स्तनकलशौ चक्राभिन्नौ कथं नु दृश्येते ॥
सामानाधिकरण्यं तेजस्तमसोर्नहीति वाङ्मिथ्या ।
त्वन्मूर्ध्नि हेमभूषा तेजश्चिकुरान्धकारयोस्स्थिता ॥
उत्पादयति हि दण्डः कलशं बहुशश्श्रुतं च दृष्टं च ।
त्वत्कुचकुम्भद्वितयं जनयति मुरवैरिमानदण्डमहो ॥
हारिद्रखण्डजातेः हरिदयिते त्वच्छरीरमारब्धम् ।
अधरे सुधानुषङ्गादजनि ततो देवि शोणिमा काऽपि ॥
देवि तव स्तनयुगळं वेधा निर्माय कमलमुकुळाभ्याम् ।
तदुपरि विकासभीत्या विदधे वदनच्छलेन विधुबिम्बम् ॥

2. *CC,* I. 647. Ed. by Schonfield, Leipzig. See Keith, *SL,* 231-2 and *JRAS,* (1911) 257.

3. Printed, Bombay.

4. Printed, Bombay; *DC,* 8085. On the author, see chapter on Alankara *post.*

5. He was born in 1882 A.D. He wrote also Puṣpāñjaramahākāvya, printed partly in S. India.

6. *DC,* XX. 8095.

7. Printed, Bombay.

8. *DC,* XX. 8085.

nanḍa (ii) by Appayaḍīkṣiṭa (iii) by Janārḍana (iv) by Somanāṭha (*Printed*, Bombay) (v) by Śankarācārya (*Opp*. 4954); (vi) by Nīlakantha (*Opp*, 4629); Pancaṭanṭrasangraha (*Mys. OML*, 248); Nīṭimāla of Saḍānanḍa (*Printed*, Calcutta); Nītimanjarī (i) by Śambhurāja (*BTC*, 141); and (ii) Ḍyāḍviveḍa (*IOC*, 960)[1]; Nīṭiśaṭaka (i) by Venkatarāya (*Mys. OML*, 248) (ii) of Śrīnivāsacārya (*DC*, XX. 8038) and (iii) anonymous (*Ibid*. 2057); Nīṭisāra of Ghatakarpara; Nīṭisara and Nīṭiśasṭrasamuccaya (*Ibid*. 8059-61); [Nīṭicanḍrikā of Swāmi Ḍayānanḍa, Nīṭiśaṭaka of Sunḍarācārya, Nīṭivākyāmṛṭa of Somaḍevasūri][2]; Nīṭivilāsa of Vrajarāja Śukla (*NW*, 604); Nīṭiraṭna attributed to Vararuci and Nīṭipradīpa attributed to Vetālabhatta[3]; Nīṭisumāvali of Appā Vājapeyin (*Opp*. 4803); Nīṭikalpalaṭā by Sāhibrāma (*SKC*, 93); Kavikanthābharaṇa (*Mys. OML*, 243); Mugḍhopaḍeśa of Jalhaṇa (*Printed*, Bombay); Āryāmanjarī by Ḍevarāja (*CC*, I. 54); Āryāvignapṭi (i) by Rāmacanḍra and (ii) by Viśvanāṭha and by Sīṭārāma (*CC*, I. 54).

269. Anyapadesa is a peculiar class of poems where some moral is preached by an indirect appreciation or condemnation of the natural qualities of particular objects.[4]

There are the following :—Anyokṭimālā (i) by Accānḍīkṣiṭa[5] and

1. With commentary by Devarāja. *NW*, 16; *CC*, I. 293.
2. Printed. See Cat. Or. Bk. Agency, Poona, 108.
3. Printed, Haberlin, 502.
4. For instance:

विद्यावतां दातरि दीनता चेत् किं भारतीविभ्रमकैतवेन ।
दैन्यं यदि प्रेयसि सुन्दरीणां धिग्जीवितं तत्कुसुमायुधस्य ॥
उत्तंसीकरणधिया कैतकनिकटं न यावदाप्तोऽहम् ।
शिव शिव तावत्कठिनैः कण्टकपटलैरतीव भिन्नोऽस्मि ॥
केलीलोलमराळकं मधुरसास्वादोन्मदेन्दीवरं
स्वच्छस्वादुजलं विकासिकमलं सम्प्रीणनं प्राणिनाम् ।
कासारं बत कासरः परिपतन्नाकस्मिकं दुर्भग-
श्छिन्नाब्जं कलुषाम्बु वीतविहगं शून्यं चकार क्षणात् ॥
लोकानन्दनिदानमम्बुजमयं द्वेष्टि स्वयं चन्द्रमाः
देवः किं मुरशासनः कलयते गर्भेन तत्तावता ।
द्वैराज्यं कविकुञ्जरैर्मृगदृशां वक्त्रैर्न किं नीयते
रूढायामवनीपतेः पुनरियं वस्तुष्वसारज्ञता ॥

5. *DC*, XX. 8220. He was of the family of Appaya Dīkṣiṭa.

(ii) by Lakṣmīnarasimha,[1] Anyoktiśaṭaka (i) by Somanātha[2] and (ii) by Bhatta Vīra,[3] and (iii) by Ḍarśana Vijayagaṇi,[4] Anyoktikāvya,[5] Anyoktimuktālatā by Śambhu,[6] Anyoktikanthābharaṇa by Candracūda, son of Puruṣottama.[7] Anyoktisangrahādhyāya by Harikṛṣṇa,[8] Anyāpadeśaśaṭaka (i) by Nīlakantha,[9] (ii) by Jagannātha[10] (iii) by Ganapati Sāstri[11] (iv) by Ghanaśyāma,[12] (v) Anonymous,[13] (vi) by Madhusūdana,[14] (vii) Ekanātha Kāśyapa,[15] and (vii) by Girvāṇendra, son of Nīlakantha,[16] Bhāvavilāsa by Nyāyavācaspati Rudrakavi, son of Vidyāvilāsa.[17]

Section III

Stotra

270. Sankara[18] was the son of Śivaguru and Āryāmbā, of the family of Vidyādhirāja. According to tradition he was born at Kāladi on the banks of the Alvoi (Cūrṇi) river in Kerala (Malabar) in the year of Kali 2593 (509 B.C.). Before he passed his eighth year, he was proficient in all Indian Literature and he had began to perceive the unity of absolute existence on which the philosophy of the advaita school is based. Not heeding the protests of his parents, he got himself initiated as an ascetic by Govinda Bhagavatpāda and soon began to wander through the cities of northern India with a band of devout pupils preaching his new doctrines. He founded five Peethas or Mutts in different parts of India, as centres of propagation of his tenets and to this day these Mutts are held in veneration.[19] He wrote his

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1. *DC*, XX. 8021. It is also called Kavikaumudi. It contains fancies on 32 objects including birds, beasts, etc.
2. *CC*, I. 20.
3. Printed, Bombay.
4. Printed, Bombay.
5. *CC*. I. 20.
6. Printed Bombay. *PR*, I. 118.
7. Printed Bombay. *Ulwar*, 891.
8. Printed, Rombay.
9. Printed, Bombay and Srirangam.
10. Printed, Bombay and Madras.
11. *CAL*, II. 2.
12. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2900.
13. *Tanj, Cat.* VII. 2901, 2903, 2906, 1907.
14. Printed, Bombay.
15. *CC*, II. 4.
16. *DC*, XX. 8019.
17. Printed Bombay. This was composed at the instance of King Bhāvasimha of Jaipur in the beginning of the 17th century A.D.
18. His horoscope says तुङ्गसंस्थे सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे.
19. There are "(1) the Sarada Pitha at Dwaraka established on Māgha Śukla Saptami of the year Sadharana in the year 2611 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to the year 2649 of Yudhishthirasaka (420 B.C.) with Sri Brahma Svarupacharya (Visvarupa), the brother of the famous Sureswaracharya (Mandanamisra) as its first Acharya (2) the Jyotir Matha at Badarikasrama established on Pausha Sukla Purnima of the year Rakshasa in the year 2616 K. Y. corresponding to 2654 Y. S. (485 B.C.) with Totaka-

commentaries on Prasṭhānaṭraya, viz., Brahmasūṭras, Gīṭa and Upaniṣads. Tradition gives us fabulous accounts of many miracles performed by him and of his practical experiences in transmigration. He returned to his native village in time to have a last look at the face of his revered mother and to set fire to her funeral pile, and to this day that place of cremation is remembered and visited by devotees.[1] Great men are short-lived and so was Śankara. He lived only 32 years and died in Kali 2625 (477 B.C.)[2]

271. Much has been said on the date of Śankara but with no unanimity of ideas and the dates given by them range as wide as in the case of Kālidāsa, over a space of 14 centuries.[3]

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charya (Anandagiri) as its first Acharya, (8) the Govardhana Matha at Jagannatha, established on Vaisakha Sukla Dasami of the year Nala in 2617 K. Y. corresponding to 2655 Y. S. (484 B.C.) with Padmapadacharya (Sanandana) as its first Acharya, (4) the Sarada Matha at Sringeri, established on Pausha Sukla Purnima of the year Pingata in 2018 K. Y. corresponding to 2656 Y. S. (488 B.C. with Hastamalakacharya (Prithvidhara) as its first Acharya and (5) the Kamakoti Pitha at Kanchi established on Vaisakha Sukla Purnima of the year Siddharthi in 2620 K. Y. corresponding to 2658 Y. S. (481 B.C) with Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada himself as its first Acharya."

For the Ācāryas in Śṛngeri Mutt, see Lakṣmaṇa Śastri's Guruvamśamahākāvya written during the days of Somaśekhara II (1714-1780 A.D.) of Kāladi. (For a full account, see *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1928) 15. This work mentions the foundation of Vijianagar by Vidyāraṇya as in Śaka 128 (nāga-isu-arka), Dhāṭr, Vaiśakha, Suḍḍha, 7th Sunday.

1. In this locality, there is now a large Agraharam with a fine temple, and a bathing ghat in the river Alwai a few miles from Kaladi Road Railway Station in the Cochin State Railway. This act of devotion was due to the perseverence of Mr. Ramachandra Iyer, the ex judge of the Chief Court of Mysore and to the munificience of Śri Śankarācārya of Śṛngeri.

2. This is according to Kamakotipitha (Kumbakonam) According to Dvāraka Mutt, Śankara lived in 2631-2663 Yuḍhisthira Śaka. According to Śṛngeri Mutt, Śankara was born in *Sam.* 14 (42 B.C.). But this list gives Sureśvara the first head, 800 years; this is easily explained because Śṛngeri Mutt ceased to exist until it was revived by Vidyāraṇya. According to Sadānanda's Śankaranjaya he was born in

धर्मे द्वाविंशतिशके सप्ताशद्विसहस्रके

Māḍhava's Śankaravijaya gives the date of death as शरेक्षणाग्न्यनयन meaning Kali 2625 (477 B.C.). The anniversary is on Meṣa Śukla Ārudrā.

3. Teile (*Outline of the History of Ancient Religions*, 140) and Max Muller (*India*, 360) and M. Barth (The *Religions of India*, 89), have accepted the date 788 A.D. K. T. Telang [*IA*, XI. 174, 263; XIII. 95; XIV. 64, 185; XVI. 42, 160] places Śankara not later than 590 A.D. (See also *JBRAS*, XVIII. 83, 218, 237). Fleet (*IA*, XII. 350, XIII. 412 and XIV. 350) says that Nepālavamśāvali (Wright's *History of Nepal*, 118-123) mentions Śankara as having visited Nepal in the reign of Vṛṣadeva (630-655 A.D.) whose son Śankaradeva was named after Śankara. But B. Indraji (*IA*, XIII. 412) says that Vṛṣadeva lived about 260 A.D. Bhandarkar

Among modern scholars, many are almost certain that Śankara flourished in the 7th or 8th century A.D. The real foundation of this opinion is traceable to the confusion that has been introduced in the Śankaravijayas or Sanskrit accounts of the life of Śankara, which written, as they are, far later than the times to which they relate, mixed up the accounts of more than one personage of the name of Śankara.[1] Of the

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(*Rep.* 1882-3, 15) fixes the date at the end of the 6th century, A.D. W. LOGAN (*IA*, XVI. 160) criticises the statement in the Keraloṭpaṭṭi that Śankara lived about 487 A.D. during the reign of Cheramaa Perumal and fixes his own date the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. (see also *IA*, XL, 116). M. DUFF and K. B. PATHAK (*IA*, XI, 174; *JBRAS*, XVIII, 216) rely on the chronogram आचार्यै वागभेद found in Āryavidyāsudhākara of Yagneśvara and give the dates 788-825 A.D. See *Bhārati* (1925), 150. The DABISTAN (II. 141) brings down the date to 1349 A.D. RAMACANDRAJI (*Lives of Eminent Hindu Authors*) places him in 610 B.C. BURNELL (*Elements of South Indian Philosophy*, 33) follows Taranath's *History of Buddhism* and fixes 650-700 A.D. See also Peterson *Int. to Subh.* 126, Windischmann's *Sankara* WEBER, *IL*, 51, and MACDONNEL, *SL*, 242. Kavali Ramasami (*Deccan Poets*, 6). COWELL (Preface to Śarvadarśanasangraha, viii) and GOUGH (Preface to Philosophy of the Upanashads, viii) and Jacob (Tr. of Veḍānṭasārā, 23) fix 8th century, A.D. M. WILLIAMS (*IW*, 48) gives 650-740 A.D. WILSON (*Preface to Sanskrit Dictionary*, xvii and *Essays* I. 194) says 8th or 9th century A.D. RICE (*Mysore Gazetteer*, I. 377) says Śankara was born in 677 or 737 A.D. at Cranganore. R. MITRA (*Notices*, VII. 17) accepts 8th century A D. T. FOULKES (*JRAS*, XVII, N.S. 196) gives 650-670 A.D. N. BHASHYACARYA (*Age of Sankara*, Adyar) reviews the dates and fixes end of 5th century or between the middle of the 4th and 6th century A.D. COLEBROOKE gives 1000 years ago. TAYLOR gives 900 years ago, in *Dedication to the translation of the Prabodhachandrodaya*. See also Buchanan's *Mysore* (III 30, 74; Wilks's *History of Mysore*, I. *Ap.* v. *Madras Lit. Soc*, *Jl*. XXIV. 6 and 65, Mackenzie's *Collection*, II 73. S. V. Venkatesvara [*JRAS*, (1916), 151] reviews some of these dates and says Śankara's age was 85 years and he lived in 805-89 A.D.).

1. On the life of Śankara, there are the following poems:—

(1) Bṛhaṭ Śankaravijaya of Ciṭsukhācārya, a direct disciple of Śankara.

(2) Prācina-Śankaravijaya of Ānanḍagiri. Ed. *Bib. Ind. TC*, II. 1479. *IA*, V. 28.

(3) Śankaravijaya of Viḍyāśankara or Śankarānanḍa.

(4) Keralīya Śankaravijaya or Ācāryavijaya of Govinḍanātha (*SK*, II. 101).

(5) Guruvijaya of Ananṭānanḍagiri (*DC*, XXI. 8336. *TC*, II. 1470).

(6) Śankarābhyuḍaya of Rājacuḍāmaṇi-Dikṣiṭa.

(7) Śankaravijaya of Vallīsahāya (*DC*, XXI. 8807).

(8) Śankaraḍigvijayasāra of Saḍānanḍa, disciple of Śankara.

(9) Śankasavijayavilāsa of Ciḍvilāsa (*DC*, XXI. 8145).

(10) Śankṣipṭa Śankaravijaya of Māḍhava (Viḍyāraṇya) Ed. with commentary by Dhanapaṭisuri, Bombay. *DC*, XXI. 8146.

See Burnell's Pref. to Vamśabrāhmaṇa, xii and Wilson's *Works*, I. 261n. and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, Part I, 99. N. K. Venkatesan, *Śankarācharya and Kamakoti Peetha* (Kumbakonam). K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, *Srī Śankarācārya*, Madras. *CC*, I. 625-6, II. 149, III. 130.

successors of Ādi Śankara there were some who were equally great in the propagation of the doctrines: Kṛpāśankara, the 9th (27-68 A.D.), Ujjavalaśankara, the 16th (328-366 A.D.); Arbhakaśankara, the 20th (396-436 A.D.); and Acidānandaghanendra, the 32nd (667-671 A.D.); Ḍhīraśankara the 38th (801-839 A.D.).

272. Ḍhīraśankara of Abinavaśankara was a miraculous personality. He was born at Cidambaram in the year of Kali 3889 (787 A.D.) as a posthumous child, the son of Visvajit and Viśiṣta. He was 30 months in the womb of his mother and fearing the calumny of relatives on the suspected guilt of conception during widowhood, the innocent mother left the infant on a green leaf in the forest and went away. Picked up by the women of the hemitage of sage Vyāghrapāḍa, the child grew up and was initiated by the sage in the sacred lore. He was on the Komakoti Peetha for 38 years (801-839 A.D.). He went to Kashmir and after vanquishing various scholars like Uḍbhata ascended the Sarvagnapeetha. He ascended to heaven with his carnal frame by entering the Ḍaṭṭāṭreya cave in his 52nd year.

The following verses Saḍgurusanṭānaparimala are interesting:

क्षीरस्वामिमनोरथेशचटकश्रीसन्धिमच्छङ्खक-
श्रीदामोदरढक्यवामनमहापोध्यायमुख्यान् कवीन् ।
अष्टावप्यभिभूय दुर्जयतया भट्टोद्भटः प्रत्यहं
यो दीनारकलक्षवेतनवहः कोऽस्याग्रतस्सोऽप्यभूत् ॥
देदेप्यच्छुकदन्तोद्भटनवभिपटाबुद्धबुद्धाप्वमुख्वा-
स्वादप्रोदस्तवेदादतिरथसजयापीडसम्राडपि द्राक् ।
यद्वागुद्भूतबोधश्श्रुतिमयवपुषः शारदायाः पुरस्तात्
पीठे सर्वज्ञयोग्ये निदधदधिपदच्छायमाचार्यमर्च्यैः

273. Among "Sankaras" works are Sṭoṭras: राजभुजङ्ग सुब्रह्मण्यभुजङ्ग विष्णुभुजङ्ग शिवभुजङ्ग दत्तात्रेयभुजङ्ग हनुमद्भुजङ्ग देवीभुजङ्ग नवरत्नमालिका भवानीमानस हरिमीडोकनकधारा द्वादशमञ्जरी देवीपञ्चरत्नमाला त्रिपुरसुन्दरी पुष्पवीराञ्जलि राजराजेश्वरी, विट्ठल चन्द्रमौळीश्वर लक्ष्मीनृसिंह नारायण अन्नपूर्णा त्रिवेणी दशावतार शारदा काशी-विश्वनाथ अर्धनारी नटेश्वर रामलक्ष्मण ललिता श्रीचक्रस्तवराज अपराधशतक कृष्णताण्डवस्तोत्र पञ्चरत्न शिवस्तोत्र विष्णुस्तोत्र विष्णुपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन शिवपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन कल्याणवृष्टि ॥

and Aṣtakas on अम्बा पाण्डुरङ्ग शिवनामावळि कालभैरव अच्युत कृष्ण जगन्नाथ यमुना गङ्गा धन्या मणिकर्णिका शिवराम भैरव कामाक्षी सांब भ्रमराम्बा.

1. For a collection of these works, See *DC*, XVIII and XIX. *CC*, I. III; *Bhāraṭi* (1925), 156, *SR*. II. 92-97, *SKC*, 383-4. Ed. Srirangam, Madras and elsewhere *Sankarastotrasangrita*, Poona.

274. To the 20th Ācārya, Mūkārbhaka Śankara (396-436 A.D.)[1] is attributed Pancaśaṭī, known as Mūkapancaśaṭī. He is praised by Rāmila in Maṇiprabhā and by Mentha in Hayagrīvavaḍha, who, it is said, were his pupils. He was contemporary of Māṭṛgupṭa. He was born dumb and when he was restored to speech by a hypnotic bath by the grace of sage Viḍyāghana. He praised Kāmākṣī in his Pancaśaṭi, in five sections, Āryāsṭuṭi, Pāḍāravinḍa, Kaṭākṣa and Manḍasmiṭa, where he poured forth his heart in melodious strains of liquid poetry.[2]

275. **Samantabhadra** was a very early Jain poet and probably lived about the beginning of the Christian era. "In the Vīravamśavali of the Śvetambaras he is entered as the 16th Pontiff who lived in 889 after Nirvāṇa. In the Book of Stories, Āraḍhana-Kaṭhā-Kośa of Prabhācanḍra, there is this traditional account : He was a resident of Kanchi, a sage of might. Coming to suffer from un abdominal disease, he roamed all the way from Kanchi to Paundrapura, Dasarupa and Benares. At the latter place he performed a miracle, by manifesting an image of Parsvanatha out of an image of Siva."[3]

He wrote Ḍevāgamasṭotra and Svayambhūsṭoṭra.

In Āḍipurāṇa he is thus praised :

नमस्समन्तभद्राय महते कविवेधसे । यद्वचोवज्रपातेन निर्भिन्नः कुमताद्रयः ॥

कवीनां गमकानां च वादीनां वाग्मिनामपि । यशस्सामन्तभद्रीयं मूर्ध्नि चूडामणियते ॥

276. " **Siddhasena Divakara,** author of Nyayavatara, is mentioned along with Samantabhadra. They are both recognised by the two sections of the Jains, both were great logicians, both lived probably in the early enturies of the Christian era and the tradition of converting a king by manifesting an image of a Tirthankara out of an image of Siva, is reported about both. These coincidences have led some to entertain a belief that the two persons were identical. But since they are separately mentioned by such early writers as Haribhadra Suri and Jinasena, the theory is untenable."[4] His mother was Ḍevāsikā and father a Purohit of King Vikrama of Ujjain. This led S. C. Vidya-

1. See Gururaṭnamalikā, verses 40-50 and commentary.
2. Printed, Bombay.
3. For the same account, see Malliṣenapraśaṣṭi (*EI*, III). Samanṭabhadra's other name was Sānṭivarma, see Rice's Int. to the inscription of Sravana Belgola. See Hiralal's Introduction to Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. of CP. and Berar, ix-xii. His works have been printed.
4. See Hiralal, l.c. xiv.

bhūṣaṇa to identify him with the Kṣapaṇaka, one of the nine gems of Vikramāditya's Court. After he met Vriddha Vādiguru he became his desciple and was given the name Kumudacandra. When later he became a Sūri he assumed the name of Siddhasena Divākara. "Once he presumptiously declared in the presence of his guru that he would turn the whole sacred lore from Prakrit into sanskrit. To the explanation of the sin committed by this sacrelegious utterance, he was administered by his guru the 'Paranhika Prayaschitta' which required him to remain dumb for twelve years and visit sacred places. In observance of this vow, he once went to Ujjain and lodged in the temple of Mahakali. Here he incurred the displeasure of the priests for not making obeisance to the god Siva. They called the king Vikramaditya who compelled Siddhasena to bow before the god. Siddhasena did this reciting the KALYANAMANDIRA[1] ode which had the effect of splitting the image of Siva in twain and manifesting out of it an image of a Jain Tirthankara. Being impressed with his power King Vikramaditya and many others become converted to Jainism."[2] Jinasena in Ādipūraṇa praises him thus :

प्रवादिकरियूथानां केसरी नयकेसरी ।
सिद्धसेनकविर्जीयात् विकल्पनखराङ्कुरः ॥

277. Asvaghosa. On the identity of Aśvaghoṣa with Mātṛceṭa and Āryasūra, opinion is divided. Many works are attributed to them under these different names and all are alike in the merit of their poetry. There are Asvaghoṣa's Gandīsṭoṭra, Āryasūra's Jaṭhakamālā, Mātṛceṭa's Śaṭapancaṣatkasṭoṭra, Ekoṭṭarikasṭoṭra, Ṭriraṭnamangalasṭoṭra, Ṭriraṭnasṭoṭra, Miśrakasṭoṭra, Sugaṭapancaṭriraṭnasṭoṭra.[3]

278. Kulasekhara, King of Kerala, was a saint among Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. According to the tradition he was the son of Dṛdhavraṭa and was born as an incarnation of Viṣṇu's Kausṭubha in Kali year 27 in 3075 B.C., Prabhava, Māgha, Sūddha, Dvādaśī, Guruvāra and Punarvasu at Ṭiruvanjikkulam.[4] He gave up his throne and became a

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1. Printed Bombay. Ed. and tranas. *ISt*, XIV. 326.

2. Hiralal, *l. c.* xiii.

3. For a full collection with references, see F.W. Thomas, *Int. to Kav.* 25-29 ; *Album Kern* (Leiden). *IA*. (1903), 345-60, *Keith*, *SL*, 67.

4. For an account by P. Kṛṣṇamurṭi, see Bhāraṭi (1930), 947. In his introduction to Ṭapaṭisamvaraṇa (*TSS*), Ganapati Sastri gives dates as Kali 1680 (1422 B.C.). See Bhakṭavaibhavadīpikā of Venkaṭesa (*TC*, II. 2010), and para 205 *supra*.

recluse and composed the divine lyric Mukundamāla.[1] In the history of Kerala, there are several kings bearing the name Kulaśekhara and in the appellations of the present Maharajas of Travancore this is one. Stories current in Malabar says that Kṛṣṇalīlāsūka, author or Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta, was a contemporary of a Kuleśekhara and Vāsudeva in his Yudhisthiravijaya[2] mentions Kuleśekhara. But the earlier Kulāśekhara, the Ālwar, has been wrongly identified with later kings of that name, and has been assigned to the 9th century A.D. It is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusion on these identities, beyond saying that the author of Mukundamāla lived for earlier than the author of the dramas, Ṭapaṭiśamvarana and Subhadrādhanamjaya, and Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka were in the courts of some later Kuleśekhara of about the 9-10 century A.D.[3]

Mūkundamālā[4] is very popular lyric often repeated and inculcates the merit of Bhakṭi or devotion as a means of salvation. There are commentaries on it by Venkaṭeśa and Ānandarāghava, pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda.[5]

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1. So it says राज्ञा कृताकृतिरियं कुलशेखरेण

2. तस्य वसुधामवत: काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः

3. K. R. Pisharoti says that these two authors came one after another and Kulaśekhara the Alwar lived in 8—9th century A.D. and the dramatists in 8—9th century A.D. and that the later was the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāśukā (*IHQ*, V. 553). A. S. Ramanatha Iyer in [*JRAS*, (1325), 263 *Authorship of Nalodaya*] says that Vāsudeva, the real author of Nalodaya, Yudhisthiravijaya etc., lived under king Kulaśekhara of the 9th century A.D. Some modern scholars (see *Vaishnavisim, Saivism and minor religious* by R. G. Bhandarkar and *Early History of Sri Vaisnavism in South India* by S. Krishnasami Ayyangar) identify the Ālwār with the author of the dramas on the ground that they are described as kings in the the same locality and to bring down the date of the Ālwār also to 12th century A.D. Keralotpaṭṭi give the date of the death of Kulaśekhara as 333 A.D. See *Trav. State Manual*, I. 223.

In Gururaṭnamālika of Mahadevendrasarajvaṭi, it is said that Kulaśekhara, the royal poet, was taught poetry by Ujjvalaśankara, the 16th in successiou (329-367 A.D.)

कुलशेखरसाहितिप्रणेते वलदासेतुहिमाद्रिविज्ञनेत्रे

4. Printed everywhere, *Haberlin*, 515 and *Kavyamāla*, Bombay. *DC*, XVIII, 7086.

5. *TC*, II. 2026, IV. 4383. So says Ānandarāghava:

मुक्तिरेव मुक्तिसाधिकेति सैवाभ्यर्थनीया मुमुक्षुभिरित्यतस्तदुपायित्वेन श्रीनारदानुगृहीत मौकुन्दाष्टादशाक्षरीमन्त्रं मुकुन्दचरणशब्दात्प्रत्यभिज्ञानमत्र प्रमाणयन् मुकुन्दमालाख्यं स्तोत्ररत्नमकरोत् ।

279. Mayura, says tradition, was a friend and father-in-law of Bāṇa.[1] Bāṇa and Mayūra were rivals in poetry in the court of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj,[2] and were equally honoured by the King.[3] Mayūra became glorious, very Sarasvaṭī incarnate. So says Jayamangala.

Mādhava in his Sankṣepa-Śankaravijaya says that Śankara defeated Bāṇa and Mayūra in philosophical controversy and this Śankara was apparently a later ācārya of that name.[4]

In Bhojaprabandha, Mayūra is mentioned as a poet of Bhoja's Court, but that work is a fictitious compilation. Bhoja lived far later than Mayūra.

An anonymous Jain commentator has the following story of Bāṇa and Mayūra: The Jain priests were anxious that the King should not consider them and their religion inferior and in order to convince the King that their holy men could work greater miracles, they got Mānaṭungasūri tied up by 42 iron fetters and when he sang Bhakṭāmara-sṭoṭra, the chains came off and he was free.[5]

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1. See Madhusudana's commentary on Suryaśaṭaka. Quackenbos, *Sanskrit Poems of Mayura* (*Col. Un. Series*), *Int.* 21. Keith, *SL*, 211.

2. For instance, Padmagupṭa says

सचित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणोरवनीश्वरः ।
श्रीहर्ष इवसङ्घट्टं चक्रे बाणमयूरयोः ॥

3. So Jalhaṇa in his Sukṭimukṭāvali (*JBRAS*, XVII. 607) quotes a verse of Rājaśekhara:

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकरः ।
श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सभ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥

Divākara is mentioned as a poet there in verse 30, *l.c.* भासो रामिलसौमिलौ (*ZDMG*, XXVII. 77). This verse is found in Śarngadharapaddhaṭi also. The identification Māṭanga Divākara, with Mānaṭunga (the jain poet) by Hall (Int, to Vasavadatta, 21) and Max Muller (*India*, 330) is wrong.

Jayamangala, a commentator, also says

भक्तमयूरवक्त्राब्जपदविन्यासशालिनी ।
नर्तकीव नरीनर्ति सभामध्ये सरस्वती ॥

4. See Quackenbos, *l. c.* 14-15,

सकथाभिरवन्तिषु प्रसिद्धान् विबुधान् बाणमयूरदाण्डिमुख्यान् ।
शिथिलीकृतदुर्मताभिमानान् निजभाष्यश्रवणोत्सुकांश्चकार ॥

5. Taken from Quackenbos, *l.c.* 21-22. For variations in Jaina tales, see *l.c.* 25 *et seq.* See also Prabandhacinṭāmaṇi of Meruṭunga (Tawney's Trans, 64, 66).

280. Suryasataka is a centum of verses in praise of the Sun and invokes the grace and succour of Sūrya, his rays, disc, chariot and other accompaniments. Sūrya is described as supreme in the universe and identical with the greatest deities of the Hindu pantheon.[1] Sūryasāṭaka has been held in high esteem by rhetoricians and has been quoted by Abhinavagupṭa and Mammata.

There are commentaries on Sūryaśaṭaka by Ṭribhuvanapāla,[2] Yagneśvara,[3] [Maḍhusūḍana, Vallabhaḍeva, Jayamangala],[4] Śrīranga-ḍeva,[5] [Gangāḍhara, Bālambhatta, Harivamśa],[6] Gopīnāṭha,[7] [Jagan-nāṭha, Rāmabhatta, Anvayamukha],[8] Rāmacanḍra,[9] and some anonymous.[10]

Besides verses quoted in the anthologies, Mayūra wrote Mayūrāstaka,[11] eight verses, describing the charms of a woman, said by some to be Mayūra's daughter herself.[12]

There are other Sūryaśaṭakas by Gopālaśarman,[13] Śrīśvara Viḍyālankāra,[14] by Raghavenḍra Sarasvaṭī,[15] Lingakavi,[16] and by Koḍanda-rāmaya,[17] and Sūryasṭava by Hanūmān and by Upamanyu.[18]

281. Among Sṭoṭras of Sūrya (Sun) SAMBAPANCASIKA ranks supreme. Its diction, devotion and melody have led to the attribution of its authorship to Sāmba, the very son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but this Sāmba is a different poet. He often imitates if not borrows the style and ex-

1. For a fine analysis, see Quackenbos, *l.c* 83 *et. seq.* Keith, *SL*, 201, 212. Ed. by Quakenbos (*Col. Un. Series*) with an elaborate introduction and English translation. Translated into Italian by Berheiner, Livorno.
2. Printed, Kāvyamālā, Bombay.
3. Ed. by the author (See *IA*, I. 115) mentioned in the Kāvyamālā edition.
4. *CC*, I. 732.
5. *TC*, III. 732; *Trav. Cat.* 67, 68.
6. Hall's *Pref. to Vāsavaḍaṭṭa.*
7. *DC*, XIX. 7625.
8. *CC*, III. 150.
9. *DC*, XII. 7621.
10. *DC*, XIX. 7626; *TC*, I. 226; *TC*, III. 2811.
11. These are collected by Quackenbos and translated *l.c*, 229.
12. Ed. by Quackenbos, with English translation, *l.c. et seq.*
13. *Opp*, II. 8421. Ed. Calcutta (1871). He was the First Master of Sanskrit in Jaynarain College, Benares.
14. *CC*, I. 732. Śrīśvara was alive in 1884. See *Mitra*, VII. 113.
15. *Ulwar*, 2438.
16. *DC*, XIX. 7624.
17. *TC*, IV. 4956.
18. *Trav. Cat.*, 64.

pressions of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and must have lived about the 9th century A.D.

There is a commentary on it by Kṣemarāja (Rājānaka), pupil of Abhinavagupta, who lived about the beginning of the 11th century A.D.[1] Kṣemarāja wrote also Śivastotra, Bhairavānukaraṇa Stotra, and commented on Parameśvarastotrāvali and Nārāyaṇa's Stavacintāmaṇi.[2]

282. Bana's Candisataka is a poem in praise of Pārvatī in the form of Candī or Mahiṣāsuramardinī. It describes Candī's combat with Mahiṣa and his destruction by the goddess's kick. The verses have a mājestic gait in Śārdūlavikriḍita metre.[3]

There are commentaries by DHANESVARA, son of Someśvara,[4] and two anonymous.[5]

On Candī, there are Candīkucapancāśikā by Lakṣmaṇācārya,[6] Candīcaritanāṭaka by Rudra Tripathin,[7] Candīcaritacandrikā, by Bhairavānanda,[8] Candīkucasaptati,[9] Candīkācarita by Candasimha,[10] Candīkādandastotra by Kālidāsa.[11]

283. Manatunga[12] was minister of King Vairasimha (825-900 A.D.) of the Calukya dynasty of Malwa.[13] He visited the court of Harṣa

1. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay and *TSS* with introduction by K. Sambasiva Sastri. *PR*, I. 121.

2. *CC*, I. 134, 336. In *BTC*, 203 there is a Sāmbamuktāvalistotra. In *CC*, I. 711, there is also a Suryasaptāryā by Sāmbā. Sāmba, author of Aniruddhacampu, is a different author (*CC*, I. 711).

3. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay and by Quackenbos, *l.c.* with introduction and English translation.

4. Ed. Bombay.

5. *BR*, II. 82; *KR*, (1880-1), 84; *IO*, IV. 2538, 2625; *CC*, I. 177.

6. *CC*, I. 176. Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay. Keith, *SL*, 210.

7. Hail. *Pref. to Dasarupa*, 30f; *SKC*. 77.

8. *CC*, I. 176.

9. *Opp*, II. 401.

10. Quoted by Guṇavijayagaṇi in his commentary on Nalacampu.

11. *CC*, I. 176.

12. Mānatunga, the author of Siddhajayantīcaritra (*PR*, III. *Ap.* 37) was a different person. He was a pupil of Śilagaṇa of the Vṛddha Gaccha and lived about *Sam*. 1270 (1204 A.D.) See Klatt (*IA*, XI. 253); *BR*, (1883-4), 147; *PR*, IV. xciii. There is a commentary on it by his pupil Malayaprabha written in Sam. 1261.

13. Vairasimha was the successor of Upendra or Kṛṣṇarāja, the founder of the Paramāra Dynasty of Mālwa. The Pattāvati of Vriddha Gaccha says so. Klatt, *IA*, XI. 252; Princeps, *Useful Tables*, 251; Weber, *ISt*, II. 932 note. *PR*, IV. ixcii; Buhler, *IA*, I. 111; Jacobi, *Ind. Str.* XIV. 359. (It is here said that according to some Jain Therevalis Mānatunga lived in 3rd century A.D.).

Śīlāḍitya and in a controversy with Bāṇa and Mayūrā at Benares,[1] he overcame the evil effects of their sorceries that had tormented the King, by the composition[2] and recitation of the Bhakṭāmarasṭoṭra,[3] and convinced Nāgarāja by that of Bhayaharaṇasṭavana.[4]

284. Lokesvarasataka is a famous encomium of Boḍhisaṭṭva Lokeśvara or Avalokiṭeśvara, composed in the 9th century A.D., if not earlier.[5] "Each of the verses, in *Sragdhara* metre, is in the form of an *āsīrvāda* or blessing. The description of the Bodhisattva commences, according to the rule regarding divine beings, with his feet, or, rather, n this case, with the light of his toe-nails, The toe-nails themselves emerge for a moment in verses 16 and 18, and in verse 26 the feet come into play, to accompany us as far as verse 45. Then, more dispersedly we treat of the lotus in Lokeśvara's hand, his Amitābha bearing crest, his compassion, his name, his qualities, his worship, love of him, meditation upon him, his praise, his kindness, his grace, the remembrance of him, his action, his universality, his titles, his constancy, his protection, teaching, and so on, as far as verse 83. Then we come to his hand with its lotus, his arm, his dress, his face, his tresses. It is not easy through this thorny track to maintain the freshness of our receptivity; but we acknowledge the thrill which the author has reserved for verse 97, where we meet the Great Being's *eye*. Or rather, we meet it not, since with a momentary quiver of apprehensive compassion it is turned upon his too terrifically, Hayagriva! From the latter we pass to Bhṛkuṭi-Tārā, saving goddess, and we end with an

1. See Prabhāvaśacariṭa, Sṛnga 12.

2. In *Kalpasutra translated into English*, Lucknow, the date of this composition is given as *Sam.* 800 (744 A.D.).

3. Ed. Bombay. Ed. Tr. by H. Jacobi, *Ind. Str*, XIV. 359. *PR*, III. *App.* 29, 32. There are commentataries on it by Śānṭisuri (*PR*, I. *Ap.* 96), by Guṇākarasuri composed in *Sam.* 1426, by Amaraprabhasuri (*PR*, III. *Ap.* 228; IV. vii) and by Kanakakuśala (*PR*, IV. 109). Amaraprabha was pupil of Devasunḍara alias Devasuri who became Suri at Patna in 1420 (See *PR*, IV viii, Klatt, (*IA*, XI. 255), *Weber ISt.* II. 938 note). Śantisuri belonged to Khandellagaccha. Kanakakuśala was the pupil of Hiravijasuri. He wrote in *Sam.* 1652. (*PR*, IV. 109).

4. *PR*, I. *Ap.* 30; III. *Ap.* 29. There is a commentary on it by Jinaprabhasuri (*PR*, I. 52, 88) written in *Sam.* 1365 (1309 A.D.) at Sākeṭapura. He was pupil of Jinasimhasuri. Among his other works (for which see Klatt's *Onomasticon*) are Pancaparameṣṭhisṭava (*PR*, IV. 91), Ṭirṭhakalpa (*PR*, II. 79) and a commentary on Ajiṭaśānṭisṭava of Nanḍiṣena, who completed his work at Ayoḍhya in *Sam*, 1365,

Jinaprabha, guru of Rājaśekhara, the author of Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi was born about *Sam.* 1400 and was a different person. See *PR*, IV. xxxvii.

5. See *JRAS*, (1914), 28.

obscurely worded expression (v. 100) of the truth that only the words of Sugata are adequate to the description of the whole assemblage of great qualities. Putting the poem side by side with the famous Ajanta picture of Avalokiteśvara, if it is indeed he, we can to some extent realize what it may have meant to the poet and his hearers."[1]

285. Ekanatha was the desciple of Janārḍana Pant of Ḍevagiri. He travelled far visiting sacred shrines and performed many miracles, as did other great teachers of religion. Ekanāṭha occupied a place between Nāmḍev and Ṭukārām and taught the Bhakṭi cult. He lived in 1528-1609 A.D.[2] Besides famous as a poet in Mahratti, he wrote the philosophical poems, Hasṭāmalaka and Svāṭmasukha and a commentary on the 11th chapter of Śrī Bhāgavaṭa.[3]

286. The poems Suprabhāsṭoṭra[4] and Aṣṭamahāśrīcaiṭyasṭoṭra[5] are ascribed to King Haṣavarḍhana. Sarvajnamiṭra wrote Sragḍharā-sṭoṭra.[6]

Sṭuṭikusumānjali is a poem in 39 chapters in praise of Śiva by Jagaḍḍhara;[7] so is Parameśasṭoṭrāvali by Uṭpalaḍeva.[8] Sṭavāmṛṭalaharī is in praise of Kṛṣṇa by Visvanāṭha Cakravarṭi.[9]

Among important sṭoṭras printed in Bombay are: Maḍhusūḍana's Ānanḍamandākinī; Kūranārāyaṇa's Suḍarsānaśaṭaka, Ḍūrvasa's Ṭripura-mahimasṭava and Laliṭāsṭavaraṭna, Lankeśvara's Śivasṭuṭi, Lallāḍikṣiṭa's Ānanḍamanḍirāsṭuṭi, Śrīkanṭha's Ānanḍasāgarasṭava, Avaṭāra's Īśvara-śaṭaka, Loṣṭaka's Ḍīnākranḍaṇasṭuṭi, Ḍhananjaya's Viṣāpahārasṭoṭra, Ḍasākanḍhara's Śivaṭāndavasṭoṭra, Māḍhavānanḍa's Hasṭāmalakasṭoṭra, Puruṣoṭṭama's Viṣṇubhakṭikalpalaṭā.

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1. The summary is by C. O. Blagden [*JRAS*, (1914), 281].
2. See W. S. Deuning's *Ekanath*, Bombay and Review of his works by C. R. Śrinivāsa Iyengar in *Hindu*, Jan. 17th 1932. Farquhar, *ORL*, 300.
Ekanāṭha, who wrote commentary on Bhāravi (*CC*, I. 72) is a different person.
3. Printed, Bombay; *Opp*, 3592.
4. Thomas, *JRAS*, (1903) 703-22.
5. Levi, *CC*, X. ii. 189; Ettinghausen's *Harṣavarḍhana*, 176; Keith, *SL*, 215.
6. Hirānanḍa, *Mem. of Arch. Survey, India*, No. 20; Keith, *SL*, 215.
7. Printed Kāvyamāla, Bombay. *CC*, I. 743, This is a commentary by Raṭnakantha.
8. *CC*, I. 326. There is commentary by Kṛṣṇarāja. It is quoted by Raṭna. kanṭha, l. c.
9. *CC*, III. 153.

There are also Śrīdhara Venkatesa's Ākhyāṣaṣṭi, Uṭpaladevācārya's Śivaṣṭoṭravali,[1] Mahākāla's Karpūrastava,[2] Puspadanta's Mahimnastoṭra,[3] Rāmācārya's Ramamahimnastoṭra,[4] Rāmakṛṣṇa's Padyapuṣpanjali.[5] Laghubhattaraka's Vimśatistava.[6]

287. Maharaja **Krsnaraja Udayar** III (born 1795 A.D.) of Mysore was a poet and patron of letters and is the father's father of the present Maharajah of Mysore. His Devaṭādhyānamālikā gives meditative stanzas on various deities with illustrative pictures. His Sūryacandrādivamśāvaṭāraṇa[7] written in 1857, relates 100 episodes each from Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhāraṭa and the adventures of the royal brothers Yadurāya and Kṛṣṇarāya, the progenitors of the Mysore dynasty of Kings. His Kṛṣṇakaṭhāpuṣpamanjarī, Cāmundīmangalamālikā, Mṛṭyunjayastoṭra and Rāmāyaṇakathāpuṣpamanjarī have been published in Mysore.

288. **Kasturi Sivasankara Sastri** was born at Koochimancivari Agrahāram, Amlapur Taluk, Godavari District, in the year 1833 and died in 1917 at the age of 83. He belonged to Kasṭūrivāri Savaram, otherwise called Beta Mallipudi Savaram, one mile from Rajole. He was a Niyogi Brahmin of Vadhūla Gotra. He was son of Somarāju. His ancestors were ministers under Native Rajahs and Nawabs, and were highly proficient in Vedic and administrative matters. They were made Desapandyas which position was continued to the members of his family till the boyhood of his father, and in recognition of services the Government also granted an allowance up to the time of Veeresalingam, his father's elder brother. He was Sanskrit Pandit in the Arts College, Rajamundry, for 25 years. Besides several works on philosophy, he wrote poems Śivānandalaharī, Śivapādasṭuṭi, Sṭoṭrakadamba, Dvādaśamanjarī, Samudrāṣṭakam, Śūlapāniśaṭaka, Nṛsimhasṭoṭra and other smaller Sṭoṭras.

289. **Bellamkonda Ramaraya** was the son of Mohanarāya and Hanumāyamma. He was born in Pamidipadu Agraharam in

1. Ed. by Visnuprasad Bhandari, *CSS* Benares, with commentary of Ksemarāja. For other stotras, see *Trav. Cat.*, 50-68.
2. Printed, *CSS*, Benares with two commentaries.
3. Printed, *CSS*, Benares with commentaries; Translated by K. M. Banerji.
4. Oudh, XIV, 92. *JASB*, VIII, 335. D. C. Bhattacarya (*IA*, XLVI, 164).
5. *PR*, V, 580; *Trav. Cat.*, 60.
6. *Trav. Cat.*, 51.
7. *Mys. Arch. Rep*, (1918) 67.

Guntur District in 1875. He was of Bhāradvāja goṭra. He was learned in all śāsṭras and in poetry and prolix in his writings. He died young in 1913. Besides several works on philosophy he wrote campūs, Samudramaṭhana, Rukmiṇīpariṇaya and Ramāpāriṇaya and poems Garudasandesa, Kṛṣṇalīlaṭarangini, Samasyāraṭnākara, Sumanomahoranjana, Hayagrīvaśaṭaka and Kavibhūṣaṇa, a bhāṇa Kandarpadarpa and commentaries on Bhāraṭacampū, Murārināṭaka, and on verses of Naiṣadha, in prose Viśvarūpagadya, Hayagrīvadandaka and Hanūmaddandaka, and stotras on Janārdana, Sarasvaṭī and Vīrārāghava, etc.

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1. See article by K. Markandeyasarma in *Bhāraṭi* (1928) 159 and Introduction of Hayagrīvasṭoṭra, Madras.

CHAPTER XII

Laghukavya—(*contd.*)

290. Krsna Lilasuka was the son of Ḍāmoḍara and Nīlī and pupil of Īśānaḍeva,[1] the author of Ṭanṭrapaḍḍhaṭi. Rāghaveśānayaṭi, the author of commentary on Bhāgavaṭa was his friend. He was a votary of God Mṛṭyunjaya of Śveṭāraṇyakṣeṭra, otherwise known as Ḍakṣiṇakailāsam. He lived at Mukṭisṭhala, now known as Mukkuttalai, in Malabar on the banks of the Bhāraṭī. He was such an ardent votary of Śrī Kṛṣṇa that he went in trances singing his praise and in one of those trances the song was sung by Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself in praise of his devotee.[2]

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1. The *Trav. Cat.* (58), 88, 91 mentions Iśānabhuṭiḍeva's poems, Paḍmanābhaśaṭaka, Rāmaśaṭaka, Kṛṣṇaśaṭaka, Bhāraṭasaṇkṣepa, Rāmāyaṇāmṛṭa.

2. The whole piece is printed here, as the only manuscript of it is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi :—

वचसि मम सन्निधत्तां मधुरस्मितभरितमन्थरापङ्गी ।
करकलितललितवंशा कापि किशोरी कृपालहरी ॥

गर्वोद्रिक्तदिशागजेन्द्रपरिषत्सेवाप्रणामादृतं
यातायातसुरेन्द्रसैन्यलहरीमौळिप्रभावन्दितम् ।
वल्गत्पार्थिवसार्थमण्डलमहायात्रारवाराधितं
कार्त्स्न्यं कामभुवां बुवां (?) गजमुखज्योतिः किमप्याश्रये ॥

भूम्ने भुवनमाधुर्यसीम्ने सरळसंपदां । सीम्ने सरसगोपाधे (ळे) धाम्ने ततिदमोन्नमः ॥
अज्ञानमदनज्योतिःप्रज्ञेशानपदास्पदम् । आलम्बितनराकारमालम्बनमभूत्सताम् ॥
अमुष्य करुणापात्रमस्ति मस्करिणाम्मणिः । आदित्यप्रज्ञसंज्ञं यदादित्यादधिकं महः ॥
निर्जितस्समदृष्ट्यै ... ...मन्मथः । आर्जितैरस्त्रकुसुमैराराराधयन्ययौ ॥
आदित्यप्रज्ञपादानामादिकारुण्यभाजनं । ईशानदेव इत्यासीत् ईशानो मुनितेजसाम् ॥
आस्पदस्य हि यस्यासीदशेषगुणसंपदां । अद्वितीय इति ख्यातिरात्मबुद्ध्या न केवलम् ॥
तयोरनुग्रहापाङ्गसङ्क्रान्तज्ञानसागराः । सागरा इव गंभीरास्सन्ति धन्याः सहस्रशः ॥
तयोरेव कृपापात्रं कृष्णलीलाशुको मुनिः । यदाश्रमाङ्गणे नित्यं रमन्ते तन्त्रविस्तराः ॥
तिलकं कुलपालीनां नीलीति निलयं श्रियां । यमळं जनयांचक्रे यं च कीर्तिं च शाश्वतीम् ॥
यस्य दामोदरो नाम सविता सवितृ ...भः ? । अनृणस्य हि यस्यासन्नधमर्णा मरुद्गणाः ॥
यस्य तत्प्रियसर्वस्वं राघवेशानसंज्ञकं । विनेयसविधे यस्य सुहृन्नुकाय ... ...॥
यस्य दक्षिणकैलासलीलापरिणतं महः । चर्चाचन्दनगन्धेन सुगन्धयति मानसम् ॥
कृष्णलीलाशुकस्यास्य किशोरमधिदैवतम् । (स्तु)तिरत्नमिदं ब्रूते वेणुवादिमुखेन्दुना ॥

As an ascetic he appears to have assumed the name of *Bilva-mangala* and founded the Natuvile Madham of Trichur. The heads of Mutt are known as Bilvamangala.[1] In Gaḍa's Sampradāya-Kula-dīpika, it is said: "There were some devotees, one named Bilvamangala in the Tamil country, another at Benares and a third, in Orissa. There is a stotra containing 108 stanzas composed by him. All of them were Vaishnavas. The person who was born at Kasi was in his first birth known by the name of Madhavanala, in the second, Bilhana, in the third Bilvamangala and in the fourth, Jayadeva who composed the Gita-govinda. When Bilvamangala was spreading the religion of Visnusvami,[2] he got many desciples."[3]

As it is, this poet may be taken to have lived in the 11th century A.D.[4]

Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka is one of those glorious men, whom every province desires to claim for itself, Bengal, Orissa, Circars and Malabar.[5] It is said in the Circars that he lived on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇa Venna (Kṛṣṇā) and founded a Mutt at Amareśaram. So in Bengal and Orissa, the story is current that he lived at Jagannath and he was called by the name Bilvamangala on account of the auspicious Bilva in his house. Tradition gives a tale of his conversion as a votary of Kṛṣṇa. He had a concubine Cintāmaṇi. She was very pious and would not allow him to see her on the day of her father's annual ceremony. But the passionate lover scaled the walls of her house at midnight with his hold on a serpant's tail hanging there and bitten by it fell down unconscious. The kind woman attended to him and when he was revived, she appeared before him in an ugly attire and taught him to give up his carnal passion and to devote his love to Kṛṣṇa. He learnt Kṛṣṇa-mantra from his guru Soma and became an ascetic. His sayings are recorded by his disciples. He passed away at Bṛndāvan.[6]

291. In the field of grammar and philosophy, his proficiency was ever as great as in the field of poetry. He commented on the

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1. A. Govinda Wariyar says that of three Bilvamangalas whom he mentions (*IHQ*, VII. 334), the first, the founder of the Mutt, wrote Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta and lived in 9th century and the author of Puruṣakāra was a different and later person who lived in 13th century.

2. On Viṣṇusāmi and his sect, see Farquhar (*l. c*) 238, 301.

3. *SR*, I. 14.

4. Farquhar (*ORL*, 304) give the date 15th century A.D.

5. For an account of this poet by M. Ramakrishnakavi, see *Andhrapatrika*, Annual number (1922-23) 171-4.

6. See *SR*, II. 67.

Aṣṭādhyāyi of Bhoja (known also as Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa) and there quotes several verses of Pāṇini.[1] He refers to Hemacandra in his philosophical work Puruṣakāra,[2] and he is quoted by Vidyāraṇya in his Dhātuvṛtti.

Among his works now available[3] are Ṭribhuvanasubhaga, Gaṇapatistuti, Karkotakastuti, Ramacandrastuti, Abhavastuti, Kṛṣṇastuti, Viśvādhikastuti, Sumangalastotra, Kṛṣṇacarita, Kṛṣṇabālakrīdā, Abhinava Kaustubhamāla, Kramadīpikā and Śankarahṛdayāngaṇa.

292. In his **Brndavanastuti,** he describes Rāsakrīda, in verses which for their charm and melody can rarely be equalled. In his KALAVADHA in 3 cantos he relates the story of the conquest of Yamā by Śiva to save Mārkandeya and the narrative is addressed in the words of Kṛṣṇa himself to the Gopīs. In his GOVINDABHISEKA (Gopikābhiṣeka ?) a poem in 8 cantos he illustrates the aphorisms of Prākṛit grammar and these were later on commented upon and supplemented by his pupil Durgāprasada Yati, by 4 cantos. The whole poem of 12 cantos is also called Śrīcinhakāvya.[4]

293. By far the greatest work, by which his name has been commemorated is **Krsnakarnamrta.**[5] It is a lyric in 12 ṭarangas of exquisite beauty, famed for its music and harmony, on the life of Kṛṣṇa.

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1. See para 4 *supra*.
2. Edited *TSS*, by T. Ganapati Sastri.
3. *IOC*, VII. 1470-5. Some of these manuscripts are with M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi. He says he brought all these manuscripts from Malabar for the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, but that they were returned by the authorities without copying them.
4. See Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1919), 38. In his commentary on Govindābhiṣeka, Durgāprasādayati gives these particulars :

कोदण्डमण्डलवचोगदितीह धाम्नि श्रीकृष्णदर्शनपरः किल कर्णभूत्यः ।
जातः क्रमेण परहंसपदे स्थितेऽस्मिन् योऽङ्कस्थितस्तमवलोक्य जगाम तृप्तिम् ॥
श्रीपद्मपादमुनिवर्यविनेयवर्गश्रीभूषणं मुनिरसौ कविसार्वभौमः ।
श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशीलश्चक्रे तदीयचरितं बहुधा हिताय ॥
श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकबद्धकाव्यं विवृत्य लोकस्य हिताय पूर्वम् ।
तच्छेषपूर्तिं च पुनर्विधाय विवृण्महे उत्तरभागमेतम् ॥
मुक्तिस्थलालय शिवपाद(?)भक्तिलेशात् दुर्गाप्रसादयतिरित्यभिधां दधानः ॥

5. Printed everywhere. Keith, *SL*, 218.
The poet says :

ईशानदेवचरणाभरणेन नीलीदामोदरस्थिरयशस्स्तबकोद्गमेन ।
लीलाशुकेन रचितं तव देव कृष्ण कर्णामृतं वहतु कल्पशतान्तरेऽपि ॥

The thoughts are often expressed in Abhinaya and is the poem familiar among gesture-dancers.[1]

There are commentaries on it called Karṇānandaprakāśinī and Śṛṅgārarangaḍi of unknown authorship[2] and commentaries by Gopāla[3] by Bṛṇḍāvanaḍāsa,[4] by Śankara,[5] by Pālanka Brahmabhatta,[6] by Pusupāti Pāpayallayasūri,[7] and by Avancha Rāmacanḍra.[8]

Rāmakarṇāmṛta of Praṭāpasimha[9] and Rāmabhaḍraḍīkṣiṭa,[10] Śrīnivāsakarṇāmṛta of Bangalore Siḍḍhānṭi Subrahmaṇyakavi[11] are of similar description.

294. Jayadeva. Vilvamangala was reborn as Jayaḍeva; such is the belief of the Indian devotee.[12] Jayaḍeva was the son of Bhojaḍeva and Vāmāḍevi. He was born at Kindubilva (Kenduli) on the banks of the river Ajaya in the Birbhum District of Bengal.[13] He was

1. For an instance of his natural description :

अर्धोन्मीलितलोचनस्य पिबतः पर्याप्तमेकं स्तनं
सद्यः प्रस्नुतदुग्धदिग्धमपरं हस्तेन संमार्जतः ।
मात्रा चाङ्गुलिलालितस्य चिबुके स्मेरायमाणे मुखे
विष्णोः क्षीरकणाम्बुधामधवळा दन्तद्युतिः पातु नः ॥
परमिममुपदेशमाद्रियध्वं निगमवनेषु नितान्तखेदखिन्नः ।
विचिनुत भवनेषु बल्लवीनामुपनिषदर्थमुलूखले निबद्धम् ॥

2. *Oxf.* 128. It is not known if it is the same as the one mentioned in *DC*, XVII, 6947 and *Opp*, II. 54.

3. *Oudh*, VI. 4.

4. *CC*, I. 119.

5. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bombay.

6. *TC*, II. 1362, 2061. *Opp.* II. 54. He belonged to Lohiṭagoṭra, obviously an Ānḍhra.

7. *SR*, II. 58. This commentator suggests that the poet was a native of Chicacole. The commentator was the son of Ṭirumala and Kondamāmba. He gives various meanings of philosophical significance.

8. *TC*, III. 2977, IV. 3748, 4433, 4170. He was the son of Kondopandita and Gangāmbikā of Śāndilyagoṭra of the village of Kanjaluru on the Goḍāvari branch Āṭreyi. He was also called Mohanabilvamangala. He commented on Campurāmāyaṇa also (*TC*, II. 1543).

9. *Opp.* II, 8334.

10. Printed, Madras. *DC.* XVIII. 7122.

11. Printed, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, G.T., Madras.

12. See Gada's *Sampraḍāyakulaḍipikā*; *SR.* I. 15.

13. Lakṣmīḍhara, the commentator, says that Jayaḍeva was a native of Guzarat. Others say he was Maiṭhila. In Bhakṭamālā (Cantos 39–41) Canḍradaṭta says Jayaḍeva was born at Tindubilva near Puri. Once robbers lopped off his feet and hands and they were miraculousy restored. In his old age he desired to have a bath in the Ganges and the river appeared before him in her watery form.

a poet of the court of Lakṣhmaṇasena[1] the Vaidya king of Bengal whose Gaya inscription is dated Samvat 1173 or 1116 A.D. and whose capital was Lakṣmāvaṭī.[2]

A rambler in early life, he visited Mathura and Bṛndāvan and was directly influenced by the enchanting scenery and the traditional tales of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. He became a missionary of that cult of Vaiṣṇava faith. He visited Jagannāth and there his life was destined for a change. There a brahmin long childless had a beautiful girl Padmāvaṭi by the grace of the Lord of Jagannath. He had a dream directing him to bestow her on Jayadeva then camping under a tree near the shrine. In spite of Jayaḍeva's reluctance, the father left the girl in his presence and went away. Jayaḍeva had no choice and married her. His married life was very happy. She was of his temperament and his regard for her devotion is expressed in his Gīṭagovinḍa, in that "to the accompaniment of his songs, she dances on her feet."[3] He spent some years at Kathamkandi and then he composed his Gīṭagovinḍa. When the poem was nearing completion, he stumbled on an impediment. Kṛṣṇa repents his illicit animus nad seeks pardon of Rāḍhā. He thought of expressing that in these words :—"Deign, O, Lady, to put thy sprout-like feet on my head and quench the all-consuming fever of love." But his religious scruples would not permit it. Sad aad desperate he threw up his work and went to bed. To his surprise, the next morning he found a verse added to his manuscript, 'grant the

1. Lakṣmaṇasena was the patron of Śriḍharaḍāsa, author of Saduktikarṇāmṛṭa. Verses of Lakṣmaṇasena and his father Ballālasena are quoted in *SP*, *SKM*, and Padyāvali (See *CC*, I. 368). See Pischell *Die. Hof. Lichterdes Lakṣmaṇasena*, Gottingen; N. Vasdn, *Chronology of the several kings of Bengal*, *JASB*, XXV. 16. *Buhler's* Kash. Rep., 64; Princep's *Essays*, II. H. Beveridge, *IA*, XLVII. 272. His era began in 1119-20 AD. but on this question see *IA*, IV. 300, 167, *IA*, XIX. 2. See also S. Kumar, *On the date of Lakshmanasena*, *IA*, XLII. 185; D. C. Bhattacarya, *Date of Lakshmanasena and his predecessers*, *IA*, XLI. 145; XLVIII. 171; XLIX. 189. For other papers see R. D. Bauerjee, *JASB*. IX. 271; N. G. Mujumdar, *JASB*. (1913), 275, *EI*, XV. 281; Lassen, *Ins. Alt.* IV. 815. Śriḍharadāsa says however that his Saduktikarṇāmṛṭa was composed in 21st year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign which was concurrent with 1127th year of Saka. That would put the accession to 1106 A.D. see Smith (*EHI*, 405) gives dates 1170-1200 A.D.

2. Tradition has preserved a verse, said to be part of an inscription, which says

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः । कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

3. वाग्देवताचरितचित्रितचित्तसद्मा पद्मावतीचरणचारणचक्रवर्ती ।
श्रीवासुदेवरतिकेलिकथासमेतमेतं करोति जयदेवकविः प्रबन्धम् ॥

noble sprout of thy foot to be the ornament on my head, which shall be the antidote to the poison of love."[1] This he thought was the grace of Kṛṣṇa himself and the poem was soon complete. The village where the Gītagovinda was composed has since been called Jayadevapura. His poem was admired everywhere. He was regarded as inspired. Hundreds flocked to him for spiritual instruction. A noble prince of Ajmeer gave him funds for the celebration of an annual festival of Kṛṣṇa, but on his way home, he was attacked by a robber band and deprived of all his possessions. He was then entertained for some years at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena, Vaidya king of Bengal. He died at Kenduli in happy retirement about 1120 A.D. His anniversary is celebrated by his followers on the Sukla Śaptamī of the Paushya month.[2]

The poem was held in much esteem in Orissa. It was ordered to be sung in temples by King Pratāparudradeva,[3] and King Puruṣottamadeva (1470-1497 A.D.)[4] composed Abhinava-Gītagovinda.

295. Gitagovinda is a celestial song in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa. His wife Padmāvati danced with him in accompaniment to his tunes. The poem has 12 cantos and 24 astapadis.[5] The cantos correspond to the Kāndas of Bhāgavata and astapadis to the 24 alphabets of Gāyatrī. Each astapadi begins with a chorus followed by eight feet at the end of each of which the chorus is repeated. The melody and time of every song, that is, rāga and tāla are mentioned at the outset. The

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1. स्मरगरळखण्डनं मम शिरसि मण्डनं धेहि पदपल्लवमुदारम् ।
ज्वलति मयि दारुणो मदनकदनारुणो हरतु तदुपाहितविकारम् ॥

2. *Sah.* IX. 95; *SR*, II. 59. On Jayadeva generally, see D. Sen's *History of Bengali Literature*; M. Duff's *Chronology* 136; R. C. Dutt, *Civ.* II. 295; Weber, *IL*, 210 note. *Lassen, IA't*; IV. 815; Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, III. 185. Tawney's *Prabandhachintamani*, xviii. 181-3. M. Cakravarti, "*Sanskrit Literature in Bengal under Sena rule*", *JASB*, (1906) 157. Life of Jayadeva is found in Bhaktavijayam (Andhra) (1) by Śrīpāda Subrahmanya. (2) by Dhanala Koyat Devaradajee (Printed). (3) by Devarapalli Candraya, Vadlamudi, Bapatla Taluk (unprinted) and in Candradatta's Bhaktamālā (Printed, Bombay) See *Int.* to *Kāvyamālā*, Edn.

3. See *JASB*, LXXII. 96, 146.

4. *HPR*, (1895-100), 17.

5. For a detailed description, see *SR*, II. (1899) 59; and *Jayadeva and his Idyll*, *Sah.* III. 95, IX. 96. Printed everywhere. Translated into English by Edwin Arnold; into German by Rickert (Leipsig), into French by Courtellier (Paris); by Lassen (Bonn). This poem is quoted in the Subhāṣitāvali and Śārngadharapaddhati and by Potaraya in his Prasangaratnāvali composed in 1460 A.D. (*DC*, XX. 8065).

melody gives the keynote and the other notes in the gamut, which are used in the song.[1]

296. This work marks, according to Macdonnel,[2] the transitional stage between pure lyric and pure drama,—"a lyrical drama, which though dating from the twelfth century is the earliest literary specimen of a primitive type of play that still survives in Bengal and must have preceded the regular dramas. The poem contains no dialogue in the proper sense, for its three characters only engage in a kind of lyrical monologue, of which one of the other two is supposed to be an auditor, sometimes even no one at all. The subject of the poem is the love of Krishna for the beautiful cowherdess Radha, the estrangement of the lovers and their final reconciliation. It is taken from that

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1. The melody for instance of the first astapadi is Mālava, the notes of which are C, D, flat, E, F, G, A, flat, and B with C as the keynote.

In Hindu dated 16-11-1927, P. R. Sundara Iyer, Headmaster, Training School, Trichinopoly writes: "There has been some doubt among musicians here about the authenticity of the Ragas assigned to each Ashtapadi. Let us examine the Ragas of Ashtapadis as per Kumbha. The Raga assigned to the first Ashtapadi as per heading is Malava. Kumbha clearly states that he is making a change and signs the first Ashtapadi in Madhyamadi, (Shadava) in Madhyamagrama. He states as his reason that the thought that is conveyed has to be adjusted and expressed in that Raga alone. He says;—

प्रत्यज्ञायि प्रबन्धो यो जयदेवेन धीमता । न तस्य विद्यते लक्ष्म सर्वाङ्गैरुपलक्षितम् ॥

अतस्स्वरादिभिष्षड्भिरङ्गैस्संयोज्य तथ्यताम् । नीत्वा गीत्वा तदा हित्वा कुट्टिकासु प्रवर्त्यते ॥

which means: "The composition was made by Jayadeva and it is musically imperfect in so many ways. I shall, therefore, provide it with the Svaras and the other limbs of music and give it its true colour" etc. So, Kumbha—a musician himself, of course an expert musician of the northern side—clearly means that the music of Jayadeva in the original was bad and he was constrained to effect a change in the melody as evidenced by the further statement in the preface—गमकालापपेशलतया मध्यमग्रामे षाडवेन मध्यमग्रहेण मध्यमादिरागेण गीयते. As it is provided with flourishes and is fit for sweet singing as a Raga, it has to be sung in Madhyamadi—a Sadava Raga (six-note Raga) of the Madhyama Grama.

It has to be noted that Kumbha of Mewar, a musician-king as he was, had the necessity to change the original tunes of Jayadeva even as early as the 14th century. Perhaps or more than that, the same necessity was felt by the musicians of the South and for the very reason assigned by Kumbha, the Southern musicians have adjusted the Ashtapadi to the South Indian Ragas now current. By the way, there is in South India, a system in which particular Ragas are assigned to particular ideas for the expression of the lover in particular stages. Take the Nayaki in sixteenth Ashtapadi—Punnagavarali has been specially selected for the expression of the same stage of the same sentiment by the musicians of the South like Kshetrajna."

2. *Sanskrit Literature*, 344.

episode of Krishna's life in which he himself was herdsman living on the banks of the Yamuna and enjoying to the full the love of the cowherdesses. The only three characters of the poem are Krishna, Radha and a cupid mate of the latter."[1]

In the melody of its diction, in the perfection of its composition, in the ease of its alliteration and in the expression of varied emotions, Gīṭagovinḍa has probably the first place in the lyrical literature of the world. Indian mind is mostly philosophical and so was presumably the mind of Jayaḍeva, full of his devotion to the deity he addressed. The sexual ideas, apparent in the verses, have received at the hands of Indian commentators, an allegorical explanation of divine philosophy, as the longing and union of the supreme and the individual souls.[2]

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1. See, for instance

चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेबर पीतवसनवनमाली ।
केलिचलन्मणिकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डयुगः स्मितशाली ॥
हरिरिह मुग्धवधूनिकरे विलासिनि विलसतिकेलिपरे ध्रुवम् ॥
पीनपयोधरभारभरेण हरिं परिरभ्य सरागम् ।
गोपवधूरनुगायति काचिदुदञ्चितपञ्चमरागम् ॥ हरि ...
कापि विलासविलोलविलोचनखेलनजनितमनोजम् ।
ध्यायति मुग्धवधूरधिकं मधुसूदनवदनसरोजम् ॥ हरि ...
कापि कपोलतले मिलिता लपितुं किमपि श्रुतिमूले ।
कापि चुचुम्ब नितम्बवती दयितं पुलकैरनुकूले ॥ हरि ...
केलिकलाकुतुकेन काचिदमुं यमुनाजलमूले ।
मञ्जुलवञ्जुलकुञ्जगतं विचकर्ष करेण दुकूले ॥ हरि ...
श्लिष्यति कामपि चुम्बति कामपि कामपि रमयति रामाम् ।
पश्यति सस्मितचारुतरामपरामनुगच्छति वामाम् ॥ हरि ...
श्रीजयदेवभणितमिदमद्भुतकेशवकेळिरहस्यम् ।
बृन्दावनविपिने ललितं वितनोतु शुभानि यशस्यम् ॥ हरि ...

2. C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar says "There are four aspects in which the Gita Govindam or Ashtapadi may be viewed (1) Literary (2) Devotional (3) Musical (4) Mystical. The mystical nature is hinted both in the beginning and end of the work but a full exposition is given in the middle. Radha is not a woman but a thing representing the materialism, and the whole is a gradual story of the pilgrimage of the soul up to the path of glory.

The Ashtapadhi begins in a way which gives the whole key to the mysticism. Nanda who was tending his cattle carries the child Krishna. It was a dark night and the sky was cloudy. He entrusts the babe to Radha and Ashtapadi describes the love affair between Radha and Krishna on the banks of the Yamuna or Jamna. Mystically viewed Jumna is that portion between the two eye brows.

Rāmagītagovinda and Rādhākṛṣṇavilāsa are attributed to Jayadeva.[1]

297. There are commentaries,[2] by Udayanācārya, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Gopāla, Nārāyaṇadāsa, Bhāvācārya, Rāmatāraṇa, Rāmadatta, Rūpadeva, Vitthala, Viśveśvara, Śalinātha, Hṛdayābharaṇa, Tirumalārya, Śrīkanthamiśra, Gidānanda by Lakṣmīdhara also called Lakṣmaṇasūri,[3] by Kṛṣṇadatta,[4] by Jagaddhara,[5] by Vanamālibhatta,[6] by Pitambara,[7] by

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The first song among the others is remarkable in that it mentions the name of the Raga. In it Jayadev tells us of the ten Avatars. Krishna does not find a place in this list but at the end of the chapter he says that Krishna is the spirit of these ten Avatarsa In this work, Jayadev gives the real significance of the Buddha Avatar, which according to the Puranas, have been given a wrong version by the orthodox Brahminsm. olden days and who twisted the Vedas to serve their own purpose. The Gita Govind is the best authority of the ten Avatars, and specially of the real nature of the Buddah Avatar."

1. The first is mentioned in Prapancadarpaṇa (*TC*, III. 4034) of Venkatakavisārvabhama. For the second, see *IC*, VII. 1480, and for the first, see *JGOS*, Vol. XLI. See Garcin de Tassy Christomathi hindie et hindine, p. 471 where in the Bhaktamal the Raja of Nilācala is stated to have tried unsuccessfully to pass off a Gitagovinda of his own for that of Jayadeva. See *IOC*, VII. 1480.

2. *CC*, I. 153, II. 81, III. 33.

3. It is called *Śrutiranjani* (*DC*, XX. 7992 ff). He was son of Yajneśvara and Saryāmbā and grandson of Timmayasomayaji of Cherukuru family, a native of the Kṛṣṇa District. He refers to a poem of his and was also the author of Sadbhāṣācandrikā, Svaramanjarī, Alankāramuktavali (*CC*, I. 32a) and commentaries on Prasanna-Rāghava and Anargharāghava and refers to his work Rasamanjari His step-brother of Kondubhattopadhyāya, whose son Yajnesvaradīkṣita, wes the author of Alankāra rāghava and Alankārasuryodaya (see chapter on Poetics *post*). On Lakṣmīdhara, see *Int. to Gaṅgāvatarana* (Kavyamala No. 76) 13; *SR*, II. 63, 67, 69, 202, and *SVH*, 212. In the colophon to the commentary on Anargharāghava it is said Lakṣmīdhara became an ascetic and assumed the name of Rāmānanda under his guru Kṛṣṇāśrama.

Another manuscript (*DC*, XX. 7989-92) attributes the commentary Śrutiranjani to Tirumalāraya, son of Tirumalāmbā and Śrirangarāja, of Ātreya gotra. Tirumala was the younger brother of Aliya Rāmarāya, the son-in law of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. After the battle of Talikota in 1565, Tirumala changed his capital to Penukonda and ruled for 18 years. He was the patron oft he author of Vasucarita, the Telugu poem and brother of Venkatādri. The introductory verses give these details, (See paras 124, 144 *supra*).

Lakṣmīdhara was a poet of the court of Tirumala I of Vijianagar of Aravidu Dynasty (1567-1575 A.D.) About the latter, see Sewell's *Forg. Emp.* 178-404, *South Ind. Ins.* I. 70, *SVH*, xiv, 18. It is therefore quite possible that this commentary was written by Lakṣmīdhara under the patronage of Tirumalaraja of Penukonda.

4. *Ibid.*, called Śaśilekhā. The author was a native of Mithila. He explains every verse as referring to Siva, *Ulvar*, *Cat.* 37, *IO*, 187.

5. This is called Sāradīpikā. The author says he referred to several commentaries and wrote his own. *DC*, XX. 7997.

6. *PR*, II. 188. He also wrote a play Adbhutarāghava, *CC*, III. 2.

7. *Gough*, 87.

Śeṣakamalākara and Śeṣaratnākara,[1] by Vāsudeva Vācāsundara,[2] by Anūpabhūpaṭi,[3] by Srīkanthamiśra,[4] by Nārāyaṇa,[5] by Sānkaramiśra,[6] by Bhagavaḍḍāsa,[7] by Kumbhakarṇarāja,[8] by Lakṣmaṇa,[9] by Caiṭanyaḍāsa Pūjaka,[10] by Mānānka,[11] and two anonymous, Sangrahaḍīpikā[12] and Balaboḍhinī.[13]

In the Nirnayasāgara edition there are eight verses in praise of the Ganges, Gangāsṭava, printed, It is thought that is the work of Ḍhīra Jayaḍeva, a later poet.[14]

298. Among other works composed on this model are Gīṭagaurīpaṭi of Bhānuḍaṭṭa,[15] Kṛṣṇgīṭa of Somanāṭha,[16] Gīṭarāghava of Hari Śankara,[17] Gīṭarāghava of Prabhākara,[18] Gīṭarāghava of Rāmakavi,[19] Gīṭagirīśa of Rāma,[20] Sangīṭamāḍhava of Govinḍaḍāsa,[21]

1. *IA*, XLII. 252. *BTC*, 158; *Bik.* 230; *Mys. Cat.* 245.
2. *SKC*, 281. Composed at the instance of king Chandrasahi of Gāḍhāpuri in the country of Tripuri near Narmadā.
3. *SKC*, 280. Prince Anupa seems to have been only the patron and not the real author.
4. *SKC*, 67.
5. *PR*, I, 114; *Bod. Cat.* 221; *IO*, 118.
6. Printed, Bombay. The author styles himself Mahāmahopāḍhyāya.
7. *CC*, I. 154.
8. Printed Bombay. On Kumbhakarṇa, see chapter on Music *post.* He was also the author of Saugītasuḍhā and Sangītarāja (*CC*, I. 111).
9. It was composed at Śrī Puruṣoṭṭama Kṣeṭra (Puri) in Śaka 1664 (1586 A.D.) *Mys. Cat.* 245.
10. *CSC* (1917) 590; *Mys. Cat.* 245.
11. *PR*, III. 280.
12. *DC*, XX. 7996 probably by Jivagoswāmi. There is another anonymous commentary in *SKC*, 67.
13. *CSC* (1907), 33-4.
14. There are Gangāsṭava (1) by Kavikarṇāpura (2) by Deveśvara (3) by Haribhāskara (4) by Gangāḍhara (5) bp Saṭyaghanānanḍaṭirṭha, printed in Bombay, in Bṛhaṭsṭoṭraraṭnākara, 344, and in Haberlin, 471. See *CC*, I. 140.
15. Printed, Bombay. There is another poem Kṛṣṇagīṭa in more than 9 cantos, on which there is a commentary by Ananṭanārāyaṇa Śāsṭri, *TC*, III. 3915.
16. Printed, Bombay.
17. *HR*, II. 83. See *CC*, III. 33.
18. *BR*, (1884), 3, 9; *CC*, I 154. He was the son of Bhuḍhara. He composed it in 1674 A.D.
19. *Mys. OML*, 246.
20. *Oxf*, 129. He was son of Śrīnāṭha. There is a commentary by Āṭmārāma, *NW*, 616,
21. He wrote also Karṇāmṛṭa and lived in 1537-1612 A.D. See Dinescandra Sen's *History of Bengali Literature*, 547.

Gītavītarāga by Abhinavacārukīrti,[1] Gītagangāḍhara (i) by Kalyāṇa,[2] (ii) by Rajaśekhara and (iii) by Candrasekharasarasvaṭi,[3] Śivagīṭimālikā,[4] by Canḍaśikhāmaṇi,[5] Ramoḍaharaṇagīṭikāvya,[6] Śivāṣṭapaḍī by Venkatappa Naik of Mysore,[7] Gīṭaśaṭaka by Sunḍarācārya,[8] Sangīta-Raghunanḍana by Viśvanāṭha,[9] Sangīṭasunḍara by Saḍāśiva Ḍīkṣīṭa.[10]

Mukunḍavilāsa in six cantos describes the sports of Hari and Hara as if they were one.[11] Śankaiīsangīṭa of Jayanārāyaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇacanḍra, in 12 patalas, describes the marriage of Pārvaṭi and Śiva.[12]

299. Vamsamani was the son of Rāmacanḍra of the Vilvapanca race of Maithila Brahmanas. He lived in Nepal and wrote Gīṭaḍigambara on the occasion of a Ṭulāpuruṣaḍāna by Praṭāpamalla Ḍevi of Katmandu in Saka 1577 (1655 A.D.). "It was composed to entertain the princes and panditas assembled to see the Tulapurusadana in which the king in his armours weighs himself against gold and other precious metals and gives them away to Brahmans. Pratapa was himself a poet and his Astakas are to be found in all the holy places in Nepal inscribed at prominent places on stone. It is meet that on an auspicious occasion like this that he should encourage a Sanskrit dramatic performance."[13]

300. Venkataramanaiya (C), a principal of Sanskrit College, Bangalore, is the author of several works. Of these Kamalāvijaya is a play in five acts, developed from the story of Tennyson's Cup, a tragedy in two acts. It has no prakrit. The pith of the story is as he says the victory of Virtue over Vice. His NAVAGITAKUSUMANJALI is meant "to bring home to every one that there is only one divine power called God who is worshipped and contemplated under various names and forms by different kinds of people in the world. To include this all important truth, the popular Hindu theology and mythology have been adopted as far as the narration of the story is concerned, keeping at the same time the central idea running throughout each part or poem. The poem is of 108 verses divided into 9 parts, viz., (1) Ramagīṭā containing essence of Rāmāyaṇa, (2) Kṛṣṇagīṭā, narrating briefly the story of Bhāgavaṭa, (3) Ḍaśāvaṭāragīṭā explaining the objects of ten avataras of Vishnu, (4) Ganesagīṭa showing that God under this name

1. *Mys. OML*, 246.
2. *Oxf*, 129.
3. *Mys. OML*, 245.
4. *CAL*. II. 17.
5. *Mys. OML*, 255.
6. *Mys. OML*, 635.
7. *BTC*, 163. He ruled in 1582-1629 A.D.
8. Printed, Bombay,
9. *Ulwar*, 980.
10. *CC*, I. 690.
11. *Mitra*, X.
12. *TC*, IV. 4587; *CC*, I. 690.
13. *HPR*, I. 18 *CC*, III. 83.

is also God of Universe and none else, (5) Sadgurugītā similarly indicating that all true knowledge proceeds from the great intelligence, the fountain head of all knowledge, (6) Sivagītā explaining the Śiva aspect of God and demonstrates with convincing reasons that there is no difference between Bramha, Viṣṇu and Śiva as far as central truth is coucerned, (7) Vānīgitā, (8) Lakṣmīgīta and Gourīgītā showing that even female aspects of Divine Power contribute in effect to the same central idea."

301. Narayanatirtha is said to be the last incarnation of Madhāvānala.[1] He calls himself the pupil of Śivarāmānandatīrtha. He lived at Kuchimanci Agraharam in Godavari District about 1700 A.D.[2] His Kṛṣnalīlataranginī embraces the story of Kṛṣna in 12 tarangas.[3] The musical modes and rhythmic time are specified and explanatory verses are inserted between the songs. The poem is fit for the lyre and showers sentiments of devotion.

Kṛṣṇalīlātaranginī of Bellamkonda Rāmaśāstri is a work of similar description.[4]

Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta of Viśvanātha,[5] Kṛṣṇabhakticandrikā, Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta with Acyutarao Modak's commentary, Kṛṣṇānandalaharī and Kṛṣṇāmṛtataraṅgikā of Venkateśa[6] have the same theme.

302. Among the friends of Jayadeva in the Court of King Lakṣmaṇasena were Govardhana, Śaraṇa, Umāpati and Dhoyi Kavirāja alias Śrutadhara. Jayadeva mentions them thus in Gītagovinda :[7]

वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरस्सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरां
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणश्श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुतेः ।
शृङ्गारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्यगोवर्धन-
स्पर्धी कोपि न विश्रुतश्श्रुतधरो धोयी कविक्ष्मापतिः ॥

1. See para 290 *supra*.

2. I examined the Inam register from the Collector's office. The grant was by Kolavennu Buchama Rao and Timmanna Rao in Fasli 1151, subsequently confirmed by Morgin Beg in Hizra 1157 and certified by the Collector on 4th May 1715. The original grantees were Bhāgavatula Linganna and Gopalam, Peddibhotla Gurulingam, Vedantam Ramesam and 5 others.

3. *DC*, XX. 7953 ; *IOC*, VII. 1462.

4. See under that author *post*.

5. Printed, Bombay.

6. Printed, Bombay.

7. Tradition says so :

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः ।
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

303. Dhoyi had the fuller title Gavai Ḍhoyi Kavirāja.[1] He was Śruṭaḍhara, because he learnt by a single hearing. His PAVANADUTA[2] describes the message of Kuvalayāvaṭī to King Lakṣmanasena and is on the model of Meghaḍūṭa. His Saṭyabhāmā-Kṛṣṇasamvāḍa[3] is not now available.

304. Sarana, says Jayadeva there, was quick but hard in versification.

305. Govardhana[4] was son of Nīlāmbara Somayājin. He had a brother Balabhaḍra and a pupil Uḍayana. He calls himself an Ācārya. His Āryāsapṭaśaṭī[5] or shortly Sapṭaśaṭī is a collection of 700 verses on various subjects, erotic in character, in the order of the Sanskrit alphabets. The flow of his diction keeps with the running gait of the Āryā metre.[6] He refers to Lakṣmaṇasena in his poem as a master of arts.[7] There are commentaries on it by Gokulacanḍra,[8] by Ananṭa, son of Ṭryambaka,[9] by Gangārāma[10] and one anonymous.[11]

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1. *Keith, LS*, 220. For quotations in anthologies, see Thomas, *Kav*. 122. The Kavirāja mentioned in the memorial verse quoted page 345 *supra* is therefore the same as Dhoyi. This dispels the suspicion of the identification of that Kavirāja with the author of the Rāghavapāndavīya. Gavaii s a Hindustani title for a learned musician. Kavirāja is the Sankrit title of an excellent poet, versed in different languages.

दन्तिव्यूहं कनकलतिकां चामरं हैमदण्डं यो गौडेन्द्रादलभत कविक्ष्माभृतां चक्रवर्ती ।
श्रीधोयीकः सकलरसिकप्रीतिहेतोर्मनस्वी काव्यं सारस्वतमिव महामन्त्रमेतज्जगाद ॥
Pavanaḍuṭa, 101.

2. Ed. Calcutta. See also *JASB*, (1906) 41 ; *HPR*, I. 227.
3. This is referred to in Prapancadarpana of Venkatakavi Sārvabhauma. (*TC*, III. 4094). See Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1916-19), 36.
4. Referred to as a playwright in Daśarupa (Ed. by Hall, 30 note). Keith, *SL*, 202.
5. Ed, Bombay. See Sir William Jone's Works, XIII. 4096. Colebrooke's *Mis. Essays*, II. 74 ; Wilson's *Pref. to Dictionary*, xxxi.
6. अतिपूजिततारेयं दृष्टिश्श्रुतिलङ्घनक्षमा सुतनु ।
जिनसिद्धान्तस्थितिरिव सवासना कं न मोहयति ॥

Here on the pretence of describing the beauty of a maiden's eyes, the poet denounces Jainism.

7. सकलकलाः कल्पयितुं प्रभुः प्रबन्धस्य कुमुदबन्धोश्च ।
सेनकुलतिलकभूपतिरेको राकाप्रदोषश्च ॥

The explanation of the commentator on this verse that the king alluded to was Pravarasena of Kashmir is obviously wrong. See Peterson's *Int. to Subh*. 38.

8. *PR*, II. No. 79 ; *IOC*, VII 1527.
9. Ed, Benares. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2931 ; *IOC*, VII. 1527.
10. *Oudh*, (1877), 16,
11. *TC*, III. 4115.

The name of the work seems to have suggested itself from Hāla's Sapṭaśāṭi.[1]

Among similar works are Śṛngārasapṭaśaṭī (anonymous) (*BTC*, 164; *DC*, XX. 8015); Āryāsapṭaśaṭī of Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīḍhara (Printed Bombay; *DC.* XX. 8011); and Śṛngārasapṭaśaṭi by Paramānanḍa, son of Vrajacanḍra, composed in 1869 (Ed. Benares); Āryāḍvīsāṭi by Ḍūrvāsas (*Opp.* II. 4487, 8163, 8119); Āryāṭriśaṭī by Sāmarāja Ḍīkṣiṭa (Printed, Bombay); Āryāṭriśaṭīmukṭaka or Rasikaranjana of Vrajarāja (Printed, Bombay); Śivaḍayāsahasra by Nṛsimha (*Mys. OML*, 258); and Śivapāḍakamalareṇusahasra by Sunḍareśvara (Ibid.); Śrī Kanthaṭrisāṭī (*Mys.* 8).

306. Umapatidhara was the minister of King Lakṣmaṇasena. The story goes that to restrain the king from a scandalous alliance with a Māṭangī, the poet wrote some verses, indirectly hinting at the disgrace. The king was displeased and dismissed the minister. Sometime later, he noticed the poet wandering in the street in rags and when he addressed him another verse, the king repented and restored him to his favour.[2] His Kṛṣṇacariṭa prabably gives the life of Kṛṣṇa.[3] His

1. Ed. Bombay No. 21 (with Gangaḍhara's commentary). This is a piece of most exquisite poetry. It is said that the real author was Śṛipāliṭa, a poet of the court of Hāla: हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषश्श्रीपालितो लालितः (see para 21 note *supra*). See Durgaprasad's Int.; Weber's *Essay on the Saptasataka of Hala* with prose German Translation (Leipzic); Bhau Daji's *Essay on Śāṭavāhana*; Princep's *Essays*, II. 1544 *IA*, XII. 214. Buhler, *IA*, I. 307; Peterson *Int. to Kadambari* (*BSS*, 21, 74); T. Rajagopala Rao (*South Indian Research*, I. 225) identifies Śalivāhana with Śaṭavāhana; S. Konow's *Int. to Karpuramanjari* (*HOS*, 192); Macdonell (*SL*, 344), says it is a rich treasury of popular Indian lyrical poetry). Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 171; Mandlik, *JBRAS*, X. 127; V. Smith (*EH*. 208) gives the date of Hāla, as the 17th Andhra king, about 30 B.C. T. S. Narayana Sastri (*Sankara*, Part I D, 98) says he was the 18th King of the dynasty and son of Ariṣta Śāṭakarṇi and assigns him to Yuḍhisthirā era 1644-1649 (495-490 B.C.) To this Hāla he ascribes the patronage of Kaliḍāsa I, the author of the three dramas and relies on the Śankaravijaya of Ciṭsukha and Jagaḍgururaṭnamālikā of Sarasvaṭi to say that Āḍi Śankara was his contemporary. The name Hāla is synonymous with Sāla, Śaṭavahana, Śalavāhana. The are commentaries on Sapaṭaśaṭi by Gangāḍhara, Premarāja, Bhuvanapāla, Piṭāmbara, Sāḍhāraṇaḍeva, Kulabalaḍeva (*PR*, III. ap. 396; *CC*, I. 151) and Vemabhupāla (*TC*, IV. 5066). Hāla is said to be the patron of Guṇāḍhya. For several recensions, see Melkote Swami's Int. to Śṛngāraprakāśa.

2. See Rājaśekara's *Prabhanhḍacinṭāmaṇi*, (Tawney's Translation, 181, 183); Farquhar, (*ORL*, 306, 378) says Umāpaṭiḍhara was a contemporary of Viḍyāpaṭi at Tirhut of the 15th century A.D. See *JBRAS*, XXXIV, 142; and *ZDMG*, XL, some poems in Maithili are published in *JBRAS*, XLIII. 76; B. Chatterjee, *Padāvali Literature* (*Jl, of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta Univ. XVI. 44).

3. It is mentioned in Prapancaḍarpaṇa (*TC*, III. 4094).

PARIJATAPAHARANA[1] is a short drama and contains musical pieces. Nārada presented a Pārijāṭa flower to Kṛṣṇa and this he gave to Rukmiṇī. Saṭyabhāmā grew jealous and when Kṛṣṇa sent word to Indra for some more, they were refused. Kṛṣṇa with Arjuna as his lieutenant went to war, defeated Indra and brought the flowers.

Umāpaṭiḍhara composed the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena,[2] and his verses are quoted in Saḍukṭikarṇāmṛṭa and Sūkṭimukṭāvali. Śaraṇa called also Ciraṭṭanaśaraṇa is quoted in Saḍuktikarṇāmṛṭa.

There are *poems* on the same theme by Kavirāja (see para 87 supra), by Nārāyaṇa (see para 214 supra); by Raghunāṭha (see para 146 supra, *DC.* XX, 7848, XXI, 8397); a *campū* by Śeṣakṛṣṇa (*Bik.* 256, *CC*, I. 335) and *plays* by Gopālaḍasa[3] (*CC*, I. 335) by Kavicanḍroḍaya and by Kumāraṭaṭācārya called Caṭurveḍi Śaṭakraṭu (*TC*, II. 2374; *SVH*, 254).

307. Amarukasataka. In his visit to Māhiṣmaṭi, Śankara encountered Mandana and sought a controversy. Mandana's wife was Bhāraṭī, an incarnation of Sarasvaṭī. They set her as their umpire and after a long interval Mandana acknowledged defeat and became an ascetic adopting the tenets of Śankara. Then Bhāraṭi "begged the favour of a controversy with herself; for Sankara had as yet defeated but one half of Mandana, herself being the other half. He objected to arguing with women, but she quoted precedents. So, as before, the disputation went on for seventeen days. Bharati trying to discomfit Sankara passed from one Sastra to another; and finding at last that she could not inflict a defeat on him in any other science she resolved to humble him by means of the Science of Love or Kama-sastra. Now Sankara had not had the experience needed to answer questions on this science, and so found that his reputation as well as the consequent victory of his cause was at stake. Se he begged of her an interval of one month for preparation to meet her in argument, which being allowed, he went to the banks of Narmada, and in the hole of a tree in some forest there he left his body in hiding and asked some of his

1. *JBORS*, III. 20-98; Ed. Grierson with translation by Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 335) says it was written in the reign of Hindupaṭi Hariharaḍeva. Grierson says that Umāpaṭi lived at the Court of Harisimhaḍeva of Miṭhila, whom Umāpaṭi calls Hariharaḍeva.

2. *EI*, I. 307-11.

3. Gopāla Bhatta, author of the drama Sānanḍa-Govinḍa (*CC*, I. 707; *Levi*, app. 81) and Gopālārāya, author of the bhāṇas, Sṛngārarāja and Śṛngāramanjarī (*CC*, II. 158, 160) are different.

disciples to keep watch over it while the living soul was away from it. Then by means of his *Yogic* powers he separated his soul from that body and luckily came upon the dead body of a King Amaruka, which was about to be committed to flames, and entered it. The king rose and all the town rejoiced. However, in a short while, the ministers as well as the queens of the late king found some things extraordinary about their restored sovereign and suspected that the soul of some Mahatman had come to live in the body of their master. So messengers were secretly sent to search for a human body hidden in lonely spots or caves, and to burn when found, so that the Mahatman might remain with them and the king continue to live long time. Meanwhile Sankara in the body of the king was acquiring the experiences of love with his queens and was recording those experiences in a treatise which has come down to us under the name of *Amaruka-sataka.* And in the midst of these lovely women and their blandishments, he forgot his promise to his disciples about his going back to them; and the month agreed upon soon passed away. The disciples then began to search for him; and hearing the miraculous resurrection of Amaruka, they went to his city, sought audience with he king, and sang a few philosophic songs which at once roused the memory of Sankara. Then they hastened to the place where the body had been secreted. But by this time the messengers of the king had found it out and had just begun to set fire to it. The unattached soul of Sankara now hastened back and entered his own body in this perilous condition. He then prayed to Vishnu conceived as Nrisimha to help him, which he did by sending down a timely shower of rain that put out the flames. Sankara was now in his own body again."[1]

Apart from the merit of this story, the graces of Amaruka's cenception and expression are unique. Vāmana and Ānanḍavarḍhana quote the verses and that is a worthy recognition of its quality and its age.[2]

308. The poem is a śaṭaka or century, but the four recensions have only 51 verses in common; these are the texts used by Rāmaruḍra, Ravicanḍra, Arjunavarman and Vemabhūpāla.[3] Each verse depicts the

1. C. V. Krishnasami Iyer, *Sankaracarya*, 45.

2. *CC*, I. 27, II. 5, 187; III. 7. R. Simon, *Das Amarucataka*, Keil; *ZDMG.* XLIX. 577; Macdonell, *SL*, 342; *SR.* II. 47.

3. Aufrecht (*ZDMG*, XXVII. 7) says "The form Amaru owes its origin to the desire to make a good Sanskrit word of the name; the form Amaru is more easily handled. Only the verses written in the Sardulavikridita metre appear to have formed the original collection. Some of the verses attributed to Amaru (in the Sarangadhara-paddhati) are not in the present very incorrect editions. On the other hand we find other verses which in the Indian editions are ascribed to this poet, in our manuscripts of the Sarangadharapaddhati either given anonymously or ascribed to a different author."

condition of the Nāyikā in a particular mood towards her Nāyaka. "The Sataka" says Keith "is essentially a collection of pictures of love, and it differs from the work of Bhartṛhari in that, while Bhartṛhari deals rather with general aspects of love and women as factors in life, Amaru paints the relation of lovers, and takes no thought of other aspects of life. Possibly if the reference to the purpose in the title in the manuscripts has any value he may have planned illustrating other sides of life, but that is idle conjecture and we have sufficient cause to be grateful to him for what he has given us without seeking more. The love which Amaru likes is gay and high spirited, delighting in tiny tiffs and lovers' quarrels but ending in smiles; the poet hardly ever contemplates the utter disappearance of love."[1]

There are commentaries[2] by Arjunavarman[3] by Kokasambhava,[4] by Śeṣarāmakṛṣṇa,[5] by Caturbhujamiśra,[6] by Nandalāla,[7] by Rudramadeva,[8] Ravicandra,[9] by Rāmarudra,[10] by Vemabhūpāla,[11] by Sūryadāsa,[12] by Śaṅkarācārya,[13] by Venkatavarada,[14] by Hariharabhatta,[15] by Devaśankarabhatta,[16] by Gosthīpūrendra,[17] and two others anonymous.[18] Jnānānanda Kalādharasena explains the verses in the senses of love and renunciation.[19]

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1. Keith, *SL*. 183, where he gives a fine exposition of the poet's plan of the poem and conception. See Peterson *Int. to Subh*. 2 and Thomas's *Int. to Kav*. 22.
2. See *CC*, I. 27, II, 5, 187, III, 7; *Mys. OML*. 242; *CAL*, II. 2.
3. Ed. Bombay by Durgaprasad with a valuable introduction. King Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman. He ruled about sam. 1267 (1211 AD). See for inscriptions, *JASB* V. 378, *JAOS*, VII. 32, 25. For verses in the anthologies, see Peterson's Int. to Subh. He refers to poet Madana, who was his guru as an author on rhetoric.
4. *CAL*, II. 2.
5. Int. by Durgaprasad, *l.c.* 3.
6. *Oudh* (1877), 16.
7. *PR*, III. 393.
8. *CC*, III. 7.
9. *Oudh*, XVI, 54. See *SKC*, 277.
10. *CC*, I. 28. *IOC*, VII. 1520.
11. *DC*, XX. 7978, 7981; *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 2914-26; *TC*. III. 2706, 2718. Vema is the hero of Vāmana's Viranārāyaṇacarita.
12. *CC*, II. 5.
13. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2907-13.
14. See *DC*, XXI. 8573.
15. *CC*, I. 28.
16. *CC*, II. 5.
17. *CAL*, II. 2.
18. *CC*, I. 28; *IOC*, 711.
19. Printed, Calcutta. *Oudh*, XIX, 40; *SKC*. 66.

309. Rtusamhara[1] in six cantos is a short poem of 153 verses of various metres ascribed to Kālidāsa,[2] descriptive of the six seasons of the year. "With glowing appreciation of the beauties of Nature, in which erotic scenes are interspersed, the poet adroitly interweaves the expression of human emotions."

On the question whether Kālidāsa was the real author of this poem, opinion is divided.[3] Among arguments advanced for the negative are that Mallinātha did not comment on it and rhetoricians did not quote from it. Keith answers the arguments thus:[4] "More deplorable still are some of the æsthetical arguments adduced; complaint is made that the poet begins with the summer whereas the spring was the usual beginning of the year forgetting that Kalidasa was not composing an almanac or writing a Shephard's calendar. Again, heart or its derivatives (tap) is found seven times in Canto I as if this did not accord with summer, as does eagerness (samutsukatva) with the rains and longing (utkantha) with autumn. The poet is censured for asserting that the swans excel maidens in beauty of gait and the branches rob their arms of loveliness; later, he was not guilty of such discourtesy. He mixes a metaphor in speaking of clouds as having the lightning as creeper; as we have seen, Vatsabhatti borrows the phrase, and exploits two other verses of the poem, proving its antiquity and rendering most probable its authorship. It is objected that he uses here only the construction amulatah, in lieu of the ablative, though equally once only in the Kumarasambhava he has amekhalam; the freshness and liveliness of the several verbal forms (ii. 19) is unparalleled and therefore, not by Kalidasa. Even the lack of developed use of figures of speech is adduced against him, and the

1. Printed everywhere. Ed. with commentary of Maṇirāma by Durgaprasad: with commentary by Gajendragadkar, Bombay; with commentary of Venkatacarya and notes and English translation by M. P. Kale, Bombay; with notes and English translation by B. G. Kher, and also by Sitarama Ayyar, Bombay. Tr. into Latin and German by Bohlen, Leipsic. Ed. by Herman Kreyenburg, Hanover with preface by Sir William Jones.

2. For a short account of the work, see Macdonell, *SL*. 337-9; *Studies of Ritusamhara*, Karmoyagin Journal; Apte's *Age of Kalidasa*, 35. Vrajarāja's Sadṛtuvarṇana describes the seasons (Printed, Bombay). So does Śiśirartuvarṇana (*CC*, I. 655).

3. It is not: Harichand, *Kalidasa*, 240; Walter, *Indica*, III. 6; Nobel, *ZDMG*, LXVI. 275, *JRAS*. (1913), 401. It is: Macdonell, *SL*; Keith, *SL*, 82. *JRAS*, (1912) 1066, (1913) 410; Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, 66; Strenzler, *ZDMG*, XLIV. 33; Arabinda Ghose, *Kalidasa's Seasons*, Madras.

4. *SL*, 82.

use of samhara in the title has been questioned as unique. Poets happily do not feel themselves bound to be parrots." In dealing with the date of Kāliḍāsa[1] it was pointed out how wide the divergence is among scholars and so long as standard of taste and judgment differs in nature, it is not possible to assert the infallibility of any conclusion, until and unless something certain is discovered to support a view. It is again a matter for inquiry whether the works foisted on the name of Kāliḍāsa are not really the works of different Kāliḍāsas and whether lapse of time has not tended to ignore the difference in identity.[2] It is likely the work of Kāliḍāsa III or Kotijiṭ.

Śṛngāraṭilaka[3] is another poem "of Kalidasa" in 23 verses of fine sentiments of love and affection.[4]

Puṣpabāṇavilāsa[5] is a piece of fine fancies and lyrical beauty. Though ascribed to Kāliḍāsa, the real author was Arkabhatta, the writer of Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī.[6] There are commentaries on it by Venkatapanḍiṭārāya,[7] and by an unknown author called Śṛngāra-canḍrikā.[8]

Besides the poems Ḍurghatakāvyaciṭrakā,[9] Ḍuṣkaramāla,[10] Ciṭga-ganacanḍrikā (in praise of Ḍevi and of exquisite grace)[11] and Bhramarāṣtaka,[12] and Śrutabodha on prosody,[13] Aufrecht mentions the following works under Kāliḍāsa's name: Ambāsṭava, Kālīsṭoṭra, Laghusṭava, Viḍvaḍvinoḍakāvya, Bṛnḍāvanakāvya, Śringārasāra, Gangāstaka, Mangalāstaka, Candikāḍandakasṭoṭra.[14]

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1. See para 13 *supra*.
2. See para 24 *supra*.
3. Ed. everywhere; Ed. by Gildemeister, Bombay and in *Haeberlin*, 14. See Keith, *SL*, 199.
4. For instance, पयोधराकारधरो हि कन्दुकः करेण रोषादभिहन्यते मुहुः ।
5. Ed. Bombay and elsewhere.
6. See *PR*, VI.
7. *TC*, III. 2719, 4171.
8. *TC*, II. 1356.
9. Printed Kāvyakalāpa, Calcutta.
10. There is a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. There is a commentary on it by Durgayya, alias Simhaswāmi, son of Vāsuḍeva of Śithamarasaṇagoṭra of about the 18th century A.D.
11. *Mys. Cat.* It is quoted by Abhinavaguptā in his commentary on Praṭyabhijnāsuṭra, and Dāvāraṭhi in his commentary on Dhvānyalokalocana.
12. *CAL*, II. 8.
13. Ed. everywhere; by M.E. Lancereau, Paris.
14. *CC*. I. 99.

310. Damodaragupta was the famous poet of the court of King Jayāpīda of Kashmir who ruled between 751-732 A.D.[1] He was that king's constant companion. His Kuttinīmata or Śambhālīmata is an amusing work on erotics of peculiar interest.[2] The scene is laid at Benares, a city where even courtesans by their ornaments (candra) and troops of attendant lovers (bhujanga) attain likeness to Śiva. A gentle courtesan of that city, Mālatī, once heard from the terrace of her house, an āryā sung by chance, directing women to acquire the art of pleasing lovers. Then she sets off to the house of Vikarālā, a woman, the reverse of beautiful, and from her learns 'wonderful ways of beguiling the hearts of men.' The work is full of stories in illustration and is a practical treatise in the art. For instance, the whole story of Ratnāvali is summed up. Dāmodaragupta is a loveabie author and never misses a place in the anthologies.

311. Jagannatha[3] was the son of Perubhatta and Lakṣmi. He was a Tailinga of the Veginati sect of the village Mungunda, in Godavari District. His family name was Upadrasta. He studied poetry and rhetoric under his father and logic and grammar and other sciences under Jnānindra Bhikṣu, Mahesācārya, Khandadeva and Śeṣavireśvara, at Banares. He was entertained at the court of Emperor Shah Jehan (1628-1638 A.D.) and Prince Dara was his favourite patron.[4] Tradition says he fell in love with a lady of the Muslim Court and had secret intrigues with her; she was dead and her separation caused his retirement. He spent the rest of his life in

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1. स दामोदरगुप्ताख्यं कुट्टिनीमतकारिणम् । कविं कविं बालरिव धुर्यं धीसचिवं व्यधात् ॥
Raj. IV. 496.

See Vaidya's *Med. India*, 202-241, The initial date is given by S. P. Panait and M. Dutt as 747 and 749. See under Bhavabhuti and Udbhata *post*. On Dāmodaragupta, see Peterson, *Subh*, 45, *PR*, I. 65, II. 23, IV. xliv. F. W. Thomas, *Kav*. 46 where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected. Aufrecht, *ZDMG*. XXVII, 35; XXXVI, 513. *CC*, I. 251. *BR*, (1897), xxix.

2. Ed. Bombay. For a fuller account, see *PR*, II. 23—32. Duṭīprakāśa (*NP*, V. 126) is a work of similar theme.

3. (i) Jagannātha, son of Nārāyaṇa, author of the poem Jnānavilāsa (*BTC*, 158) (ii) Jagannātha, author of Sarabharājavilāsa (*BTC*, 162) (iii) Jagannātha author of poems Śaśisena and Kirtimuktāvali (*CASB*, 195, 302, *CC*, III. 132) (iv) Jagannātha, author of Nṛsimhastotras (*PR*, V. 575), (v) Jagannātha Sena, quoted in Padyāvali (vi) Jagannātha author of Śankaravilasācampu (*CC*, I. 196) (vii) Jagannātha author of Vajreśvarikāvya (*CC*, I. 196) and (viii); Jagannātha, author of Mānasimhakīrtimuktāvali (*Oudh*, V. 2) are different.

4. डिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनं वयः

Mattra, where he died in 1674 A.D.[1] It is said he desired an interview with Appayaḍīkṣita, but the latter who was very orthodox refused to see him as he was a fallen outcaste. This incenced him and the vent was his scathing criticism of Appayaḍīkṣiṭa's Ciṭramīmāmsa. Apart from his proficiency in rhetoric,[2] his lyrics[3] are charming and musical. Amṛṭalaharī was in praise of the Jumna, Lakṣmīlaharī in praise of Lakṣmī and Gangālaharī in praise of the Ganges.[4] There are besides Karuṇālaharī, Suḍhālaharī and Anyāpaḍeśa.

Asaphvilāsa in prose is in praise of Nawab Asafkhan a counsellor of Shah Jehan who died in 1646 A.D.[5] Jagaḍābharaṇā[6] is a poem describing the splendor of his patron Dara Shah. Prāṇābharaṇa is a similar work in praise of king Prāṇānārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa and abounds in ideas of wit and wonder and Yamunāvarṇanacampū is probably associated with the theological sanctity of the Jumna. These are quoted in his Rasagangāḍhara.

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1. Acyuṭaroya in his commentary on Bhāmāoivilāsa and C. R. Vaidya in his introduction of Bhāminīvilāsa describe these biographical allusions contained in the poems. It is said his last verse was this:

यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि लभ्यते कदाचित् ।
अवनीतलमेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माघवनी विनोदहेतुः ॥

Suryanārāyaṇa Śastri in his *Life of Sanskrit Poets* (Telugu) says that Jagannāṭha lived between 1575 and 1653 from the days of Emperor Akbar. In the trial of a suit before the Emperor between two Mussalmans, Jagannāṭha was a visitor and though he did not know Persian, he was able to repeat at once the whole proceedings. Akbar was struck by the young man's remarkable memory and asked him to describe his daughter Lavangī, a princess born of a Rajput queen, who was then passing that way with a pot on her head. He gave out the verse with facile grace and when Akbar asked him what he wanted he desired the hand of Lavangī. Akbar asked Jagannāṭha to dine with him as a condition of the alliance and this done he was wedded to Lavangī. He lived down to the days of Shah Jehan and when his patron Dara was murdered in 1659 A.D., he retired from court, went to Benares and after praising the Ganges in beautiful lyrics, he and Lavangī gave up their mortal coil in the waters of the Ganges.

2. See for an account of Jagannāṭha and his works, S.K.De, *SP*, I. 275-281.

3. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, Madras and Vizagapatam. *CC*, I. 196.

4. Ed. Bombay with three commentaries. There is another poem of the same nature Gangālahariśaṭaka by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Kavi editted at Benares.

5. *CC*, I. 196. There is from quotation for it in the introduction to Rasagangāḍhara (166).

6. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, with a gloss, *DC*, XX. 8071.

Bhāminīvilāsa[1] is by far the most known, being a collection of verses of isolated ideas meant mainly to teach the four Puruṣārṭhas and practical ethics. In four Ullāsas of Anyokṭi, Śṛngāra, Karuṇa and Śānta, the work might be a collection of verses composed by the poet at stray intervals.[2]

312. Visvesvara was the son of Lakṣmīḍhara and brother of Umāpaṭi of the race of Rande of Almodha. Deveśvara, eighth in descent, was said to be living thirty years ago at Anupasagar on the Ganges. He lived in the beginning of the 18th century.[3]

His writings are many and cover poetry, drama, poetics and dialectics.[4] Rukmiṇīpariṇaya[5] is a nātaka. Navamālikā[6] is a nātikā and Śṛngāramanjarī,[7] a sattaka (in prākṛt). Manḍāramanjarī[8] is a romance in prose. Vakṣojaśaṭaka, Holikāśaṭaka, Lakṣmīvilāsa, Sadṛṭuvarṇana,[9] Romāvalīśaṭaka,[10] and Āryāśaṭaka,[11] are poems of lyrical merit. Āryāsaptaśaṭī[12] is really a work on erotics of considerable poetic thought. Kavīnḍrābharaṇa[13] in four chapters is a Ciṭrakā·ya and contains verses of intricate composition. He wrote commentaries on Naiṣaḍha[14] and Rasamanjarī.

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1. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Acyuṭarāya Modak of Lakṣminarayaṇa (with English Translation). *DC*, XX. 8085 with an anonymous gloss. For a notice of this work, see *JASB*, XXXI, 527; Keith's *SL*, 234. There is a commentary also by Maṇirāma (*IOC*, VII. 1526) composed in 1802 A.D.

2. मदीयपद्यरत्नानां मञ्जुषैषा कृता मया।

3. (i) Viśveśvara quoted in *SKM*, (ii) Viśveśvara, author of Camaṭkāracanḍrikā a poem on Sarvagnasingabhupāla (*TC*, III, 3813; *IOC*, VII. 1507; S.K.De, *SP*, 243); (iii) Viśveśvara, author of Sāhiṭyasāra (*Opp*. 2728); (iv) Viśveśvara, commentator on Candrāloka, are different authors.

4. See *CC*, II. 139, and Kavyamālā, VIII. 52.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *DC*, XXI. 8411. It describes the amours of Vijayasena of Avanṭi with Navamālikā.

7. *PR*, IV. 31. See Kāvyamāla, VIII, 52.

8. Mentioned in Kāvyamālā, VIII. 52.

9. *Ibid.*,

10. Printed Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

11. *DC*, XX. 8010.

12. *DC*, XX. 8011. Printed, Benares.

13. Printed, Kavyamālā, Bombay.

14. *TC*, III. 3905; *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2556. See *TC*, III. 3943, where he is called Sarvajna.

313. JAGANMOHANA,[1] an anthology in 66 verses, describes the attraction and qualities of women of different castes and countries and in different attitudes and activities.

314. Among LYRICAL poems are the following:

Candrāvalī (*Leipzig* No. 448); Candroḍayavarṇana (*BTC*, 158), Candralakṣmoprekṣāṣaṭaka by Narahari (*Printed*, Bombay); Kucaśaṭaka by Ātreya Śrīnivāsa (*DC*, XX. 7893); Mṛgāṅkaśaṭaka and Manovalambikā by Kavikankaṇa (*DC*, XX. 8008; *Ulwar* 945, 948); Kucapancāśika by Vṛttamaṇi Śrīnivāsa (*Mys. OML.* 224); Śṛngārakanḍuka (*Gough*, 106); Rasavaṭīśaṭaka by Ḍharaṇīḍhara (*CC*, I. 496); Virahimoḍasuḍhā (*Mys. OML.* 11); Virahimanovinoḍa by Vināyaka (*CC*, I. 578); Śṛngāramanjarī by Rāyamanohara (*HR*, III. No. (1825); Sumanoranjana by Śrīnivāsa (*HR*, III. 1726; *CAL*, II. 16); Kekāvalī by Mayūrapant (*Kh.* 40); Maḍhuvarṇana by Keli (*Kh.* 55); Kelirahasya by Viḍyādhara Kavirāja (*CC*, I. 125); Candīkucapancaśaṭi by Lakṣmaṇācārya (*Printed*, Bombay); Śṛngārasarasī by Bhāvamiśra (*CC*, I. 661); Rasasarvasva by Vitthala (*CC*, I. 496); Rāḍhāsuḍhākara (*Opp.* 6168); Rasikaranjana (i) by Rāmacanḍra composed in 1524 (*Printed*, Bombay) and (ii) by Raghunāṭha (*HR*, III. No. 1887); Rasabhūṣaṇa (*Mys. OML.* 265); Śṛngāraśaṭaka (i) by Narahari and (ii) by Janārḍana, (iii) by Vrajalāḷa (*Printed*, Bombay); Rasikajīvana of Arjunavarmadeva (*B.* II. 100); Rasīkabhūṣaṇa (*Opp.* 5145); Aiśvaryakāḍambinī of Viḍyābhūṣana (*CC*, I. 574); Rangaṭarangiṇī of Śivarāmabhatta (*CC*, I. 645); Śṛngārāmṛṭalaharī of Śāmarāja Ḍīkṣiṭa (*Printed*, Bombay); Śṛngārakalikā (i) by Kāmarāja, (ii) by Hari (*Printed*, Bombay); Śṛngārasārasangraha by Śambhuḍāsa (*CC*, II. 158); Śṛngārasāra by Kāliḍāsa (*Opp*, II. 6614); Śṛngārarasamandana (*Printed*, Madras); Śṛngānaṭatinī by Bhattācārya (*BRI*, 76); Ānanḍamanḍākini by Maḍhusūḍanasarasvaṭi (*Printed*, Bombay); Śrngāraṭilaka (i) by Kāliḍāsa and (ii) by Gāgabhatta (*CC*, I. 660); Śṛngārakallola by Royabhatta (*PR*, VI, 28); Śṛngāramānjarī by Mānakavi (*CC*, II. 158); Śṛngāramālā by Sukālalmisra composed in 1745 A.D. (*CC*, II. 158); Śṛngārakauṭūhala by Lālāmaṇi (*SKC*, 75, 293); Pramoḍalaharī (*PR*, V. 358); Vidvanmoḍaṭarangīṇi by Ruḍrasimha (*Mys. OML.* 257); Kaviṭāmṛtakūpa by Gauramohana (*DC*, XX. 8024); Śṛngārarasoḍaya by Rāmakavi, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kāśyapagoṭra (about 1550 A.D.). Śṛngaravilāsa by Vāgbhata and Śṛngārakośa (*Opp*, 6247); Śarasvaṭivilāsa and Ḍevyāryāsāṭaka of Ramaṇapaṭi (*CC*, I. 493);

1. *DC*. XX. 8055.

Saḍarpakaṇḍarpa by Bhavānanda (*CC*, I. 690); Raṭīmukula by Acyuṭa (*CC*, II. 114); Aryāmanjarī by Ḍevarāja (*CC*, III. 12).

Kaviṭamṛtakūpa by Gauramohana (*DC*, XX. 8084); Vasanṭoṭṣava by Jagaḍḍhara,[1] and Ḍārukāvanavilāsa by Raṭnārāḍhya (*CAL*, II. 5); Yauvanollāsa by Umānanḍanāṭha (*BR*, II. 1907) Maḍhumandana (*NC*, II. 226); Nisargamaḍhura (*Mys. OML*. 10).

1. He was son of Raṭnaḍhara who also wrote Sangīṭasarvasva and commentary on Muḍrārākṣara.

CHAPTER XIII

Section I.

Sandesa

315. Sandesakavya. A popular species of lyrical poetry is Sanḍesākāvya or Ḍūṭakāvya. In the Ṛg Veḍa (X. 108) Sarama, a dog, was sent as a messenger to the Pāṇis. In the Purāṇas and Rāmāyaṇa, we have the message Rāma of through Hanūman, of Yuḍhisthira through Kṛṣṇa, and of Nala through the swan. The idea of Rāmā's message was the source of Kāliḍāsa's inspiration and to him the credit is due of the creation of Sanḍesākāvya. His Meghasanḍesā makes the allusion :

इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा

Kāliḍāsa had to justify the use of inaminate objects as messengers of love by the distracted condition of the lover's mind. Bhāmaha found fault with such impropriety and when he particularly instanced the employment of cloud, wind, moon, bee or parrot, it was as if by his time other poems of this type had been popular, though we are not now able to point to any such poem by name.[1] Bhavabhūṭi in his Mālaṭīmāḍhava copied the Meghasanḍeśa.[2]

316. Ghatakarpara.[3] It may be that Ghatakarpara conceived this idea earlier. In his small poem going by his name,[4] he describes the sad plight of a bereaved lady and her appeal to the morning clouds to convey his condition to her distant lover. Ghatakarpara

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1. अयुक्तिमद्यथा दूता जलभृन्मारुतेन्दवः ।
तथा भ्रमरहारीतचक्रवाकशुकादयः ॥
अवाचो युक्तवाचश्च दूरदेशविचारिणः ।
कथं दूत्यं प्रपद्येरन्निति युक्त्या न युज्यते ॥
यदि चोत्कण्ठया यत्तदुन्मत्त इव भाषते ।
तथा भवतु भूम्नेदं सुमेधोभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥ I, 42-44.

2. दैवात्पश्येर्जगति विचरन्निच्छया मत्प्रियां चेत् ।
आश्वास्यादौ तदनु कथये माधवीयामवस्थाम् ॥

3. For the identity of Bhāsa and Ghatakarpara, see under Bhāsa *post*.

4. Printed everywhere.

was one of the nine gems of Vikramāḍitya's Court. The name seems to be a cognomen attributed to him from the last verse of his poem where he vows that to him who could excel him in Yamaka he would bear pots of water.[1] The self-praise is well deserved and his poetry in spite of the Yamaka is free and exquisite.[2] The High estimation in which he has been held is seen by the commentaries that have been written on it [of whom the great Abhinavagupṭa was one[3]], by Bharaṭamallika,[4] by Śankara,[5] by Ṭārācanḍra,[6] Jivānanḍa,[7] by Govarḍhana,[8] by Kamalākara,[9] by Kucalakavi, by Vaiḍyanāṭha, by Vinḍhyeśvarīprasāḍa,[10] and others anonymous.[11]

His Niṭisāra is a short didactic poem in 21 verses in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion. The ideas are amusing.[12]

Maḍana's Kṛṣṇalīlā was composed in Sam. 1680 (1624 A.D.). It has verses consisting of two pairs of rhyming lines, one of the lines being taken from Ghatakarpara, so that four consecutive verses of this poem have an entire verse of Ghatakarpara.[13]

317. Meghasandesa or Meghaduta. A Yakṣa, employed under Kubera, the Lord of Alaka, is banished from Kailāsa for

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1. आलम्ब्य चाम्बु तृषितः करकोशपेयं भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैश्शपेयम् ।
जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटकर्परेण ॥

2. For instance,

निचितं समुपेत्य नीरदैः प्रियहीनाहृदयावनीरदैः ।
सलिलैर्निहितं रजः क्षितौ रविचन्द्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ ॥

3. *CC*, I. 174.
4. *Mitra*, IX. No. 3172. Manuscript is dated Śaka 1650.
5. *DC*, XX. 7919.
6. *DC*, XX. 7920.
7. Printed, Calcutta.
8. Ed. Bombay.
9. Gough, *Records*, 87.
10. *CC*, I. 174.
11. *CC*, I. 174 ; *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2719, 2723, 2726, 2728.
12. *Haberlin*, 504. See Jacobi's *Ramayana*, 126 ; Keith, *SL* 200
13. *IOC*, VII. 1461.
For instance,

निचितं समुपेत्य नीरदैः वसुदेवे हरिवाक्नीरदैः ।
रचितं फणिभूभुजाननैः उपरिच्छत्रमभासिकाननैः ॥

dereliction of duty, away from his consort and his home.[1] In his rambles, he makes his abode in Rāmagiri in Central India, a spot whereof the waters are "sanctified by the baths of the daughter of Janaka." On the approach of the season of the rains the pangs of the forlorn lover become intenser and with a maddened mind he thinks of his beloved and fancies her in a like condition of despair. Then dawns the idea of sending her a message of affection and solace. He espies a cloud hanging by the peak of the hill, bound as it were northward, and begins the request with a praise. He takes it that the cloud made a response. He describes the route from Rāmagiri to Alaka with cities and shrines and rivers, amidst sylvan scenes with allusions to tales of mythology, for which the Hindu has a fascination.

Ujjain must not be missed, though it may be a little out of the way:

वक्रः पन्थास्तव भवतु च प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां
सौधोत्सङ्गप्रणयविमुखो मा च भूरुज्जयिन्याः ।
विद्युद्दामस्फुरितचकितैस्तत्र पौराङ्गनानां
लोलापाङ्गैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्वञ्चितोऽसि ॥

Nor must the cloud fail to console the emaciated (stream) Nirviṇdhyā, pining for its showers :

वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिला सा त्वतीतस्य सिन्धुः
पाण्डुच्छायातटरुहतरुभ्रंशिभिर्जीर्णपर्णैः ।
सौभाग्यं ते सुभग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती
कार्श्यं येन त्यजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाद्यः ॥

On reaching the Hymālayas, the poet is full of devotion :

तत्र व्यक्तं दृषदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौलेः
शश्वत्सिद्धैरुपचितबलिं भक्तिनम्रः परीयाः ।

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1. The source of the theme is now discovered to be the story of Aṣāḍhakṛṣṇa Ekāḍaśi, Yogini Māhāṭmyam. A yakṣa Hemamāli neglected his duty of culling flowers for Mānasa lake and stayed away with his wife Viśālākṣi. Kubera cursed him with the disease leucoderma and banished him. In the Hymālayas Hemamāli met sage Mārkandeya and on his advice he observed Yogini Vraṭa in the dark half of Āṣāḍha and he was restored to health and home. This is mentioned by K. Lakshmana Somayajin in *Uḍyānapaṭrikā*, II. 174.

The shady bowers of the Mandākini's shores present lovely scenes:

मन्दाकिन्यस्सलिलशिशिरैस्सेव्यमाना मरुद्भि-
र्मन्दाराणामनुतटरुहां छायया वारितोष्णाः ।
अन्वेष्टव्यैः कनकसिकतामुष्टिनिक्षेपगूढैः
संक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थिता यत्र कन्याः ॥

The City of Alaka is reached. Through the splendours of that City, the cloud is taken to the residence of the Yakṣa, and the presentation is enchanting :

तन्मध्ये च स्फटिकफलका काञ्चनी वासयष्टि-
र्मूलेबद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवंशप्रकाशैः ।
तालैश्शिञ्जावलयसुभगैर्नर्तितः कान्तया मे
यामध्यास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठस्सुहृद्वः ॥
एभिस्साधो हृदयनिहितैर्लक्षणैर्लक्षयेथाः
द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषौ शङ्खपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा ।

There the cloud would see Yakṣa's sweetheart in a state of lonely thought and vacant look, and if perchance she was in slumber the cloud had better not wake her up for fear of disturbing her in pleasant dreams. On the approach of the cloud she would have pleasant omens :

वामश्चास्याः कररुहपदैर्मुच्यमानो मदीयै-
र्मुक्ताजालं चिरपरिचितं त्याजितो दैवगत्या ।
सम्भोगान्ते मम समुचितो हस्तसंवाहनानां
यास्यत्यूरुस्सरसकदलीस्तम्भगौरश्चलत्वम् ॥

For ever he has in his mental vision her fair frame and he says

श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति ॥

To inspire confidence in Hanūmān, Rāma mentioned the incident of the Ṭilaka :

मनश्शिलायास्तिलको गण्डपार्श्वे निवेशितः ।
त्वया प्रनष्टे तिलके तं किल स्मर्तुमर्हसि ॥

and Yakṣa gives here a parallel :

भूयश्चाह त्वमसि शयने कण्ठलग्ना पुरा मे
निद्रां गत्वा किमपि रुदती सस्वरं विप्रबुद्धा ।
सान्तर्हासं कथितमसकृत् पृच्छतश्च त्वया मे
दृष्टस्स्वप्ने कितव रमयन् कामपि त्वे ममेति ॥

He remembers the words of Sītā

कल्याणी बत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।
एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि ॥

and adds a word of consolation:

इत्यात्मानं बहु विगणयन्नात्मना नावलम्बे
तत्कल्याणि त्वमपि नितरां मा गमः कातरत्वम् ।
कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥

Then follows the assurance of reunion. Here does the poet combine the sensuous and the divine:

शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ
शेषान् मासान् गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा ।
पश्चादावां विरहगणितं तं तमात्माभिलाषं
निर्वेक्ष्यावः परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु ॥

The poem ends with a word of thankfulness and benediction:

इष्टान् देशान् जलद विचर प्रावृषा सम्भृतश्रीः
माभूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः ।

For lofty conception, artistic design, aesthetic sentiment, divine idealism, delicate embellishment and graceful expression, the poem stands supreme and it is a monument of poetic art in the architecture of letters.[1]

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1. Ed. everywhere. Ed. with notes and translation (i) by K. P. Pathak, Poona, (ii) by B. G. Khare, Bombay, (iii) by S. Ray, Calcutta, (iv) Ed. with notes by G. R. Nandargikar, Bombay. Ed. with commentary by Haripada Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta. Ed. with vocabulary by Stenzer, Breslaw. Tr. into English verse by Wilson, London, and into German by Max Muller, Konigsburg and by Schütz, Bielefield. For a critical appreciation by D. Pichayya Sastri, see *Andhrapatrika* Annual Number (1927). 100, and by B. Venkatramayya, *Bharati* (1927), 22. See also M. Rangacharya's critique on Meghasandeśa and A. V. Gopalacharya's Sandeśādvayasārāsvadini in *Udyanapatrika*, Trivadi.

318. Commentaries. There are commentaries on Meghasandeśa by Kavicandra,[1] Lakṣmīnivāsa,[2] Cāritravardhana,[3] Kṣemahamsagaṇi,[4] Kaviratna,[5] Kṛṣṇadāsa,[6] Cintāmaṇi,[7] Janārdana,[8] Janendra,[9] Bharatasena,[10] Bhagīrathamiśra,[11] Kalyānamalla,[12] Mahimasimhagaṇi,[13] Rāma Upādhyāya,[14] Rāmanātha,[15] Vallabhadeva,[16] Vācaspati Hara Govinda,[17] Viśvanātha,[18] Viśvanāthamiśra,[19] Śaśvata,[20] Sanātana-śarman,[21] Sarasvatītīrtha,[22] Sumatīvijaya,[23] Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa,[24] Megharāja,[25] Dakṣināvarta,[26] Pūrṇasarasvati,[27] Mallinatha,[28] Rāmānatha,[29] Kamalākara,[30] Sthiradeva,[31] Gurunātha Kavyatīrtha,[32] Lālāmohana,[33] Haripādachattopādhyāya,[34] Jīvānanda,[35] Śrīvatsa Vyāsa,[36] Divākara,[37] Asada,[38] [Ravikara, Motijitkavi, Kanakakīrti, Vijayasūri],[39] and some anonymous.

R. Krishnamacharya's Meghasandeśavimarśā is a delightful discourse on the verses.[40]

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1. *CC*, I. 466.
2. *PR*, III. 395.
3. *PR*, III. 395, VI. 345.
4. *PR*, III. 395, VI. 346.
5. *CC*, I. 466.
6. *CC*, I. 466.
7. *CC*, I. 466.
8. *PR*, III. 19, App. 324. Manuscript is dated *Sam*. 1406. VI. 344.
9. *PR*, VI. 344.
10. *IO*, 415, 994.
11. *CC*, I. 466.
12. *IO*, 529. This mentions commentary by Udyotakāra.
13. *CC*, I. 466.
14. *Rice*, 23.
15. *Oxf*, 125.
16. Ed. by Hultzch, Madras. *PR*, II. 189.
17. *Oxf*, 125.
18. *NW*, 626,
19. *Oudh*, XVII. 14.
20. *CC*, I. 466.
21. *Oxf*. 125.
22. Cambridge University Library.
23. *PR*, I. 128.
24. Printed, Calcutta.
25. *CC*, I. 466.
26. Printed, Trivandrum.
27. Printed, Srirangam.
28. Printed, everywhere.
29. *Oxf*. 125.
30. *CC*, I. 466.
31. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2885. He lived in Benares. Manuscripts are dated *Sam*. 1656.
32. Ed. Calcutta.
33. Ed. Calcutta.
34. Ed. Calcutta.
35. Ed. Calcutta.
36. *PR*, IV. 28, 34.
37. *IO*, 1516.
38. *PR*, III. 19 ; *App*. 324. He was son of Katukarāja and Analādevi and of the Bhillalama family. He had two wives and by the second wife two sons Rājada and Jaitrasimha and by the first wife Arisimha. He was called Kavisabhāśṛngāra and was a desciple of Abhayadeva who succeeded Bhadreśvarasuri. He composed his Vivekamanjarī in *Sam*. 1248. (*PR*, II. 101 and IV. vi.)
39. *CC*, II. 108, III. 100; *CC*, I. 466 ; *Oudh*, XV. 30 ; *TC*, III. 4988 ; *SKC*, 71 ; *PR*, IV. 28 ; *IO*, 2690.
40. Printed, Madras.

319. The tale of Meghasandeśa stops with the direction to the cloud. Sequels have been thought of by later poets. Kiṣṇamūrti, son of Sarvaśāstri of Vāsisthagotra of the Circars, wrote Yakṣollāsa[1] at the beginning of the 17th century. He calls himself Abhinava Kālidāsa and wrote also a bhāna Madanābhyudaya.[2] Mandikal Rāmaśastri wrote Meghapratisandesa.[3] Korada Rāmacandra wrote Ghanavṛtta.[4] Mahāmahopadhyāya Paramesvara Jha of Mithila wrote Yakṣamilanakāvya.[5] Bhatta Vamana's Hamsasandeśa embraces the same theme.[6]

320. The poetry of Meghasandeśa is enchanting in the extreme, and not merely the theme, name and metre Mandākrānta were adopted,[7] by many poets, but the lines of Meghasandeśa were interwoven as part of their own verses, so as to make up Samasyā. Meghavijaya wrote Meghadūtasamasyālekha.[8] So too are Śīladūta,[9] Cetodūta,[10] Nemidūta.[11] In Nemidūta, Vikrama, son of Sangama, describes the life of Nemi after his renunciation and the message of his queen through a mountain. In Pārsvābhyudaya,[12] Jinasena used a line or two of Meghasandeśa. Nīlakantha, son of Janārdana, was a tutor to the harem of Alahaviradikhan of the 17th Century A.D. He wrote Cimanīcarita, with phrases taken by Meghadūta.[13]

321. In the hands of Jain poets this form of poetry took a religious turn. In conveying news to their preceptors in VIJNAPTIPATRA, doctrines of philosophy were inculcated and explained and consistent with such fancies the messenger used became cetas, manas, bhakti and the like. Śiladūta of Cāritrasundaragaṇi composed in 1431 A.D. describes,

1. *TC*, II. 2066.
2. *TC*, II. 2073.
3. Printed, Mysore. See para 83 supra.
4. Printed, Madras.
5. Printed, Darbhanga.
6. *DC*, XX. 7972. See para 128 supra.
7. For such poems, see C. Chakravarthi, *IHQ*, III, 273; Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, LIV. 616; Paper by E. V. Virarāghavāchārya, Vijianagaram.
8. Printed, Bhownagar.
9. Printed, Benares.
10. Printed, Bhownagar.
11. Printed, Bombay. *PR*, IV. 25.
12. Ed. Poona by K. P. Pathak with a valuable introduction, and Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Śrīyogirāt Panḍit ācārya of Śravan Belgola. Jinasena's brother was Narendrasena and the latter's desciple Mallisena wrote the poem Nāgakumāracarita and *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1925), 12. On Jinasena's and Guṇabhadra, see *Int. to Central Provinces Cat.* xxiii, and also para 228 *supra*.
13. *CC*, I. 189.

says C. Cakravarthi, how "Sthulabhadra, a great Jaina prince, renounced the world at the death of his father and became a disciple of the great Jaina sage Bhadrabhanu ; how the former, who came to his city by the order of his preceptor was not the least moved by the persuasive arguments put forward by his wife Kosa against the prudence of his taking the order and how in the long run, on account of the powerful influence of his immaculate character (sila), he was able to prevail upon his wife and persuade her to become a nun and thus put an end to all earthly sorrows and sufferings."

Meruṭuṅga of Anchalagaccha composed a Jain Meghaḍūṭa in four cantos on the life of Nemināṭha.[3] He became a Sūri in *Sam.* 1426 (1472 A.D.) and studied under Mahenḍraprabhasūri. He lived till *Sam.* 1471 (1527 A.D.).[4]

322. Some later poets similary used this style of composition for ethical and philosophical teachings.

In Kākaḍūṭa,[5] a fallen brahmin in prison sends a message to his beloved Kāḍambarī (drink), a satire on society meant to teach morals. In Inḍuḍūṭa the poet embodies a devotional message to Śrī Ṭāpa Gaṇapaṭi from the city of Yoḍha.[6]

In Haṁsasanḍeśa[7] (anonymous) a person disgusted with the world wanders in the forest and sends Hamsa as a messenger to Śiva in Ḍvāḍaśānṭa and to Mukṭikanyā through the route ṣatcakra.

Hamsayogin's Hamsaḍūṭa is a communication between Bhakṭi and Jīvātman.[8]

In another anonymous Hamsasanḍeśa, "The outstanding feature is the two-fold course, namely, the Aḍhyātmic and the Yogic which are in accordance with the significance of the name 'Hamsasandesa.' Among these, the Adhyatmic course is the attainment of Sivasayuja by a man who is dependent on the Prarabdha Karma and is consequently passing through wordly existence, after he is freed from all

1. Printed *Sri Yaśovijaya Jain Granthamala*, Benares.
2. He wrote also Śrikumārapālamahākāvya and Mahīpālacariṭa.
3. Printed *Atm. Ser.* Bhownagar, with an elaborate introduction. There is a commentary of Śīlaraṭnasuri, *PR*, IV. 120. See Nandargikar's *Int.* to *Ragh*, 19 note.
4. Meruṭuṅga, author of Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi, is a different poet (see para 119 supra.)
5. *Sah*, XXIII. 173.
6. Printed, Bombay. *JRAS*, (1884), 450.
7. *TC*, IV. 5042.
8. The manuscript is said to be with the Raja of Chirakkal, Malabar.

worldly bonds and his identity destroyed by faith, understanding, hearing, steadiness, tranquility, endurance and other kinds of austerity. The Yogic course is the mind's journey through various stages beginning with 'Susumna' up to 'Dvadasantendumandala' and its final repose along with Bhakti in the state of Amritayoga."[1]

323. The following are other poems of this kind :—

Uddhavadūta (*a*) by Rūpagoswāmin,[2] and (*b*) by Mādhava;[3] Uddhava-sandeśa, anonymous;[4] Viprasandeśa by Kochunni Tamburan;[5] Subhagasandeśa (*a*) by Lakṣmaṇasūri,[6] and (*b*) by Nārāyaṇa;[7] Pānthadūta by Bholanātha;[8] Kṛṣṇadūta by Nṛisimha;[9] Garudasandesa by Bellamkonda Rāmarāya.[10]

Pavanadūta (*a*) by Vādicandra,[11] and (*b*) by Dhoyi;[12] Vātadūta by Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapancānana;[13] Mārutasandeśa (anonymous).[14]

Tulasīdūta by Vaidyanātha;[15] Mānasasandeśa by Vinjimūri Vīrarāghava;[16] Manodūta,[17] (*a*) by Vrajanātha, son of Ramakṛṣṇa,[18] (*b*) by Viṣnudāsa,[19] (*c*) by Rāmārāma,[20] and (*d*) two anonymous;[21] Madhuroṣtha-

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1. Printed *Triv. Sansk. Series*. No. 103. It is accompanied by a metrical commentary.
2. Printed, Haeberlin, Bombay and Calcutta, *DC*, XX. 7910, 7963.
3. *Ibid*. *SKC*, 66. He lived in Talitanagari about the beginning of 19th century.
4. Int. to the Jaina Meghaduta.
5. *JRAS*, (1900) 763. He lived at Kodangalur in Malabar.
6. Printed, Tanjore.
7. *JRAS*, (1884), 449. He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Jayasimhanad (1541-1547 A.D.)
8. *IO*, VII. 3990.
9. *CAL*, II. 4.
10. See para 289 *supra*.
11. Ed. Bombay. He wrote the play Jnānasuryodaya on the tenets of Digambara sect. (*Jaina Granthavali*).
12. Ed. Madras and Calcutta.
13. Ed. Bombay.
14. Printed, Madras.
15. Samskrta Sahitya Parishat Library, Calcutta.
16. *OML*, No. 2964.
17. There is a Manodutakāvya (*SKC*, 70, 287), a description of the relations between Jivātman and Paramātman.
18. . Printed, Bombay. It was composed at Bṛndāraṇya in 1758 A.D. and is a message by Draupadi to Kṛṣṇa.
19. *IOC*, VII. 1470. *Mitra*, II. 613. It is in Vasantatilaka metre.
20. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, No. 1283. It is in Śikhariṇi metre.
21. *Jaina Granthavali*, 332. *SKC*, 170, 287.

sandeśa ;[1] Padāṅkadūta (*a*) by Kṛṣṇasārvabhauma,[2] and (*b*) by Bholānātha ;[3] Bhaktidūta by Kāliprasāda.[4]

Candradūta[5] (*a*) by Kṛṣṇacandra[6] (*b*) by Vinayaprabha ;[7] Indudūta (*a*) by Jambukavi or Jambunāga and (*b*) by Vinayavijayagaṇi;[8] Daṭyūhasandeśa by Nārāyaṇa.[9]

Kokilasandesa[10] (*a*) by Varadācārya, son of Vedāntadeśika;[11] (*b*) by Venkatācārya, son of Śatakratu Tātārya,[12] (*c*) by Guṇavardhana,[13] (*d*) by Uddanda[14] and (*e*) by Narasimha ;[15] Kokasandeśa by Viṣṇutrāta ;[16] and Rathāngadūta.[17]

Hamsadūta by Raghunāthadāsa ;[18] Hamsasandeśa (*a*) by Vedāntadeśeka,[19] (*b*) by Rūpagoswāmin,[20] (*c*) by Bhatta Vāmana,[21] (*d*) by

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1. *Mys. OML*, 251.
2. Printed Bombay and Calcutta. He was in the Court of King Raghurāma of Nuddea and composed it in Śaka 1641.
3. *IOC*, VII. 1467.
4. *Mitra*, III. 27.
5. *HPR*, II. 153.
6. *BR*, (1894), 354.
7. *PR*, III. 292, in Mālini metre with antya-yamaka. In *BR*, (1907), the manuscript is dated *Sam*. 1342. He wrote also Jinaśātaka, *PR*, IV. 90 ; V, *List of Authors*.
8. Printed, Bombay.
9. *Cat. Trav*. 195.
10. Ed. by W. F. Gunavardhana, New York.
11. This is mentioned in *Guruparamparā* (Mysore), 200, as also his Hariṇasandeśa.
12. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2863.
13. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, IV. pt. 111.
14. See Cochin State Manual, 61, 72 ; Travancore State Manual, 430 ; *DC*, XX, 7469, 7910. This was in response to Bhṛngasandesa of Vāsudeva ; *DC*, XX. 7914, 7942. In *CSC*, 1101, Bhṛngasandeśa (Bhramarasandeśa) is noted as the work of Jīva goswāmi. There is a Bhṛngasandeśa, printed in *Sahridaya*, XXIV, 57. See para 251 supra.
15. *CAL*, II. 5.
16. *TC*, IV. 4437.
17. Printed, Mysore. *CAL*, II. 16.
18. D.C. Sen's Vangasahitya Paricaya, 850.
19. Ed. Madras and Mysore and recently by Sambasiva Sastri, Madras with commentary. See para 121 *supra*. There are several commentaries on it (i) by a disciple of Śrīnivāsa of Kauśikagotra (*DC*, XX. 7974) (ii) by Parakāla Swāmi (Ed. Mysore) with a philosophical interpretation, and (iii) by Rangarājācārya (Ed. with English Tr. and Notes.)
20. Ed. Bombay and Calcutta. There are commentaries on it by Nṛsimha, Rāmaśankara and Viśvanātha Cakravarti. See *JRAS* (1884), 450-1.
21. *DC*. XX, 7972. This is the same as Vāmana Bhatta Bāṇa.

Vidyāvidhāna Kavīndrācāryasarasvati,[1] and (e) by Venkateśa[2], (f) by Pūrṇasarasvati,[3] and (g) two others anonymous.[4]

Pikasandeśa (a) by Ranganāthācārya[5] and (b) by Kocha Narasimhācārya;[6] and Pikadūta, anonymous.[7]

Śūkasandeśa[8] (a) by Lakṣmīdāśa,[9] (b) by Rangācārya,[10] and (c) by Karingampalli Nambūdri;[11] Kīradūta (a) by Rāmagopāla[12] and (b) by Varadacārya, son of Vedāntadeśika;[13] Bhramaradūta by Rudra Nyāyavācaspati Bhattācārya;[14] Cātakasandeśa (anonymous);[15] Cakorasandeśa (a) by Perusūri,[16] (b) by Vāsudeva;[17] (c) and by Venkatakavi;[18] Padmadūta;[19] Mayūrasandeśa (a) anonymous,[20] (b) by Rangācārya,[21] and (c) by Śrīnivāsācārya.[22]

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1. *BTC*, 163. He was the author of Kavīndrakalpadruma and in his praise Kavīndracandrodaya was written. *CC*, I. 88.
2. *CC*, I. 753.
3. See Int. to *Triv. Sans. Series*, No. 103.
4. *DC*, XX; *TC*, IV. 5042.
5. Ed. Srirangam. He was son of Raghunātha of Royadurga of Śathamarṣaṇa-gotra. He lives at Tanjore. He was born in 1884. He wrote also Hanumatprasāda stotra and a play Premarājīyam, an adaptation of Vicar of Wakefield.
6. Ed. Tirupati. He is son Śrīnivāsāchārya of Tirupati and a living poet of talent. He also wrote Garudasandeśa.
7. The manuscript is in Chintaharan Chakravarti's private library.
8. *CAL*, II, 16.
9. *DC*, XX, 7964. There are commentaries on it by Dharmagupta (*TC*, II, 3925), by Gaurīdāsa (*Ibid*, 1049), and by Mānaveda (*DC*, XX, 7964). It is a long poem in 12 chapters describing many parts of Malabar. See *JRAS*, (1900) 763, (1884) 404-8. He lived in 10 and 11th cent. A.D. and belonged to Karingampalli Ilom near Adoor in Cochin State.
10. *Rice*, 2250.
11. *Opp*. 2721, 6241; *JRAS*, (1900) 763. It was composed in 1480 A.D.
12. *JASB*, (N.S.) I. 41. *Notices*, II, Series I, No. 67. Sanskrita Sahitya Parishat Library, Calcutta. He was probably in the Court of Rāmacandra of Nuddea.
13. This is mentioned in Guruparamparā, Mysore.
14. *HPR*, II. 153. *CC*, III. 112. He is different from the author of Bhāvavilāsa. (Printed, Kavyamāla, II. 111. Bhandarkar's List, No. 71). There is another Bhramaradūta in Bikaneer Library, see *Bik*, 229.
15. *JRAS*, (1881), 451. The poet applies for the patronage of King Rāmavarman of Malabar.
16. This is mentioned in the prologue to his Vasumangalanātaka, *DC*, XXI, 8497. *Tanj. Cat*. VII, 2866. Author had title Navīna Patañjali.
17. He was the author of Śivodaya etc. The Ms. is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi.
18. *Mys. OML*. 246.
19. *CASB*, 102. Ed. Calcutta.
20. *TC*, IV. 4298.
21. *CAL*, II. 8.
22. Printed, Madras.

CHAPTER XIV

Citrakavya

324. Citrakavya embraces all ingenious forms of poetic composition. Hemacandra says,

स्वरव्यञ्जनस्थानगत्याकारनियमच्युतगूढादि चित्रम् ।

The ingenuity is displayed in the arrangement of letters or in the combinations of letters, making different words or different senses. These are *śabdālankāra*, or verbal figures of speech. The figures that make up a *Citrakāvya* are *Anuprāsa, Yamaka* and *Śleṣa.*

325. ANUPRASA or Alliteration is of two classes, *Śabdānuprāsa* and *Padānuprāsa,* or Alliteration of Letters and Alliteration of Words. The former is of two kinds, *Cheka* and *Vṛtti,* meaning the repetition of a single consonant and two or more repetitions of one or more consonants. There is a special kind called *Lāṭānuprāsa* where the letters and sense are the same, but there is difference in *anvaya* or syntactical relation.

326. YAMAKA is a permutation or reverberation of words called by some 'Chime.' It occurs when the same letter is repeated or when the same word is repeated with different meanings with a regularity in the places of repetition, the beginning, middle or end of the foot or the whole foot or all the feet or in alternative feet by alterations of caesura. Caesura are of three kinds: *Śṛnkhalā* occurs on the transference of the caesura by the separation of an entire letter; *Parivartaka,* on the resumption by a letter of its own form on the cessation of its conjunction with another letter; *Cūrṇaka* on the disappearance of a word on the disruption of conjunct letters.

327. SLESA or pun is in letters or in words, *Sābdaśleṣa* and *Arthaślesa.* The latter occurs where the form does not vanish by a change in the position of words.

स्तोकेनोन्नतिमायाति स्तोकेनायात्यधोगतिम् ।
अहो सुसदृशी वृत्तिस्तुलाकोटेः खलस्य च ॥

In the former a series of letters may or may not be split into different words to make different senses, *abhanga* and *sabhanga*:

स्वयं च पल्लवाताम्रभास्वत्करविराजिता । (*Abangha*)
प्रभातसन्ध्येवास्वापफललुब्धेहितप्रदा । (*Sabhanga*)

328. Nitivarman wrote the poem KICAKAVADHAM. The poem is instanced by Premacandra in his commentary on Kavyādarśa, as a rare instance of a poem opening with āśīh or benediction. It is a favourite of Pandits of Bengal. It is mentioned by Bhoja in Śṛngāraprakāśa and quoted by Namisādhu and Sarvānanda and several lexicographers. It was probably composed earlier than the 9th century A.D. In five cantos the poem describes the episode of the Kīcaka's assault on Draupadī and his assasination by Bhīma as told in Virātaparvan of Mahābhārata, but adopts only such parts of the narrative of the epic as suit the purpose of his poem, *śleṣayamaka*. "In the history of Sabda-citra in Sanskrit" it has been said "Kicaka-vadha marks an important stage of development. Perhaps Nitivarman wrote this yamaka-kāvya, to illustrate the extent to which yamakas might be used as accessories in the delineation of a rasābhāsa like Kicaka's Sringara."[1] There is a commentary on the poem by Janārdanasena[2] probably of Bengal and an earlier gloss by Sarvānanda-Nāga.[3]

The benediction is in the name of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. "Then follows to the end of the first sarga, a eulogy of the poet's patron, whose name is not given, but who appears to have been a king of Kalinga, for whose delectation Nitivarman wrote his interesting tour de force in yamaka and slesha. The narrative does not commence till we come to sarga 11, which, like the first, fourth and fifth, is composed entirely in yamaka. The third sarga, which gives us Draupadi's long speech to Yudhisthira and his brothers, illustrates slesha, with occasional lapses into yamaka at the beginning and at the end. Considerable skill is displayed in managing these verbal tricks, and some of them are indeed very happy, and not in the least laboured, like those of Nalodaya."[4]

329. Nalodaya, a short poem in 4 cantos, describes the life of Nala. "The chief aim of the author is to show off his skill in the manipulation of the most varied and artificial metres, as well as all the elaborate tricks of style exhibited in the later Kavyas. Rhyme even is introduced, and that, too, not only at the end of, but within metrical lines. The really epic material is but scantily treated, narrative making way for long descriptions and lyrical effusions."

1. यत्तु रसवन्ति कानिचिद्यमकादीनि दृश्यन्ते तत्र रसादीनामङ्गता यमकादीनामङ्गितैव । रसाभासे च अङ्गत्वमप्यविरुद्धम् ॥—*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 87.

2. Ed. by S K. De, with an elaborate introduction and notes for the Dacca University. See also *JRAS*, (1929), 109.

3. *l. c. Int.* xxiv; *IO*, 1184.

4. Mitra's *Notices*, No. 615; Haraprasad Sastri's *Notices*, 1905; *IO*, 1492.

There are commentaries on Nalodaya, by Mallinātha,[1] Prajnākaramiśra,[2] by Kṛṣṇa,[3] by Ṭiruvenkatasūri,[4] by Ādityasūri,[5] by Haribhatta,[6] and Nṛsimhasarma,[7] by Jivānanda,[8] by Kesāvāditya,[9] by Gaṇeśa,[10] [by Bharaṭasena; by Mukundabhatta, by Śivadaṭṭa, by Ravideva, by Hariratna, by Āṭreyabhatta],[11] by Prabhakaramiśra[12] and others anonymous.[13]

330. Raksasakavya[14] is a short piece of twenty verses in an enigmatic and alliterative style, containing a description of sylvan scenery around, by a person roaming about in the forest with his spouse. There are commentaries on it by Premadhara, by Śāmbhubhāskara, by Kavirāja, by Kṛṣṇacandra, by Udayākaramiśra,[15] and by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyagunda.[16]

331. These two poems have been attributed to Kālidāsa and the latter also to Vararuci. Rāmarṣi in his commentary on Nalodaya says that it was the work of Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa.[17]

इति वृद्धव्यासात्मजमिश्ररामर्षिदाधीच्यविरचितायां रविदेवविरचितमहाकाव्यनलोदयटीकायां यमकबोधिन्यां नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थ आश्वासः ।

(*JBAS.*, Extra No. 1887, p. 337)

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1. *DC*, XX. 7923.
2. Printed, Calcutta. *DC*, XX. 7924. He was a native of Mithila and son of Mahāmdhopādhyāya Vidyādhara of Puṇyagrāma (Poona). Earliest Ms. is dated Śaka 1735.
3. *DC*, XX. 7926. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2787–94.
4. *DC*, XX. 7927.
5. *DC*, XX. 7931. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2795.
6. *CASB*, 89.
7. *Ibid.*, *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2807.
8. Printed, Calcutta.
9. *PR*, III. 395.
10. *IO*, 2534.
11. *CC*, I. 280, II. 60; III. 60.
12. *PR*, IV. 24.
13. *DC*, XX. 7928-30; *TC*, II. 2591, *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2797, 2798, 2800; *IO*, 3160.
14. Ed. Bombay.
15. Ed. Bombay. *DC*, XX. 7989; *IOO*, 1493 contains a commentary also.
16. *CC*, I. 498, II. 117.
17. The commentary was composed in Sam. 1664 (1607 A.D.) *JASB* (1887) Extra number, page p. 1337. Rāmarṣi was one of the three sons of Vṛddha Vyāsa, who lived at Dindavana near Pathan during the reign of Sultan Salim and who wrote a commentary on the Bhāgavata at Pattan. See *PR*, III. 20, *App.* 337. 340 and Keilhorn's calculations, *IA*, XIX. 34. A manuscript in *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2782 gives the name, Ravideva, son of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa:

इति नारायुणसुतश्रीरविदेवरचिते नलोदयकाव्ये चतुर्थोल्लासः

But Viṣṇu, another commentator, calls the author Vāsuḍeva, son of Ravi :

इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

रवितनुभूयमितायाः कृतेर्गतिश्शब्दचित्रभूयमितायाः ।

जनहासायमितायाः धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमितायाः ॥

A king Rāma is mentioned in the introductory verses as in Ṭripuraḍahana of Vāsuḍeva and A. S. Ramanatha Iyer therefore concludes that Naloḍaya must have been the work of the author of Ṭripuraḍahana who lived in the beginning of the 9th century A.D.[1]

332. Sobhana was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Ḍhanapāla into his faith after prolonged effort. He was known as Sobhanamuni. He lived in the Court of Ḍhārā in the 10th century A.D. His sṭuṭi also called Caṭurvimśaṭikā consists of 4 groups of verses, "the first in praise of 24 Tirthankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinas, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities." The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each verse agree to the letter in sound, and bear different meanings. Ḍhanapāla wrote a commentary on it.[2]

333 Srivatsanka was the son of Rāma alias Veḍavyāsa, the second son of Kuraṭṭālwar.[3] He lived about the beginning of the 12th century A.D. His Yamakaraṭnākara[4] is a poem in āryā metre on Śrī Kṛṣṇa and is followed by his own commentary.[5]

334. Dharmaghosa was a sage who died in Sam. 1357 (1301 A.D.) He wrote verses capable of four different meanings. His Yamakasṭuṭi is well known, on which his successor Somaṭilaka wrote a commentary.[6]

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1. See para 65 supra. See *JMy*, XIV. 302 ; *JRAS*, (1925), 263.

2. Translated and edited by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XXXII. 509). On the com. see Buhler, *Sb. Akad. Wien*, (1882), 570–2. See *PR*, I. 69, app. 101, III. ap. 22, iv. 121; Weber, *ISt*, II. 944 ; Śanṭisuri's Prabhāvakacariṭa, xvii, 314.

3. See para 207 *supra*.

4. Printed, Madras. *DC*, XX. 7797.

5. For instance

पद्माक्षमासमेतं प्रसन्नतोयदगातिसमात्रस्थम् ।

पद्माक्षमासमेतं प्रसन्नतो यदगतिसभावस्थम् ॥

6. *PR*, III. 17, 310.

335. Mananka[1] calls himself a King (Mahībhuj) in his gloss on Gīṭagovinda.[2] He is quoted by Rayamukuta in his commentary on Amarakośa (A.D. 1431). Besides a commentary on Mālaṭīmāḍhava,[3] he wrote Yamaka poems Bṛndāvana[4] and Meghābhyuḍaya.[5]

336. Venkatesa was the son of Śrīnivāsa and grandson of Venkateśa of Āṭreyagoṭra He was born in Kali 4697 (1596 A.D.) at Araśānipalai near Kāncī. He was of the family of Venkatāḍhvari. In Rāmayamakārṇava[6] and Rāmacanḍroḍaya[7] he relates the story of Rāma, the former in the yamaka style. Probably he is the author of Sleṣamālā.[8]

337. Gopalaraya or Gopālasāmy, son of Jinavalli Immadi. Venkatarāja, was a descendent of Immadi Ankusa,[9] and must have lived in the latter half of 18th century. His Rāmācanḍroḍaya[10] in 5 Uchwasas gives the story of Rāma in Yamaka form.

338. The following works are in this style of composition; Dharmaghoṣa's a Yamakasṭuṭi[11] Śrīśayamakaśaṭaka[12] Acyuṭalīlā,[13] Rāmalīlāmṛta of Kṛṣṇamohana,[14] Rādhāprasāḍa,[15] Yamakaśikhāmaṇi of Kṛṣṇakavīnḍra,[16] Yamakabhāraṭa of Ānanḍaṭīrṭha,[17] Yuḍhisthiravijaya etc., of Vāsuḍeva,[18] Śauricariṭra[19] and Raghūḍaya of Śrīkantha.[20]

1. *CC*, I. 452.
2. See *PR*, III. 11, 280; *CC*, I. 154.
3. *IO*, 158, 895.
4. Printed, Kāvyasangraha, Calcutta.
5. *PR*, I. 119; III. 11, 291.
6. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2631. This was composed in śāka 1578 (1656 A.D.)
7. This is a long poem of about 30 cadtos. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2658. There is a commentary by the author himself (*Ibid*, VI. 2664.) composed in Kali 4736 (1635 A.D.)
8. *Mys. OML*, 260.
9. See *DC*, XX. 7732.
10. *DC*, XX. 7839; *CAL*. II. 11. There is a commentary on it by the author. The manuscript says it was written on the full moon day of Āsvayuja Kṛṭṭikā, Saka 1706 (1684 A.D.)
11. *PR*, III. 17,310.
12. *Mys. OML*, *sup. II.*
13. *TC*, IV. 4531.
14. *CC*, I. 878.
15. *IOC*, VII. 1464.
16. See para 213 supra.
17. *Opp.* 2261.
18. Printed, Bombay. See para 65 *supra.*
19. *Mys. OML*, *Sup.*, 10. It was composed in Malabar in 1700 A.D.
20. *TC*, IV. 5059, with commentary by Ruḍramiśra, *TC*, IV. 4318. The poet praises the Yamaka compositions of Raviḍeva and Kulaśekharaḍeva.

Śleṣacuḍāmaṇi of Śrīnivāsa,[1] Śleṣollāsa of Śivaprasāḍa,[2] Śleṣacampūrāmāyana of Venkaṭācārya,[3] Śleṣacinṭāmani of Ciḍambara,[4] Rāmāstaprāsa of Rāmabhaḍra,[5] Prāsabhāraṭa of Sūryanārāyaṇa, son of Viśvanātha of Kāśyapagoṭra.[6]

Ciṭraraṭnākara of Cakrakavi,[7] Viśeṣaṇarāmāyaṇa of Vīrarāghava,[8] Somakunjara's Ciṭrakāvya,[9] and Kṛṣṇamohana's Rāmalīlāmṛṭa.[10]

339. Ciṭrakāvyas appear in numerous forms. In Naloḍaya and Kīcakavaḍha there is the narration of a single story and the cleverness consists merely in the combination of letters which can form words of different senses. In Ḍvisanḍhāna poems, the same verse gives two different meanings, and thus narrates two distinct tales. Besides those already noticed, there are Sanḍhayākaranandin's Rāmacariṭa which depicts at once the story of Rāma and the history of his patron Rāmapāla,[11] and Ānanḍakāvya.[12] Rāghava-yāḍava-pāndavīya has verses of three meanings, and relates three different tales. Pancakalyānacampū deals similarly with five different tales and Sapṭasanḍhāna with the lives of seven great men. Somaprapha has a Śaṭārṭhikāvya, where a verse has a 100 different meanings. Rāmakṛṣṇaviloma has the first half of each verse repeated backwards in the second half and narrates the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

In Nārāyaṇa's Niranunāsikacampū, Sūrpaṇakhā complains to Rāvaṇa of Rāma's assault and because her nose and ears had been cut off, the poet aptly eliminates all nasals, which Śūrpaṇakhā could not have pronounced.[13]

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1. *TC*, IV. 633.
2. *CC*, I. 677.
3. *Rice*, 254.
4. *Tanj. Cat.* VI, 2848
5. Printed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.
6. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2564.
7. *TC*, IV. 5564. Here is another work of this name: *DC*, XX. 8054.
8. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2671.
9. *Jes. Cat.* 54.
10. *CC*, I. 518.
11. Ed. *MASB*, III. 1-56. See para 189 *supra*.
12. *CC*, I. 46.
13. *TC*, IV. 4206. For instance:

हा हा राक्षसराज दुष्परिभवग्रस्तस्य धिक् ते भुजाः
विद्युज्जिह्वविपत्तिरेव सुकरा क्षुद्रप्रताप त्वया ।
ध्वस्तापत्रप पश्य पश्य सकलैश्चक्षुर्भिरेतादृशी
जाता कस्यचिदेव तापसशिशोश्शस्त्रात्तवैव स्वसा ॥

For Niroṣṭhya verses, see *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2729. An instance of Nirḍanṭya, Nirmurḍhanya, Niranṭastha and Niruṣmaka is in Praṭāparuḍrīya (vi. 29).

केकिकचा कोककुचा मञ्जुभुजा कापि कापि कामाज्ञा ।
कञ्जमुखी कुम्भिगमा बभौ खगाङ्काङ्कभागपङ्कजगा ॥

and also in Sahiṭyaraṭnākara, VI. 25. *et. seq.*

Poets have exercised their intellect to frame verses of one or two letters only. For instance :

कोकीकङ्की कोककङ्ककाकाकोकुकाकिकाः । कोकाङ्ककाङ्कां किकाकुकाकुकेङ्ककीकका ॥
नानादानानि दीनानां ददानो नन्दनन्दनः । नदीननन्दनीनन्दी नुदेदेनो दिने दिने ॥

Sāhityaratnākara, VI. 31.

न नोनुनुन्नो नुन्नोनो नाना नानानना ननु । नुन्नोऽनुन्नो ननुन्नेनो नानेना नुन्ननुन्ननुत् ॥

Kāvyānuśāsana, V.

340. Nitthala Upamaka Venkatesvara was son of Viśvanātha and Kāmāmbā and probably lived near Vizianagaram about the middle of 19th century A.D. He was a poetic genius of modern times of rare merit and has left an instance of poetic composition at once graceful and unique, a combination of accrostics of surprising ingenuity. In the apparent garb of a poem on Rāmāyaṇa, RAMAYANASANGRAHA in 30 cantos in prose and verse (composed in 1866 A.D.), he has arranged the letters of verses, so as to form four more poems out of particular letters combined and read together from the verses. It is therefore described as *Catuścitragarbha*. He has imbedded his own name and description in one of such devices in his Bālakānda.

The poem GAURIVIVAHA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the verses of kāndas from Ayoḍhya to Yuḍḍha and describes the marriage of Pārvaṭī.

The poem ŚRIRANGADIKSETRAMAHATMYA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter in the second pāḍa of the verses from kāndas Ayoḍhya to Yuḍḍha. Here thirteen shrines are described with their theological history.

The poem BHAGAVADAVATARACARITA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the third pāḍa of the verses from kāndas, Ayoḍhya to Yuḍḍha, and describes the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The poem ḌRAUPADIKALYANA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the fourth pada of the verses from kāndas, Ayoḍhya to Yuḍḍha, and describes the marriage of Ḍraupaḍī.

Above all a combination of the first letters of each of the verses in Bālakānda makes up RAMAKAVACA.[1]

341. Bandha is the name given to verses in which the letters are arranged in the form of sword, lotus, car, serpent etc. So says Mammata

तच्चित्रं यत्र वर्णानां खड्गाद्याकृतिहेतुता

1. *TC*, IV. 5031-5037.

There are Bandhas in various poems and works on rhetoric. They are numerous in Venkatādhvari's Lakṣmīsahasra. Venkateśvara's Citrabandharāmāyaṇa is wholly composed of verses of various designs, such as Kankaṇa, Chatra, Andolikā etc.[2]

Kamalamalikastotra of Venkatācārya, son of Nṛsimha of Śrīvatsagotra,[3] is another feat of alliterative ingenuity, a garland of lotuses in praise of Lakṣmī. It is accompanied by a commentary:

माभूसदारममर्माम रसासितामा
मातासि याजररमारजसाभया मा ॥
माया भवात्रननमानत्रमामयामा ।
मा याम मे ततमा ततीयान भूमा ॥

Kankaṇabandha is the most ingenious in this class. In it the narrative is formed by rewriting a verse, for instance, of 32 letters backward and forward from a particular starting point and thus making 64 verses in all. The story of Rāmāyaṇa has been so related.[4]

In Venkateśa's Rāmacandrodaya the 26th Canto contains Bandhas and there is a Kankaṇabandha:[5]

कामामामायासारामे हामामारादारागासा ।
लापासेनापायासामा यानीष्ठेमादाथादारा ॥

342. Vakrokti is a clever diversion or subversion of a saying. The intended meaning of a word is wantonly not understood and the person addressed, most often reprimanded, perverts the meaning of the word to avoid an inconvenient answer. So says Mammata,

यदुक्तमन्यथा वाक्यमन्यथाऽन्येन योज्यते ।
श्लेषेण काक्वा वा ज्ञेया सा वक्रोक्तिस्तथा द्विधा ॥

There is the first verse of Mudrārākṣasa in illustration:

धन्या केयं स्थिता ते शिरसि शशिकला किं नु नामैतदस्याः
नामैवास्यास्तदेतत्परिचितमपि ते विस्मृतं कस्य हेतोः ।

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1. Kāvyaprakāśa, IX. 85 et. seq.
2. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2728-35, with Yagnanārāyaṇa's commentary. See also Pratāparudrayaśobhuṣana. vii. 6-3. Sāhityaratnākara, vi. 25 and all books on rhetoric in chapters on Śabdālankāra.
3. *DC*, XVIII. 6864.
4. See para 97 *supra*.
5. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2658. See para 239 supra.

नारीं पृच्छामि नेन्दुं कथयतु विजया न प्रमाणं यदीन्दुः.
देव्या निह्नोतुमिच्छोरिति सुरसरितं शाठ्यमव्याद्विभोर्वः ॥

There are Ratnākara's Vakroktipancāśikā,[1] Rambhāśukasamvāda,[2] Sivārāma's Lakṣmī-Sarasvatīsamvāda[3] and Girijākamalāvivāda.[4]

On Vakrokti, as the essential of poetry, Kuntaka wrote a treatise Vakrotijīvita.[5]

343. Dyglott poems consist of verses that can be read in any two (or more) languages.[6] Here is an instance of identity in Prakrit and Sanskrit:

सरळे साहसरागं परिहर रम्भोरु मुञ्च संरम्भम् ।
विरसं विरहायासं वोढुं तव चित्तमसहं मे ॥

344. Srinivasa Kavisārvabhauma was a poet of the Court of Kṛṣṇa Rāja Udeyar, Mahārāja of Mysore, of the last century. Besides Kṛṣṇarājaprabhāvodaya, a poem on his patron, he wrote Kṛṣṇarājajayotkarṣa in prose and verse in such a way that with an alteration in punctuation the work becomes Sanskrit or Kanarese.

345. Cyuta is a species of composition in which the main word is indicated by the omission of a mātra, half mātra, bindu or varṇa. So Hemacandra says

च्युतं मात्रार्धमात्राबिन्दुवर्णगतत्वेन चतुर्धा ।

For instance:

अर्धमात्राच्युतं यथा ।
पयोधरभराक्रान्ते विद्युल्लेखाविराजिते ।
कान्तस्सर्वजनाभीष्टो बाले दुःखेन लभ्यते ।
अत्र 'न्दु' इत्यत्र नकारो व्यञ्जनं च्युतम् ॥

346. Gudha is another species in which some word is concealed in the verses. Hemacandra says:

गूढं क्रियाकारकासम्बन्धपादविषयत्वेन चतुर्धा ।

1. Printed, Bombay with commentary.
2. *Mys. OML*, 254.
3. *CC*, I. 540.
4. *PR*, III. *App.* 298.
5. Ed. by S. K. De, with critical notes and Introduction; *PR*, II. 17, 19.
6. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1918), 67.

For instance:

कारकगूढं यथा ।

केनेमौ दुर्विदग्धेन हृदये विनिवेशितौ ।

पिबतस्ते शरावेण वारि कह्लारशीतलम् ॥

अत्र "शरौ" इति कर्मणो गूढत्वम् ॥

Kṛṣṇakavi, son of Raghunātha Dīkṣita, wrote Kriyāgopanarāmāyaṇa or Candrakalāvilāsa, a poem in 14 cantos, on the story of Rāmāyaṇa. The merit of the poem is that the predicate is concealed in the verses.[1]

347. Vidagdhamukhamandana of Dharmadāsa, a Jain, is a collection of enigmatical verses, in 4 chapters, on different topics in Citra varieties. There are commentaries on it by Tārācandra of Śivarājadhāni,[2] by Durgadāsa and by Gaurikānta and Narahari and one anonymous. Viśveśvara's Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa is a similar work.

348. Vāgbhūṣaṇa of Rāmacandra of Bhārgavagotra is a group of periphrastic and curiously composed verses in praise of various Gods. He lived somewhere on the banks of Tāmraparṇī in the Pāndya country.[3]

Durghatakāvya is a highly artificial poem of 80 verses in praise of various deities with an anonymous commentary. There is a poem of that name attributed to Kālidāsa printed in Bombay.[4]

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1. *TC*, I. 10, 896; IV. 5505 (with commentary).
   For instance:
   भवान्नारायणस्सीतादेवीयं कमलालया । इति व्याख्याततत्वेन वेधसा मैथिलीपतिः ॥
2. Printed, Bombay. *TC*, III. 3277; *DC*, XX. 8090; *Mitra*, IV. 294.
   For instance;
   अनेकसुषिरं वाद्यं कान्तं स्त्रीमुखपङ्कजम् ।
   विद्धि तत् त्र्यक्षरं राजन् चक्षुश्श्रोत्रसुखावहम् ॥ वल्मीकम्
3. *TC*, III. 2747.
   For instance:
   एकान् द्विरूपान् त्रिचतुर्भिरीडितान् पञ्चास्यषड्वक्त्रसुतांश्च सप्त च ।
   नाद्यागिराप्याप्नवभिर्दशाच्युतान् व्रजामि नित्यं शरणं विमुक्तये ॥
4. *IOC*, VII. 1488.

Kavirākṣhasīyam is a poem of 100 verses of involved meaning by an unknown author, calling himself Kavirākṣasa.[1] There are commentaries on it by Nāganarāya, son of Ḍevanārāḍhya,[2] and two anonymous.[3]

349. Nagaraja was the son of Jalapa and grandson of Viḍyāḍhara of Karpatigoṭra. He is spoken of at the end of his poem Bhāvaśaṭaka as a King who was the ornament of the Taka race. "Taka race here mentioned is probably the same as that to which Madanapala, the patron of the author of the Madanaparijatha, (work on law) belonged. It was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was as stated in the introduction to the latter, a town of the name of Kashtha situated on the Yamuna to the north of Delhi." Bhāvaśaṭaka "consists of 101 verses, some in prakrit in each of which a certain person is represented to be doing a certain thing in a certain condition and the reason why he or she does or the minor sense of the verse is meant to be found out by the reader. It is however given at the end of the verses."[4]

Camaṭkāracanḍrika,[5] (i) by Kavikarṇapūra, (ii) Naroṭṭamaḍāsa and (iii) by Viśveśvara, and Vyajoktiśaṭaka of Ṭrivikrama[6] are similar.

350. Sīṭārāmīya or Sabḍoḍāharaṇa of Bhāskarasūri, son of Rāmaswāmi Dikṣiṭa, narrates the story of Rāma and is meant to illustrate grammatical forms like Bhattikāvya.[7] Sabhyābharaṇa is an anthology with double meaning, in 9 chapters, by Rāmacanḍra Bhatta of Attālaḍeśa. The last verse interlaces the last *sūtra* of Panini अ अ with ingenuity. He was a great grammarian. There is a commentary on it by Govinḍa (jyoṭirviṭ), son of Nīlakantha, of the family of astrologers of Sīvapurī on the banks of Goḍāvarī.

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1. *DC*, XX. 8024. Printed, Bombay. There is a fanciful reason given for the peculiar name :

साक्षरेषु भवतीह जगत्यां सर्व एव हृदि मत्सरयुक्तः ।
साक्षरं कविजनेषु तमेनं लोक एष कविराक्षसमाह ॥

2. *DC*, XX. 8025.
3. *Ibid.*, 8026, 8027.
4. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, III. 21, 338 ; IV. 69; *BR*, 1882-3), 9, 198.

There are Bhāvavilsāa by Ruḍrākavi (Printed, Bombay), Bhāvaśāṭaka by Venkatācārya (*Mys. OML*, 680) and Bhavāmanjarī by Rāma, son of Kṛṣṇagopāla of Aṭreyagoṭra (R. No. 2975).

5. *CC*, I. 183, III. 39.
6. *CC*, II. 147.
7. *TC*, IV. 5863.

Sarvasena's Harivijaya is a poem with double entendre describing the victory of Hari, while the same text directs the movements in chess play.[1]

SECTION II

Some Modern Poets.

351. In the 19th century, **Gangadharasastri** Tailinga of Benares wrote[2] the philosophical poems Hamsāṣtaka and Alivilāsisallāpa; Duhkhabhanjanakavi of Benares wrote a biographical poem Candrasēkharacarita; and Paramesvara Jha (Mahāmahopādhyāya)[3] wrote Yakṣamilanakāvya, a sequel to Meghaduta.

352. Subrahmanya Suri, son of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa, was born in 1850 at Kadayakkudi near Pudukkota. He was 7th in descent from the famous Chokkanātha Dikṣitta.[4] He was a Professor of Sanskrit in Raja's College at Pudukkota and passed away in 1913. His learning was versatile. He was very good at poetry and grammar and proficient in singing and painting. His Harikathās attracted an enchanted audience and were known for their devotion and erudition. Besides the play Vallī-Bāhulēyam, in seven Acts, depicting the marriage of Vallī and Skanda and a bhāna Manmathamanthana and a prose piece Śantanucarita, he wrote several poems Buddhisandeśa, Padyapancaratna, Haratīrthesvarastuti, Sūkasūktisudhārasāyana and stories adapted to music, such as Rāmavatāra, Viśvāmitrayāga, Sītākalyāṇa, Rukminīkalyāṇa and Vibhūtimāhātmya etc. His Dolāgitas and Hallīsamanjaris, songs on various deities, are interesting, particularly those relating the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa.

By far a very valuable poem is Asecanaka-Rāmāyaṇa. In 199 verses in Arya metre where the first three padas narrate the story and the fourth pada impresses a moral. The work is unique and represents Vālmīki's work as a mine of ethical precepts.

353. Krsnarama was a professor in Ayurveda in Jaipur State about 1900. In his Kachavamśa and Jayapuravilāsa, he described the greatness of the ruler of Jaipur. Among many poems he wrote are Aryālankārāśtaka, Palāndusataka, Muktaka-muktāvali, Holāmahotsava

1. See *Cat, CP*, Int. lv; No. 6864. For verses on caturanga, see B. No. 14606.
2. Printed Benares and Darbhanga.
3. He also wrote a romance like Vāsavadatta.
4. Except the works printed by M. L. J. Press, Madras and the other manuscripts are with the poet's son, S. Sankara Narayana B.A., Account-General's Office, Madras.

andSāraśataka, a poetical epitome of several important Sanskrit works. In metrics he wrote Chandaśchatāmandana.[1]

354. Shankerlal Maheshwar Shastri, Mahāmahopādhyāya of the Prashnora Nagar community lived in Jamnagar in 1844-1916 A.D. He commenced writing poetry at the age of 15. The Maharaja of Jamnagar bestowed upon him the title of Śīghrakavi i.e. an ex tempore poet. He served in the Rawajiraj Pathasala of Morbi in Kathiawad for many years. Among his many works Sāvitrī-caritra, Candraprabhacaritra Ḍhruvābhyudayanātaka, Gopālacintāmaṇi, Anasūyābhyudaya, etc.

355. Venkatesa Vamana Sovani was son of Vāmana Vittala. He was Professor of Sanskrit at Meerut and Allahabad and lived in 1882-1925. His son V. V. Sovani is Professor, Rajkumar College, Raipur (C.P.). Among his many works, all printed, there are the minor poems, Indradyumnāpavarga (philosophical), Ḍivyaprabandha, Īśalaharī, Rāmacandrodaya (in 4 cantos) and a biography of Śivāji Chatrapati, Śivāvatāraprabandha. His admiration of Kālidasa is illustrated in his poem Kālidasapraśaṃsā.

356. Mudumbai Venkatarama Narasimha Acharya, lived in 1842-1928 A.D. He was the son of Vīrarāghava and Rangāmbā of Śrīvatsa-gotra. The progenitor of his family was Mudumbai Ācān, one of the 72 Śrivaiṣṇava Ācāryas set up by Rāmānuja. One of his ancestors Kṛṣṇamācārya had two sons, versed in music and literature and they came to be known as Sangīta-Mudumbai and Sāhitya-Mudumbai and our poet was of the latter line. His learning was all comprehensive and he was honoured as a poet laureate in the court of Vijayarāma Gajapati, Maharaja of Vijayanagaram (Vizagapatam District). He wrote about 114 works in different branches of literature. Among his dramas are Gajendravyāyoga, Rājahamsīyanātaka, and Vasavīpāśarīyaprakaraṇa, and his Citsūryāloka dramatises the story of the solar eclipse. Among his major poems are Rāmacandrakathāmṛta and Bhāgavata, which are long poems on the stories of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and minor poems are Khalāvahelana and Nītirahasya. He wrote a romance in prose a campū Ujjvalānanda, and a work on poetics, Kāvyālankārasangraha.

357. Medepalli Venkataramanacarya, was his pupil. Born in 1862 at Anakapalli in Vizagapatam District, and educated under different teachers of great merit, he has been the senior Sanskrit professor in the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram. His Gīrvāṇa Śathagopasahasram is a rendering in verse of the sacred collect of Tamil

1. See Śivadatta's introduction to Naiṣadha, Bombay.

Prabandhas and is a valuable treasure of devotional lore and exhibits a classical style rarely seen after the 15th century. Above all his narratives in prose of many plays of Shakespeare, on the line of Lamb's Tales are specimens of elegant simplicity.[1] His history of rhetoric written in Telugu[2], which is an epitome of the results of literary research in the sphere of poetics.[3]

358. **Hemacandra Roy,** Kavibhūṣana, is the son of Jaḍunandana Roy of Varenḍra Kāyasṭha family of Gauṭama goṭra. He was born in the village of Rāmanagara in Pabna District in Bengal in Saka 1804 (1882 A.D.) on 18th Asvina. After a distinguished career in the Calcutta University, he has been professor of Sanskrit in Edward College, Pabna. His poems are remarkable for lucidity of expression and embrace thrilling themes of love and romance. They are Saṭyabhāmāparigraham, Subhaḍrāharaṇam, Haihayavijayam, Pāndavavijayam and Paraśurāmacariṭram.[4]

359. **Mathuranatha,** popularly known as Manjunāṭha, is the son of Ḍvārakānāṭha and was adopted by Sunḍaralāla, a Pandit of the Court of Jaipur. He is of Gauṭama Goṭra, born on Āsāḍha Kṛṣṇa Sapṭamī Sam. 1940 (1890 A.D.). His ancestor Bavijiḍikṣit was a Telugu Brahmin who settled at Benares, and a later descendant Manulaḍīkṣiṭ came away to Prayāg. The family was known as Ḍevarṣyāvaṭanka, after the name of a village Ḍevarṣi, gifted to him by his pupil there. About Sam. 1700, Śrīkṛṣṇabhatta was born. His scholarship is highly praised by Hariharabhatta in Kulaprabanḍha. Having been honoured by the Chiefs of Bundi and Amber, he was made the State Pandit of Jeypur. There at Jeypur he wrote the poems Īśvaravilāsa[5], Paḍyamukṭāvali[6], Ṭripurasunḍarīsṭavarāja[7], and Alankārakalāniḍhi.

Maṭhurānāṭha is the Superintendant of Sanskrit studies in Jeypur State. In his Manjukaviṭānikunja (Bower of poetry) he has gathered

Printed Madras.

1. For another rendering, see Index.
2. Printed, Madras.
3. Printed, Madras.
4. Printed, Pabna.
5. *PR*, III. 393, *CC*, I. 61.
6. For another work of this name by Ghāsirāma, see *CC*, I. 324.
7. *Taylor*, I. 103. For sṭotras on Tripurasunḍarī by Jayaḍeva, Rāghavācārya etc., see *CC*, I. 237. There are Ṭripurasunḍarīkāvya composed by a Kālīḍāsa in 1752 A.D. (*CC*, I. 237) and Ṭripurasunḍarīmahoḍaya by Śankarānanḍanāṭha (*CC*, I. 237).

minor poems Sāhiṭyavaibhava, Jayapuravaibhava, Samskṛṭagāṭhāsapṭa-saṭī,[1] Sanṣkṛṭasarvasva, and Kāvyakālārahasya.

"The poem is divided into several sections," Says Gopinatha Kaviraj, "with verses on different subjects in each. The description of the seasons, the representations of the various moods of the human mind, the delineation with touches of humour at intervals of the darker phases of the modern social life, all these have a ring of freshness and spontaneity about them which mark them out as distinctive of true inspiration. The author is at his best in his manipulation of the metres not merely those which are current in the Sanskrit classics but even some new varieties coined by him in imitation of Hindi, Urdu and Persian."

360. **Srisailatatacarya,** better known as D. T. Tatacarya Siromani, is the senior professor of Mīmāmsa, Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, Tanjore Dt. He was born in 1892 at Tiruvarangam in South Arcot. His powers of Sanskrit elocution are remarkable. Among his poems[2] are Kapināmupavāsa and Mugdhānjali.

1. This is a literal reading of Hāla's Sapṭasaṭi.
2. Printed, Kumbakonam.

CHAPTER XV.

SECTION I.

Subhasita

361. Subhasita, generally spoken of as anthologies, are various collections of verses as several topics, proverbial, erotic, ethical, descriptive and devotional etc. They may be the composition of one author or selections from other authors. In some of the collections of the latter class, the names of the poets are appended and they thus serve as valuable landmarks in literary history. Many of these poets are now only known by name and their works are not available. Treatises on rhetoric often serve the purpose of anthologies, for they quote verses in illustration from various poets and works by name. Works of single authors may be classed under Laghu Kāvya, while collections may stand apart as essences of the whole Kāvya literature.

362. Kavindravacanasamuccaya[1] is the earliest of anthologies now available. The author's name is not known, but among the authors quoted Mayūra, Vākpaṭirāja and Rājaśekhara are the latest. It must have been composed about the end of the 10th century A.D. The value of the work has been enhanced by the excellent introduction of F. W. Thomas which contains information on many unknown authors and collects their verses quoted in other anthologies.[2]

363. Nandana's Prasannasāhiṭyaraṭnākara is an anthology in 1000 stanzas. "The compiler is very proud of his knowledge of Panini and Sahitya. He says his work is beyond computation. He commences with Śivavrajyā. This work is compiled in imitation of Kavivacana-samuccaya in which collections of verses on different subjects are called Vrajyas. That is Buddhistic, while the present is Hindu.[3]"

364. Amitagati was a Ḍigambara Jain ascetic and pupil of Māḍhavasēna.[4] He wrote Ḍharmaparīkṣa[5] in Sam. 1070) and Subhā-

1. Printed, Calcutta.
2. Such work has also been admirably done in the Introduction to Subhāsiṭāvali by P. Peterson.
3. Haraprasad's Sastri *Nep. Cat.* No. 1574.
4. *PR*, IV. ix.
5. Weber, *ISt*. II, 1110.

Ṣiṭaraṭnasandoha in Sam. 1050 (994 A.D.) during the reign of King Munja of Ḍhāra.[1]

365. Sridharadasa son of Vatuḍāsa, was a Mandalika or a governor under king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. His Saḍukṭikarṇāmṛṭa composed in Śaka 1127 or 1205 A.D. comprises various topics from select authors whom it names.[2]

366. Jalhana or Arohaka Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa Ḍeva was son of Lakṣmīḍeva. They were ministers of the Yāḍava King Kṛṣṇa. His Sūkṭimukṭāvali was composed in Śāka 1179 (1257 A.D.) during Kṛṣṇa's reign by Vaiḍya Bhānu Pandiṭa or Bhāskara at the instance of Jalhaṇa.[3] The introductory verses give an account of Jalhaṇa's family and are summarised by R. G. Bhandarkar thus :[4]

"There was a person of the name of Dada who belonged to the Vatsa Gotra and appears to have been in the service of the Yadava king Mailugi, called in other places Mallugi. Vijjana, of the Kalachuri race, who had usurped the throne at Kalyana in 1157 A.D. was not allowed to enjoy it peacefully. Besides internal disturbances he had to face the attacks of the surrounding chiefs. Mallugi appears from the above to have been one of those who were hostile to him, and Dada, who commanded his troops of elephants, fought a battle with Vijjana. Dada had four sons named Mahidhara, Jahla, Samba, and Gangadhara who contributed to raise the importance of Mallugi's kingdom. Mahidhara succeeded his father in the command of the elephants and had to conduct the war with Vijjana. His son Ananta appears to have assisted his father and captured many elephants from his master's powerful enemies. After Mahidhara's death his brother Jahla succeeded to his office and is said to have restored Bhillama's kingly power firm. Bhillama was the son of Mallugi and acquired finally the paramount sovereigty of the Dekkan for his family, about the year 1187 A.D. Jahla led a maddened elephant into the army of the Gurjara prince and obtained fame as Bhagadatta. Bhagadatta is a prince mentioned in the Mahabharata who fought with Arjuna with great bravery. Jahla spread terror into the heart of Malla, frightened

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2. Ibid. *BR* (1882-3) 45 ; *ZDMG*, LIX. 226. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay with a long introduction on the inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty. On Muñja, See under Bhoja *post*.

2. Printed partly by Rāmāvaṭāraśarma, Calcutta, *CSC* (1903) 106 ; Mitra's *Notices*, No. 1180 ; *ZDMG*, XXXVI, 361-83, 509-59. For author's names, see Aufrecht's Collections, No. 578; *JRAS* (1908), 1028-1063.

3. *DC*, XX. 8109.

4. *Report* (1897).

the forces of Mallugi, who must have been an enemy of Bhillama, and vanquished Munja and Anna. Who these chiefs were we do not know, and a great many of them had to be vanquished before Bhillama could acquire supreme power. The Munja mentioned here was not the celebrated prince of Dhara of that name. Jahla captured many elephants and gave them to his master Bhillama. Janardana was the son of his brother Gangadhara and he appears to have succeded as commander of the troops of elephants. He taught Simha or Singhana the art of managing elephants and thus enabled him to conquer Arjuna. Singhana, called also, Simha was the son of Jaitrapala and Bhillama. If he was taught the art of managing elephants by Janardana, it must have been so when he was a young man and during his father's reign. Singhana himself came to the throne in 1210 A.D. Janardana's son Lakshmideva succeeded to the office and contributed by his courage and bravery to consolidate the power of king Krishna. Krishna was the grandson of Singhana and ascended the throne after him in the year 1247 A.D. Lakshmideva constructed a large-tank and had an extensive and beautiful garden. His son was Jahlana, who with his brother assisted king Krishna by his counsel and commanded the troops of his elephants. He compiled this collection of elegant sayings.

Sūktimuktāvali is in two recensions, shoft and long.[1] It is particularly valuable for its preservation of the famous verses of Rājaśekhara enlogising great poets, of whom some are women. It begins with a summary of the contents.

367. Sarngadhara was the son of Dāmodara, grandson of Rāghava and great-grandson of Hammīra Bhūpati of Śākambharī country. It is an anthology of 4689 verses, some by the collator, and was composed in 1363 A.D.[2]

368. Vallabhadeva's[3] Subhāṣitāvali[4] has 3527 quotations of

1. *DC*, *XX*. 8109, 8116; *PR*. III. No. 370. For a full review and list of authors, see Peterson, *JRAS*, XVII. 57-71. Keith, *SL*, 222; Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura*, 9 note.

2. Ed. by P. Peterson, *BSS*, Bombay and partly by Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXV. 455; XXVII, 1, 77; *DC*. XX. 8092. See Bohtlingk's notes, *ZDMG*, (1873), 625.

3. He is different from Vallabhadeva, the commentator whom he quotes (see para 29 supra for further elucidation); *PR*, IV. 110-1, and Peterson, Int to Subh. 113-4. A.B. Keith, *Bull. Or. Studies*, V. (cannot be earlier than 15th century A.D.) S.K. De, *JRAS* (1927); D. C. Bhattacharya, *JRAS* (1928).

4. Ed. by P. Peterson, *BSS*. Bombay. For a review by Buhler, see *IA*, XV. 240.

very great value in literary history. He was a Kāṣmirian and his authors are mostly of Northern India. He must have lived after Sultan Zainalabdin of Kāṣmir (1417-67 A.D.), for he quotes Jonarāja, who was contemporary of that Sultan.[1]

369. Nīlakaṇṭha Ḍīkṣita was betitled Prabandhasāgara by King Rāmavarma of Vanci (Travancore) of the 15th century. In a poem of 18 ṣṭabakas called Varṇanāsārasangraha he elaborately describes several objects, seasons, countries and deities.[2]

370. Śrīvara was pupil of Jonarāja. Jonarāja continued Kalhaṇa's chronicle till 1412 A.D. and Śrīvara followed till 1477 A.D. Besides Kaṭhākauṭuka and Jainarājaṭaranginī, he wrote Subhāṣiṭāvali where he quotes about 400 poets.[3]

Vijayasenasūri wrote Sūkṭiraṭnāvali in 54 verses in *Sam.* 1647 (1591 A.D.)[4] It appears from the Praśasṭi on the Vriṭṭi on Vijayapraśasṭikāvya, that another Sūkṭiraṭnāvali was composed by Hemavijayagaṇi. There is also a Sūkṭiraṭnāvali by Vaiḍyaraṭna, son of Rāmabhatta, but authors are not named.[5]

371. Haridasa, son of Puruṣoṭṭama, of the Karana clan was an inhabitant of the Maharaja-Kharagada. Puruṣoṭṭama had four sons, Kṛṣṇaḍāsa, Dāmoḍara, Nārāyaṇa and Hariḍāsa. Hariḍāsa was a worshipper of Gaṇeśa and was proficient in all sciences and arts. He composed Prasṭāvaraṭnākara in 1614 probably of the Vikrama samvat, at Jatapattana during the reign of Varavirasahi in 21 chapters on various topics.[6]

372. Harikavi was a poet of the Deccan. Cakrapāṇi was his brother. His anthology Hārāvali or Subhāṣiṭahārāvali shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the whole country from Kashmir to Deccan.[7] He quotes from a poet of Akbar's Court (called

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1. See Jonarāja's Rājaṭaranginī, 7.

2. *DC*, XX. 8087. He wrote commentary on Sauriikaṭhoḍaya; (*DC*, XX. 7886.) during the reign of kings Rāmavarman and Goḍāvarman of Calicut of the 15th century A.D. See para 169 supra.

3. Peterson, *o.c.*, VI. iii. *BKR*, 61; *BR*, (1883-4), 54.

4. Printed, Bhownagar.

5. *IOC*, 1208.

6. Haraprasad Sastri, *Nep*, *Cat.*, page 212; *Oudh*, VI. 4, *CC*, I. 380.

7. For a full account, see *PR*, II. 57-64. For a synopsis of quotations, see Thomas, *Int to Kav*, 14 authors are named. There is a Subhāṣitasuḍhā of Hari (*CC*, I. 726.)

Akbarīyakālidāsa) and from Jagannātha's Bhāminīvilāsa and must therefore be assigned earliest to the latter half of the 17th century A.D. To the student of literary history this anthology presents many points of interest.[1]

Vrajanātha was in the Court of King Mādhava, son of Jayasimha who was a descendant of Pṛthvīrāja, and lived about sam. 1809 (1753 A.D.) His Padyataranginī with commentary in 12 tarangas is a large collection.[2]

Kāvyasangraha is an anthological collection of verses from various sources enumerating groups of nine, eight, seven, six and five noted persons, things and qualities, possessing similar characteristics.[3]

373. The following are other anthologies: Padyāmṛtataranginī of Hari Bhāskara,[4] Padyāvali (i) of Rūpagoswāmin,[5] (ii) of Mukunda[6] and (iii) of Vidyābhūṣaṇa[7]; Padyamuktāvali of (1) Ghāsīrāma,[8] Govindabhatta[9] and (ii) Padyāmṛtasarovara;[10] Padyasangraha by Kavibhatta,[11] Padyaveṇī of Veṇīdatta, son of Jagajjīvana.[12]

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2. He mentions a Bhojaprabandha by Rājaśekhara and quotes two verses from it and one of these authors is Pancānana. On this, Peterson (*ic.* 60) infers that the author of the Bālarāmāyaṇa etc. may have composed a Bhojaprabandha and says Rājaśekhara was a contemporary of Somadeva author of Yaśastilaka (composed in 859 A.D.) and of King Bhoja whose date of accession he puts at 966 A.D. There is a Hārāvali by Puruṣottama, (*PR*, III. 363.)

2. *PR*, IV. 26–32. Author's names are not given. For references, see Thomas, *Int. to Kavi.*

3. *DC*, XX, 8030.
For instance:

मित्रमर्थस्तथा नीतिर्धर्मकार्पण्यमूर्खका: ।
स्त्रीणां विद्वान् तथोत्खातान् नवरत्नमिदं क्रमात् ॥

4. *BR*, (1884-7) No. 356; *PR*, III. 395; *CSC*, (1908) 62; *CC*, I. 324; It contains 380 quotations from various Vaiṣṇava authors, such as Yogeśvara, Lakṣmīdhara, Śrīdharaswāmi, Śubhānga etc. There is a commentary by the author's son Jayarāma. Authors are named. For list, see *BR*, (1887–91) lxii: see Aufrecht's article in *ZDMG*, XXXVIII, 544–7.

5. Ibid.

6. *PR*, IV. 27.

7. *PR*, III. 395.

8. *CC*, I. 324.

9. *BR*, (1884–7.)

10. *CC*. I. 324.

11. Printed, Haberlin, 529.

12. *BR*, (1884–7) No. 375; *BR*, (1887–91) lx. Authors are named. It was composed in the regin of Emperor Shah Jehan (1625–56 A.D.)

(Prasṭāvacinṭāmaṇi of Caṇḍracūda, Prasṭāvaṭaraṅgiṇī of Śrīpāla, Prasṭāvamukṭāvali of Keśava Bhatta),[1] Prasṭavasārāsangraha of Rāmaśarma,[2] Prasṭāvasāra of Laūhiṭyavīrasena,[3] Prasṭāvaraṭnākara of Harihara.[4]

Subhāṣitakausṭubha of Venkaṭāḍhvari,[5] Subhāṣiṭamukṭāvali (i) of Puruṣoṭṭama[6] and (ii) of Mathurānāṭha,[7] Subhāṣiṭāvali of Sakalakīrṭi,[8] Subhāṣitaraṭnabhāndāgāra by K. P. Parab,[9] Subhāṣiṭaprabanḍha or Bhojakṛṭaśubhāṣiṭa,[10] Subhāṣitaṛaṭnakośa of Bhatta Śrīkṛṣṇa,[11] Subhāṣiṭaraṭnāvali of Umāmaheśvara Bhatta,[12] Sārasangraha of Śambhuḍāsa,[13] Sārasangrahasuḍhārṇava of Bhatta Govinḍajit.[14]

Subhāṣitaraṭnakosā by Bhatta Śrī Kṛṣṇa,[15] Subhāṣiṭanīvi of Venkatanātha,[16] Subhāśitapaḍāvalī, annonymous and by Śrīnivāsācārya,[17] Subhāṣiṭamanjarī by Cakravarṭi Venkaṭācārya probably of Kalyāṇapuram ;[18] Subhāṣiṭasuraḍruma [9] (i) by Keladi Basavappa Naik and (ii) by Khanderaya Basavayaṭīnḍra ;[20] Subhāṣiṭasarvasva by Gopīnāṭha.[21]

Subhāṣiṭasuḍhāniḍhi by Śāyanācārya,[22] Sūkṭivāriḍhi by Peḍḍabhatta,[23]

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1. *CC*, I. 359.
2. *HPR*, II. 135.
3. *HPR*, I. 236.
4. *PR*, (1887).
5. *DC*, XX. 8096. On the author, see Chapter on Campu *post.*
6. *CC*, I 728 ; *PR*, III. 397 IV. 31 ; IV. 31 ; VI. 367. *SKC*, 175.
7. *NW*, 696.
8. *DC*, XX. 8108.
9. Printed, Bombay.
10. *CC*, I. 728. Thomas, *Int. to Kav*, 12. Authors are not named.
11. *CC*, I. 728, *BR*, (1883-4), No. 93 ; 56, 360. Authors are not named.
12. *CC*, II. 174.
13. *IO*, 2458, *CC*, I. 728.
14. Also called Sabhyālankāra Samyogaśṛngāra, *BR*, (1884-7), No. 417 ; *BR*. (1887-90), lxii. Authors are named.
15. *CC*, I. 728.
16. Printed in part with commentary by Narasimha (*DC*, XX, 8098)
17. *DC*, XX. 8099, 8101.
18. *TC*, I. 800. He also wrote Muṣikapancaka (*TC*, I. 873) and Vṛṣcikapancaka (*TC*, I. 828).
19. *TC*, II. 2568, where author's names are not given.
20. *Rice*, 246 , *CC*, I. 728.
21. *PR*, IV. 31.
22. *DC*, XX. 105 ; *TC*, I. 1054 ; *TC*, IV. 5241, 5644. Written at the instance of King Kampa of Vijianagar in 84 paddhati contains an account of Śāyana's family.
23. *DC*, XX. 8117 in 13 śaṭakas. He was of the family of Mahāmahopāḍhyāya of Ekśvara City.

Subhāṣitaratnākara (i) by Munidevācārya[1] (ii) by Kṛṣṇa,[2] (iii) by K. S. Bhatavadekar,[3] (iv) by Umāpati, son of Nirmalanātha,[4] Sūktimuktāvali (i) of Viśvanātha, son of Vidyānīvāsa Bhattācārya,[5] (ii) of Puruṣottama and (iii) of Mathurānātha[6] Subhāṣita by Harihara,[7] Sabhāṣiarangasāra of Jagannāthamiśra ;[8] Sūktāvali by Lakṣmaṇa,[9] Subhāṣitāvali.[10]

Subhāṣita,[11] Subhāṣitamuktāvali,[12] Subhāṣitasamuccaya,[13] Subhāṣitasudhānandalahatī,[14] Subhāṣitasuradruma,[15] Subhāṣitaratnamālā,[16] Subhāṣitamanjarī,[17] Subhāṣitārṇava,[18] Subhasitasangraha.[19]

Cātudhāra,[20] Cāturatnākara,[21] Cātuślokas.[22]

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1. *PR*, I. 74.
2. *PR*, III. 35, 54.
3. *BR*, (1887).
4. Printed Bombay.
5. *Bik. Cat.*
6. *CC*, I. 728.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Mitra*, V. *CC*, I. 728.
9. *CC*, I. 696. Composed in 1867 A.D.
10. Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep.* (1916-9), 40. Of the rare authors and works are Viśvādhika, Purandara, Udhama. Dandin's 2nd verse of Avantisundarīkathā, Taruna-avacaspati, Bṛhatkathā, Vyāsa Sātakarṇi, Sundarapāndya, Vallabhadeva, Gajendrasimha, Ravigupta, Amṛtavardhana, Cappatadeva, Suvarṇavistara, Ankāvali, Rāmābhudaya. It quotes Someśvara and must have been composed later than 1130 A.D. For another work of this name, see *IOC*, 1518.
11. *BR*. (1883-4), No. 91. Authors are named. Thomas, *Int.* to *Kav.* 12, 14.
12. *Ibid.* No. 92, *PR*, VI. 367, *Ulwar*, 1094. Authors are not named. Another larger work of this name is in Aufrecht's collection, No. 61 in 34 Muktāmaṇis. Authors are not named. See Thomas, *Int.* to *Kav.* 13, for contents.
13. *CC*, I. 728. Authors are not named.
14. *DC*, XX. 810-3-4 ; *Taylor*, I. 140.
15. *TC*, II. 2569.
16. *TC*, I. 794, *CC*, III. 150.
17. *CC*, I. 728 ; *DC*, XX. 8099-8102 ; *TC*, I. 800, 871, II. 1681. This is prabably the same as the work of Cakravarti Venkatāchāriar. *TC*, I. 800.
18. *TC*, I. 463.
19. *PR*, III. 397 ; *HPR*, II. 249.
20. *DC*, XX. 8032. This contains 6 Paddhatis with 915 verses. There is a commentary on it, DC, XX. 8035.
21. *DC*, XX. 8035. This mentions Kākatīndra and must be later than Pratāparudra.
22. *DC*, XX. 8036-1052. These are different collections.

Padyaracanā by Lakṣmaṇabhatta,[1] Rasikajīvana by Gadādhara-bhatta,[2] Subhāṣitasārasamuccayya,[3] Sārasangraha by Śambhudāsa,[4] Sabhyālankaraṇa by Govindāji or Govindjit,[5] Sabhābhūṣaṇamanjarī by Gauṭama.[6]

373-A. Sundaradeva's Sūktisundara[7] was composed about the beginning of the 17th century. His anthology is valuable in that it contains verses of various poets[8] of the 16th and 17th century in praise of the rulers of that period, particularly Mussalman. Among these are Ākbar (or Jallāladīna or Kābilendra), Muddapharasāha, Nizamasāha and Shah Jehan. He must have been very familiar with those Courts and here is a verse in which he has used some Urdu terms :

जीमी कंपाति भिश्यति प्रतिवनं बीबी गर्नामव्रजा-
स्योग्रस्य प्रतनोति च स्खलनतामारात्प्रभुर्भारतः ।
दर्यावाः प्रचलन्ति वीचिनिवहैर्धूर्लाभिराफ्ताबमा
अस्थामे प्रतिहन्यती तव चमूयानेऽभिजाने प्रभो ॥

Emperor Akbar is thus paised by Akbariyakālidāsa :

वीर त्वं कार्मुकं चेत् अकबर कलयस्युग्रटङ्कारघोषं
दूरे सद्यः कलंका इव धरणिभृतो यान्ति कंकालशेषाः ।
शंकापन्नश्च किं कारणामिति मनसा भान्ति पंकायितेन
त्यक्त्वाऽहंकारमंकाद्विसृजति गृहिणीं किं च लङ्काधिनाथः ॥

1. Printed, Kavyamala, Bombay. *ZDMG*, (1883), 545.
2. *Annals*, XII. 396-9. *CC*, I. 49, II. 116 (composed 17th century).
3. *HPR*, Cat. VII. No. 5454.
4. *HPR*, Cat. VII. No. 5443. Here Muddafar Shah, who ruled in Gujarat about 1561 A.D. is praised.
5. *Collected Works*, II, 325.
6. *TC*, VI. 6984.
7. See Article by Har Datta Sharma, *COJ*, III. 133 ; *PO*, I. 52.
8. Ākbariya Kālidāsa, Kaviśvara I. (*CC*, 88), Keśavadīkṣita, Gaṇapaṭi, Gaurī, Candracuda, Ghanaśyāma, Jagajjivana, Dharaṇidhara, Bālājibbatta, Bhayyabhatta, Bhānukara, Mauni Ranganātha, Śrī Yāgnika, Rāmacandrabbatta, Lakṣmaṇa, Venidatta, Śankaramiśra, Hanumat, Harinārāyāṇamuni.

Of these : Candracuda was son of Bhatta Puruṣottama, author of Anyoktikanthābharaṇā, Candraśekharavivāhakāvya, Kārtaviryodaya and Prastāvacintāmaṇi (*CC*, I. 180). Bhayyabhatta was son of Kṛṣṇabhatta and brother of Advaitabhatta. The latter wrote Rāmalingavarṇana or Takrarāmāyaṇa at Benares in 1628 A.D. (*HPR*, Cat. VII No. 5214). Ramacandra wrote Rādhācarita (*CC*, III. 1107.)

and Emperor Shah Jehan is praised by Harinārāyaṇamisra :

भूभृन्मौलितटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूमिसरस्वती विजयनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमत्साहिजहा ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं
यस्यां मज्जति पंकजीयति शिवस्तन्मुर्धजे लीयते ॥

Vīrasimha (1500-1540 A.D.) and Rāmacandra (1555-1592 A.D.), Kings of Rewah, are praised here by poets Rāmacandra and Akbarīya-Kālidāsa.[1]

373-B. Acarya Kavindra or Kavindra (which is only a title) "was originally an inhabitant of some town on the banks of the river Godavari. He had studied the Asvalayana sakha of the Rgveda and had mastered other branches of learning also. In his very childhood he lost his interest in the world and having taken Sannyasa made Benares his abode. The Sannyasin must have met Shah Jehan when the persecution of Hindus was at its highest and the Pilgrim-tax was re-imposed on pilgrims to Allahabad and Benares. The Sannyasin seems to have exercised wonderful influence on the emperor in order to make him abolish the tax, The joy of Hindu India knew no bounds and congratulations poured from all quarters. Addresses after addresses, verses and prose eulogies, were presented to the Sannyasin, the Defender of Faith. Titles of Kavindra, Vidyanidhana and Acarya were conferred upon him. These addresses in prose and verse along with the names of their authors who were scholars of repute or holy men have been preserved for us by Sri Krsna Upadhyaya in an anthology (Padyavali) called the Kavindracandrodaya."

चक्रेण मोचयांचके नक्राच्छक्रानुजो गजम् ।
प्रयागेभं करग्राहात् करग्राहात् कवीन्द्रवित् ॥

Śrīswāmin.

1. See Imperial Gaz, of India, XXI. 279 ff. King Virasimha was patron of Rāmacandra, son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta, who wrote Rāḍhācarita, Rasikaranjana and Romāvaliśataka, (See para *supra*). King Virabhānu (1540-1555 A.D) of Rewah was patron of Bhanukara and as such is mentioned by Mohanadāsa in his Rasoḍaḍhi)*CC*, I. 468, 495, 498).

In a small poem of 75 verses, the last 6 verses appear to be eulogy of Emperor Akbar for the verse हस्तांभोजालिमाला is ascribed to him in Rasikajīvana (*Annals*, XII. 396-9) and Paḍyaracana. The Colophon mentions the name of Gangaḍhara as having written it. Har Dutt Sarma guesses that *Gangāḍhara might be the name of Akbariya-Kāliḍāsa.*

येन श्रीसाहिजाहा नरपतितिलकस्तस्य वश्यः कृतोऽभूत्
किंचावश्यं प्रसन्नः पुनरपि विहित स्साहिदाराशकोहः ।
काशीतीर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकहेतुः
सोयं श्रीमान् कवीन्द्रो जयति कविगुरुस्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥

Hīrarāma Kavi.

Kavīnḍra was a friend of Viśvanāṭha Nyāyapancānana. He was very rich and he had a treasurer Kṛṣṇa Bhatta. He utilised his wealth for the enrichment of Sanskrit literature and had a library of immense merit embracing all branches of learning. The catalogue of his library has been printed in Baroda and contains the names of many works now unknown. His asceticism and spirituality commanded the respect of Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jehan and Prince Dara and a manuscript of Vāmana's Kavyālankārasūṭra bears a seal with the name 'Salim' a name by which Emperor Jehangir was fondly known to his contemporaries. Kavīnḍra wrote works in all branches of learning. His commentary on Ḍaśakumāracariṭa has a memorable colophon :

इतिश्रीसकलशास्त्रार्थसार्थकीकृतशेमुषीविलासरससांद्रप्रवर्तितासंख्ययशस्समुद्रविद्वत्परिषचंद्रयतींद्रसर्वविद्यानिधान (श्रीमत्) कवींद्राचार्यसरस्वतीकृतायाम् ॥

373-C. His collections of Rāmāyana were very valuable and his list mentions Mṛkandurāmāyana, Saṅgraharāmāyaṇa, Vyāsarāmayaṇa or Kākabhṛsundirāmāyaṇa, Vālmīki's Nāṭakarāmāyaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa-rāmāyaṇa, Brahmarāmāyaṇa, Śivarāmāyaṇa, Agasṭirāmāyaṇa,, Śiva-rāmāyaṇa or Śeṣarāmāyana, Āgamarāmāyaṇa, Karmarāmāyaṇa, Skanḍa-rāmāyaṇa, Pulasṭyarāmāyaṇa, Aruṇarāmāyaṇa, Bharaṭarāmāyaṇa, Ḍharmarāmāyaṇa, Aḍbhuṭarāmāyaṇa, and Gāyaṭrīrāmāyaṇa. There are also the poems Kṛṣṇavilāsa, Corakāvya, Kalpiṭa-Kāḍambarī, Meghavinoḍa, Śekharakāvya, Hāsyaśaṇaka ; on poetics, Bharaṭasūṭra with commentary, Raṭiniṭimukula, Kāmasammohana, Kolanāyikākhyāna ; and in drama, Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇanāṭaka, Kṛṣṇabhakṭi-rasāyana, Bhillana, Āsṭhānabhūṣaṇa, Nepāla's Hāsyanāṭaka, and Megha-ḍyuṭi, Māḍhavāvilāsa, Bhojarājaṭaranginī and Prājyabhatta's Rāja-ṭarangiṇi, and various books on the different arts (64 Kalas).

1. *GOS*, Baroda.

CHAPTER XVI

SECTION 1.

Poetesses

Among the authors of the hymns of the Ṛg Veda, We have some women. The Ātreya house produced the poetesses, Viśvavārā (V. 28) and Āpalā (VIII. 91). In the Kakṣivat house, there was a line of poetesses and of these Ghoṣā was the greatest. She was the daughter of Kakṣivan. She calls herself a princess and probably her father was a ruler. She remained unmarried to a late age, when she was favoured with a husband by the grace of the Aśvins. She wrote in Jagatī metre and her verses are easy and well balanced (I. 117, 122). Juhū (X. 109), Śaśvatī (VIII. 1), Māndhātrī (X. 134), Mādhavī (I. 91), Śāśiprabhā (IV. 4), Aṇulakṣmī (II. 78, III. 28, 63, 74 and 76), Revā (I. 87), Pahāyī (I. 83) and Rohā (II. 63) are also poetic seers of the hymns. Aṣvalāyana mentions Gārgī, Vācaknavī and Badavā Prāṭitheyī along with the ancient venerable Ṛṣis. Lōpāmudrā is referred to in the Anukramaṇī (I. 179-192).[1]

374. Dhanadeva's verse is quoted in Śārṅgadharapaddhati:

शीलाविज्ञामारुलामोरिकाद्याः काव्यं कर्तुं सन्ति विज्ञास्स्त्रियोऽपि ।
विद्यां वेत्तुं वादिनो निर्विजेतुं विश्वं वक्तुं यः प्रवीणस्स वन्द्यः ॥

Rājaśekhara praises some poetesses, Śila, Vijayānkā, or Vijjā or Vijjikā, Subhadrā, Prabhudevi, Vikatanitambā.

शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥

सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी विजयाङ्का जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥

सूक्तीनां स्मरकेळीनां कलानां च विलासभूः ।
प्रभुर्देवी कविर्लाटी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥

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1. See *Women Poets of the Rig Veda* (*IA*, I. 113), *Poems by Indian Women* by N. Macnicol (*Her. of India* Series); *Jl. of Sams. Sah. Parishat*, XVI. 4.

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे लघु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जाकां ता मजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्ता सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

Śilā's expression followed her imagery,[1] Vikaṭanitambā's verse was elegant in simplicity.[2] The style of Subhadrā appealed to the poetic mind and stuck to it for ever. Morikā and Mārulā excelled in suggestions of ideas.[3]

Vijjā was Sarasvatī incarnate except that she was dark in complexion.[4] Vijjakā has been identified with the queen of Candrāditya, son of Pulakesin II, from the Nerur and Kochre grants dated 659 A.D.[5]

Rājaśekharacarita mentions poetesses, Kāmalīlā, Sunandā, Kanakavallī, Madhurāngī, Lalitāngī and Vimalāngī (of Malava).[6] Ballāla's Bhojacarita mentions some poetesses too, but it is doubtful if these were not fictitious names.[7]

The anthologies also quote verses of Jaghanacapalā (*Padyav*), Avilambitasarasvatī (*Padyav*), Indulekhā (*Subh*), Kuntīdevī (*Subh*), Candālavidyā (*Skm*), Nagamā (*Sp*), Padmāvatī (*Pmt*), Madālasā (*Sp*); Rajakasarasvatī (*Skm*), Lakṣmī (*Sp*), Vīrasarasvatī (*Padyav*), Sarasvatī (*Skm*), and Sītā (*Bhojaprabhandha*).

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1. Vāgbhata in his Kavyānuśāna quotes a verse as of Śilā's. Is it Sita? See Peterson, *Subh.* 130.
2. See Peterson, *Subh.* 117; Thomas, *Kav.* 104, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 85, *CC*, I. 569; Bhandarkar *Rep.* (1895) xix, xlvii.
3. Peterson, *Subh.* 94.
4. See Peterson, *Subh.* 119. Thomas, *Kav.* 104. Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 85, *CC*, I. 571, Bhandarkar, *Rep.* (1897) xix, xlvii. Bhoja quotes from Vijjākā and Vikatanitambā.
5. *IA*, VIII. 44, 163. B. Bhattacarya (*Brief Summary of Sahitya Sastra, Journal of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, IX) says that he was contemporary of Dandin.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8167, *JMy*, XI. 7679.
7. Some of these verses are very good. For instance:

धनुः पौष्पं मौर्वी मधुकरमयी चञ्चलदृशां
दृशां कोणो बाणस्सुहृदपि जडात्मा हिमकरः ।
स्वयं चैकोऽनङ्गस्त्रिभुवनमपि व्याकुलयति
क्रियासिद्धिस्सत्वे भवति महतां नोपकरणे ॥

SILA:

प्रियाविरहितस्याद्य हृदि चिन्ता ममागता ।
इति मत्वा गता निद्रा के कृतघ्नमुपासते ॥

Subh. 1197.

JAGHANACAPALA:

दुर्दिननिशीथपवने निस्सञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्यौ विदेशयाते परं सुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥

Kav. 518.

INDULEKHA:

एके वारिनिधौ प्रवेशमपरे लोकान्तरालोकनम्
केचित्पावकयोगितां निजगदुः क्षीणेऽह्नि चण्डार्चिषः ।
मिथ्याचैतदसाक्षिकं प्रियसखि प्रत्यक्षतीव्रातपम्
मन्येऽहं पुनरध्वनीनरमणीचेतोऽधिशेते रविः ॥

Subh. 1902.

MARULA:

कृशा केनासि त्वं प्रकृतिरियमङ्गस्य ननु मे
मलाधूम्रा कस्माद्गुरुजनगृहे पाचकतया ।
स्मरस्यस्मान् कच्चिन्नहि न हि न हीत्येव मगमत्
स्मरोत्कम्पं बाला मम हृदि निपत्य प्ररुदिता ॥

Subh. 1326.

MORIKA:

मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय प्रियशतैर्भूयस्त्वमुक्तो मया
बाला प्राङ्गणमागतेन भवता प्राप्नोति निष्ठां पराम् ।
किं चान्यत्कुचभारपीडनसहैर्यत्नप्रबद्धैरपि
त्रुट्यत्कञ्चुकजालकैरनुदिनं निस्सूत्रमस्मद्गृहम् ॥

Subh. 1033.

VIKATANITAMBA:

अन्यासु तावदुपमर्दसहासु भृङ्ग लोलं विनोदय मनस्सुमनोलतासु ।
बालामजातरजसं कलिकामकाले व्यर्थं कदर्थयसि किं नवमालिकायाः ॥

Subh. 735.

VIDYA OR VIJJA:

किंशुककलिकान्तर्गतमिन्दुकलास्पर्धिकेसरं भाति ।
रक्तनिचोलकपिहितं धनुरिव जतुमुद्रितमनङ्गस्य ॥

Subh. Int. 118.

BHAVADEVI:

सजन्मानौ तुल्यावभिजनभुवा जन्म च सह-
प्रवृद्धौ नाम्ना च स्तन इति समानावुदयिनौ ।
मिथस्सीमामात्रे यदिदमनयोर्मण्डलवतो-
रपिस्वर्धायुद्धं तदिह नमस्यः कठिनिमा ॥

Kav. 62.

375. Priyamvada was the daughter of Sivarāma and wife of Raghunāṭha. She lived in Faridpur, East Bengal, soon after 1600 A.D. She wrote the poem Śyāmarahasya and her earliest verse was in praise of Kṛṣṇa.

कालिन्दीपुळिनेषु केळिकलनं कंसादिदैत्यद्विषं
गोपालीभिरभिष्टुतं व्रजवधूनेत्रोत्पलैरर्चितम् ।
बर्हालङ्कृतमस्तकं सुललितैरङ्गैस्त्रिभङ्गं भजे
गोविन्दं व्रजसुन्दरं भवहरं वंशीधरं श्यामलम् ॥

376. Vaijayanti was the daughter of Mūrabhatta of the village of Ḍhanuka in Faridpur District. She married Kṛṣṇanāṭha, son of Ḍurgāḍāsa Ṭarkavāgīsā of Kotalipada. She lived in the middle of 17th century A.D. She learnt Sanskrit under her father and was proficient in Mīmāmsa. Once when her husband could not make out a passage अत्रतुनोक्तं तत्रापिनोक्तम् and taught his pupils wrongly as meaning, "Here too not said, and there too not said," but dissatisfied with the interpretation appeared to be troubled over it, Vaijayaṭī gave the correction construction अत्रतुना उक्तम् तत्र अपिना उक्तम्. She wrote fine poetry but it is all merged in Ananḍalṭikācampū composed by her husband Kṛṣṇanāṭha, and her colloboration there is mentioned by Kṛṣṇanāṭha himself आनन्दलतिकाचम्पूर्येनाकारि स्त्रियासह. Once it is said while Kṛṣṇanāṭha was composing verses descriptive of a nāyikā, Vaijayanṭī composed a verse at once:

अहिरयं कलधौतगिरिभ्रमात् स्तनमगात्किल नाभिह्रदोत्थितः ।
इति निवेदयितुं नयने हि यत् श्रवणसीमनि किं समुपस्थिते ॥

JAYANTI is mentioned in an article by the editor of Viśvakośa in an old magazine, Bangavashi, East Bengal. She has written a fine poem, said to have been seen by Pandit Amūlyacaran Vidyābhūṣan, Assistant Secretary, Bengal Sāhiṭya Pariṣaṭ.[2]

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1. For an account see *Sah*, XXI. 112.
2. I am indebted for this information to J. N. C. Ganguly, M.A.

377. Uppaya,[1] Manoramā and Subhadrā of Malabar, Avantisundarī, wife of Rājaśekhara, and Sundarī and Kamalā, wives of Ghanaśyāma, were poetesses of renown.[2]

Gangādevī, Madhuravāṇī and Tirumalāmbā have already been mentioned.

378. Lakhina Thakurani is the famous poetess of Mithila. A verse of hers is repeated :

अक्रान्ता दशमध्वजस्य गतिना सम्मूर्च्छिता निर्जले
तुर्यद्वादशमद्द्वितीयमतिमन्नेकादशाभस्तनी ।
सा षष्ठी कटिपञ्चमी च नवमभ्रूस्सप्तमीवर्जिता
प्राप्नोत्यष्टमवेदनां त्वमधुना तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

Here is an indirect from of the signs of the Zodiac numbered in serial order from meṣa.[3]

"Attacked with the severe onslought of the God of love is she. Distraught like a craft or a fish in a dry place is she. Oh; Thou bull-minded one, the damsel round of arms as a water jar, with arched eyebrows (the destined wife of thou who art like a lord amongst kings and who is not* (gross) like a shop-keeper's wife who plies the scales (who has no equal.) She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite. Surely, let the result of married life relieve her."[4]

379. Triveni was the daughter of Udayendrapuram Anantācārya and was so named because she was born immediately after her father completed his poem Yādava-Rāghava-Pāndavīya. She lived in 1817-1883 A.D. She was married to Prativādi-Bhayankaram Venkatācārya of Śrīperumbudūr. Her poetic instincts manifested themselves even before her marriage and after her marriage, she studied philosophy under her husband. She had a son who predeceased her and after she became a widow she wished to erect a temple for some idols

1. *JRAS*, *O. S.* I Index.
2. See para 166 *supra*.
3. Pandit A.M. Srinivasacharya of Agaraminear Conjeevaram has a similar verse;

मेषारोहनिमं निरीक्ष्य वृषभं मत्वा त्वया द्वन्द्वभा-
वाप्त्यै कर्कटवत् प्रतापगमना सिंहावलग्नान्विता ।
कन्या सावतुलापि वृश्चिकसमैर्बाणैर्धनुष्यर्पितै-
रामुक्तामकरध्वजेन कलिता कुम्भस्तनी मीनदृक् ॥

4. As translated by G. A. Grierson *IA*, XV. 318.

discovered in her place and presented to her by the Collector, who was pleased with her Hāraṭipancaka. For that purpose she went to the courts of Travancore and was well received there. Dewan Rangācārya of Mysore was her admirer and by his patronage she completed the shrines. She was prolix in her writings and her capacity to make up *samasyas* ex tempore was remarkable. Among women she stands foremost in poetic contributions to Sanskrit Literature. Her poems of devotion are Lakṣmīsahasra and Ranganāṭhasahasra, her lyrics, are Sukasāndesā and Bhṛngasandesā, her poems are Rangābhyudaya and Sampaṭkumāravijaya and her plays Rangarātsamudaya and Taṭṭvamudrābhadrodaya, the latter of which is allegorical.

380. Laksmi Rājnī was a princess of Kadathanadu, Ikavalam Kovilogam, Malabar. She lived about 1890. Her Santīnagopālakāvya in 3 cantos relates a story that a brahmin lost his ten children successively, Arjuna promised to save the last and when he was unable to do it and resolved to enter the fire. Kṛṣṇa intervened and from Vaikuntha brought back all the ten lost children. The last canto has Yamaka composition.[1]

381. Sundaravalli lived about 1900 A.D. She was the daughter of Narasimha Iyengar of Mysore, and studied under Kasturi Rangācārya. She wrote Ramāyanacampū in 6 cantos corresponding to the Kāndas of Rāmāyana.[2]

382. Jnanasundari was a dancing girl of Kumbakonam. She lived there and passed away about 1910. She was the pupil of Kuppuswami Sastri of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra and was, as she says, the author of several works; of these however only one Hālāsyacampū in 6 Sṭabakas has been traced. There are old gentlemen living in the southern districts who remember her discourses, dancing and recitals, well and with delight and R. Fisher, Bar-at-law, of Madura was her particular patron. She visited the Mysore court and there received the title KAVIRATNA. Her narration of the wedding of Mināksī and Sundaresa makes a pleasant reading. In verse she is fond of alliteration:[3]

मधुरीकृतगरलत्वात् मधुराभिख्या तदादि सा नगरी ।
निजसीमस्थफणित्वात् विभाति हालास्यनामतश्चेह ॥
तस्या ललाटलीनस्वाहापतिरेव शान्तसन्तापः ।
रेजे कुङ्कुमतिलकव्याजान्नूनं बुधा हि कालविदः ॥

1. Printed Trichur.
2. Printed, Bangalore.
3. Printed Śrīvidyā Press, Kumbakonam.

383. Kamaksi married G. A. Muthukrishna Iyer of Koundinya-goṭra. She was born in 1902 and is the daughter of Pancāpageśārya of Ganapati Agraharam in Tanjore District. She is the Sanskrit tutor in the Girls' School in Cuddalore N. T. She has mastered Kalidasan literature and her RAMAÇARITA is a small poem composed with words and phrases used by Kālidāsa an epitome of Rāma's story.

384. Sister BALAMBAL lives at Madras. She is a well-known nationalist of South India. Her Āryārāmāyaṇa is likewise a summary of the story, in easy verse, much, read by beginners in Sanskrit study.

SECTION 2.

Royal Poets.

385. The early vedic literature has an instance of a royal bard Viśvāmiṭra. The epic literature describes kings as highly learned and it is not unlikely that many of these patrons of poets were themselves poets. Vikramāḍiṭya is mentioned as a poet and some of his verses are quoted in the authologies, though the identification of Vikramāḍiṭya is impossible. Samuḍraguptа is called a Kavirāja in the inscriptions. Dynasties of kings of several parts of India had royal poets, so far as it is known, from about the 6th century B.C. Kings whose works are now extant have been mentioned elsewhere in the several chapters of this book. The authologies quote verses ascribed by name to royal authors. Of these a few are now known to history.

386. Dharmasoka was the third in ascent from Kaniska of the first Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa says that this king freed himself from sins by embracing Buddha's religion and built the city of Śrīṇagarī with ninety six lakhs of houses resplvndent with wealth.[1]

स षण्णवत्या गेहानां लक्षैर्लक्ष्मीसमुज्ज्वलैः ।
गरीयसीं पुरीं श्रीमांश्चक्रे श्रीनगरीं नृपैः ॥

Raj. I. 104,

Dharmāśoka appears to have been a poet and his verse is enchanting.

For instance:

अहमहमिकाबद्धोत्साहं रतोत्सवशंसिनि
प्रसरति मुहुः प्रौढस्त्रीणां कथामृतदुर्दिने ।
कलितपुलका सद्यः स्तोकोद्गतस्तनकोरका
वलयति शनैर्बाला वक्षस्थले तरळां दृशम् ॥

Saduk. II. i-5.

1. *Raj.* I. 101, *et seq.*

387. Gonanda, the poet, was one of the three early Kings of of Kashmir, who lived according to Kalhaṇa before 240 B.C. Here is a humorous verse:[1]

सखि कलितः स्खलितो......सौ नैव प्रणामभावेण ।
चिरमनुभवतु भवत्या बाहुलताबन्धनं धूर्तः ॥
Kav. 385.

388. Gopaditya was the son of Akṣa. He founded several temples and agraharams. He ruled over Kashmir for 60 years in the 5th century B.C. Sunanda, the fourth ancestor of Gopāditya wrote a work on erotics,[2] and Gopāditya himself appears to illustrate it:

अद्य द्यूतजिताधरग्रहविधावीशोऽसि तत्खण्डना-
दाधिक्ये वद को भवानिति मृषाकोपाञ्चितभ्रूलतम् ।
सद्यस्स्विन्नकरात्तकुन्तलकरायत्तीकृतस्यास्य मे
मुग्धाक्षी प्रतिकृत्य तत्कृतवती द्यूतेऽपि यन्नार्जितम् ॥
Subh. 2110.

389. Ranaditya Tunjina was the son of Yudhisthira and came to the throne after his brother Narendrāditya.[3] He ruled over Kashmir somewhere before 522 A.D. He takes a simile from an umbrella thus:

यद्यप्युन्नतवंशवान्नवसुधाधामाभिरामं वपुः
संप्राप्तोऽतिशयस्वभावसुभगच्छायस्सतां तापहृत् ।
तत्राप्येष विसंस्थुलस्थितिरहो लक्ष्मीं निजात्मोचितां
प्रायश्चिक्कियया विना न लभते पश्यातपत्रं यथा ॥
Subh. 3075.

390. Samudragupta is praised by Harisena, where the king is described as a prince of poets: "His is the poetic style which is worthy of study and his is the poetic verse which multiplies the spiritual treasures of poets."[3]

391. Muktapida (Lalitāditya) was the son of Durlabhavardhana of Karkota dynasty of Kashmir. He ruled in 699-735 A.D. Saktiswaini was his minister. He wrote didactic poetry:[4]

i. वसन्त्यरण्येषु चरन्ति दूर्वां पिबन्ति तोयान्यपरिग्रहाणि ।
तथापि वध्या हरिणा नराणां को लोकमाराधयितुं समर्थः ॥
Sarng.

1. *Raj.* I. 336-346. See under Kalhaṇa *supra.*
2. *Raj.* III. 379 *et. seq.*
3. See *para* 11 *supra*; *IA*, XLII. 172, 188, 230, 243; *JRAS*, (1897), 20,
4. *Raj.* VI. 126 *et. seq*; Vaidya, *MI*, 202; S. P. Pandit, *Int.* to Gaudavaho, lxxx gives date 645-732; M. Duff gives 726-760 A.D. But Cunningham gives date 594 A.D.

ii. त्यक्तं जन्मवनं तृणाङ्कुरवती मातेव मुक्ता स्थली
विस्रम्भस्थितिहेतवो न गणिता बन्धूपमाः पादपाः ।
बालापत्यवियोगदुःखविधुरा नापेक्षिता सा मृगी
मार्गान्तः पदवीं तथाप्यकरुणा व्याधा न मुञ्चन्त्यमी ॥[1]

Subh. 954.

iii. छित्वा पाशमपास्य कूटरचनां भङ्क्त्वा बलाद्वागुरां
पर्यस्ताग्निशिखाकलापजटिलान्निर्गत्य दूरं वनात् ।
व्याधानां शरगोचरादपि जवेनोत्प्लुत्य धावन्मृगः
कूपान्तः पतितः करोति विधुरे किं वा विधौ पौरुषम् ॥

Subh. 655.

392. Yasovarman, King of Kanouj, was the patron of Bhavabūṭi and Vākpaṭi. He was defeated by Laliṭādiṭya Mukṭāpīda. Yaśovarman's exploits are described in Vākpaṭi's Gaudavaho. So says Kalhaṇa:

कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥

Raj. IV. 144.

Yaśovarman's play Rāmābhyuḍaya is mentioned by Ḍhanika to illustrate *chalana* and quoted by Abhinavaguptạ.[2]

He compares himself with *Asoka* thus:

रक्तस्त्वं नवपल्लवैरहमपि श्लाघ्यैः प्रियाया गुणै-
स्त्वामायान्ति शिलीमुखास्स्मरधनुर्मुक्तास्सखे मामपि ।
कान्तापादतलाहतिस्तव मुदे तद्वन्ममाप्यावयोः
सर्वं तुल्यमशोक केवलमहं धात्रा सशोकः कृतः ॥

Subh. 1364.

393. Jayapida was son of Vajrāḍiṭya and succeeded his brother Sangrāmāpīda. He ruled over Kashmir in 751-782 A.D.[3] Kalhaṇa calls him a pandiṭa:

क्षीराभिधाच्छब्दविद्योपाध्यायात्सम्भृतश्रुतः ।
बुधैस्सह ययौ वृद्धिं स जयपीडपण्डितः ॥
तावत्पाण्डितशब्दोऽभूत् राजशब्दादपि प्रथा ॥

1. Compare Mentha's verse quoted *para* 35 *supra*.

2. See Levi, II. 9; Keith, *SD*, 220-4; Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 75, XXXVI, 521; *CC*, I. 174 and *JBRAS*, XVI. 177; *BR*, (1897) xli, Peterson, *Subh*. 95. *JOR*, III. 267, (for extracts). For another Yaśovarman of Paramāra dynasty, see under Bhoja *post*.

3. M. Duff gives dates 779-813 A.D.

In his court flourished Udbhata, Ksīraswāmi, Manoratha and other poets. So says Kalhaṇa:[1]

विद्वान् दीनारलक्षेण प्रत्यहं कृतवेतनः ।
भट्टोऽभूदुद्भटस्तस्य भूमिभर्तुस्सभापतिः ॥

स दामोदरगुप्ताख्यं कुट्टिनीमतकारिणम् ।
कविं कविं बलिरिव धुर्यं धीसचिवं व्यधात् ॥

मनोरथश्शङ्खदत्तश्चटकस्सन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

His description of nature, says Kalhaṇa, was even in his times oft remembered:[2]

अवस्थावेदिकास्तत्र ग्रथिता पृथिवीभुजा ।
आर्द्रान्तःकरणैश्श्लोकास्स्मर्यन्तेऽद्यापि सूरिभिः ॥

For instance:

पुरो रेवा पारे गिरिरतिदुरारोहशिखरः
सरस्सव्ये वामे दवदहनदाहव्यतिकरः ।
धनुष्पाणिः पश्चाच्छबरहतको धावतितरां
न यातुं न स्थातुं हरिणशिशुरेष प्रभवति ॥

Subh. 661.

394. Avantivarman, the first of Utpala dynasty, ruled over Kashmir in 855-884 A.D. In his court flourished Muktākaṇa, Śivaswāmin, Anandavardhana and Ratnākara.[3] His similes are often drawn from nature:

असारो निर्गुणो वक्रश्चित्ररूपतयान्वितः ।
अवाप न चिराद्भ्रंशं शक्रचापः खलो यथा ॥

Subh. 1802.

दुस्सहसन्तापभयात्सम्प्रति मध्यस्थिते दिवसनाथे ।
छायामिव वाञ्छन्ती छायापि गता तरुतलानि ॥

Subh. 1693.

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1. *Raj*, IV. 402, *et seq*. IV. 489-497, 548.
2. See also *BKR*, 65, 73 ; *PR*, I. 65. II 23.
3. *Raj*, V. 1—127. See para 56 *supra*.

395. Vakptiraja II,[1] also known as Munja, Uṭpalarāja, Priṭhvi-vallabha, Śrīvallabha,[2] was a poet and patron of poets. He was the son of Siyaka. He ruled at Dhāra in Marwar in 974-995 (?) A.D. He was defeated and executed by the Calukya king Tailapa II.[3]

Munja is praised by Śambhu, Halāyuḍha and Kavirāja. His treatment of Bhoja, his nephew, is the theme of the works entitled Bhoja-caritra.[4] Ḍhananjaya and Paḍmaguptạ flourished in his court and Kṣmenḍra instances his verses as of particular merit.[5] Remnants of his poetry now extant eminently attest the appreciation.

For instance :

देवि त्वं कुपिता त्वमेव कुपिता कोऽन्यः पृथिव्या गुरुः
माता त्वं जगतां त्वमेव जगतां माता न विज्ञोऽपरः ।
देवि त्वं परिहासकेलिकलहेऽनन्ता त्वमेवेत्यथ
ज्ञातानन्तपदो नमञ्जलधिजां शौरिश्चिरं पातु वः ॥

Subh. 20.

कुतस्त्वमनु कं स्वतः स्वमिति किं न यत्कस्यचित्
किमिच्छसि पदत्रयं ननु भुवा किमित्यल्पया ।
द्विजस्य शमिनो मम त्रिभुवनं तदित्याशयो
हरेर्जयति निह्नुतः प्रकटितश्च वक्रोक्तिभिः ॥

Saduk. 43-2.

जयति समदलेखोच्छृङ्खलप्रेमरामाललितसुरतलीलादैवतं पुष्पचापः ।
त्रिभुवनजयसिद्धौ यस्य शृङ्गारमूर्तेरुपकरणमपूर्वं माल्यमिन्दुर्मधूनि ॥

Saduk. 93-3.

396. Kalasa was the son of Ananṭarāja and father of Harṣa. He ruled over Kashmir about 1080-1088 A.D.[6] Bilhaṇa's description of him as a man of letters is delightful :

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1. Vākpaṭi, author of Gaudavaho, was a different author.

2. *IA*, VI. 48, XIV. 159. *EI*, V. vi, I. 227, IX. 71. See under Paḍmaguptạ, *para* 61 *supra*. For an account of Munja, see Meruṭunga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi (I. xi.) and Introduction to Dasarupa (*CUS*,) by G. C. O. Haas.

3. *IA*, XII. 270; XVI. 18; XXI. 167; *EI*, II, 212.

4. See under Bhoja *post*.

5. Suvṛṭṭaṭilaka, ii, 6; Kavikanthābharaṇa p. 125; Aucityavicāracarcā, p. 16, (Kavyamala Edn.).

6. *Raj*. VII. 231, *et. seq*.

यस्योदारां परिकलयतश्शस्त्रशास्त्रप्रतिष्ठां
द्वे प्रेयस्यौ जगति विदिते श्रीश्च वाग्देवता च ।
एका भेजे भुजमभिनवाम्भोजलीलातपत्रा
श्वेतच्छत्रायितसितयशश्चन्द्रिकान्या मुखेन्दुम् ॥

Vikrama.—XVIII. 56.

Equally worthy is Kalhaṇa's description :

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।
सूरी तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्यं द्वावास्तां कविबान्धवौ ॥

Raj. VII. 259.

Kṣemendra quotes a verse as an instance of prosodial merit :

अज्ञतां जलमधीरलोचना लोचनप्रतिशरीरशारितम् ।
आत्तमात्तमपि कान्तमौक्षितुं कातरा शफरशङ्किनी जहौ ॥

The following verses, besides others found in the anthologes suggest that Kalasa must have written plays and poems from which they have been culled for quotation :

दैत्यारिपञ्जरविदारणलब्धरन्ध्ररक्ताम्बुनिर्झरसरिद्घनजातपङ्काः ।
कालेन्दुकोटिकुटिलाश्शुकचञ्चुभासो रक्षन्तु सिह्मवपुषो नखरा हरेर्वः ॥

आदित्याः किं दशैते प्रलयभयकृतस्त्रीकृताकाशदेशाः
किं वोल्कामण्डलानि त्रिभुवनदहनायोद्यतानीति भीतैः ।
पायासुर्नारसिह्मं वपुरमरगणैर्बिभ्रतश्शार्ङ्गपाणेः
दृष्ट्वा दृप्तासुरोरस्तलदरणगलद्रक्तरक्ता नखा वः ॥

Subh. 52, 53.

दयिताबाहुपाशस्य कुतोऽयमपरो विधिः ।
जीवयत्यर्पितः कण्ठे मारयत्यपवर्जितः ॥

Subh. 15 29.

397. Arjunavarman, son of Subhatavarman, was a successor of King Munja. He ruled in Malva about Sam. 1272 (1216 A.D.), In his commentary on Amaruka,[1] he quotes a verse of "his ancestor Munjadeva." There he says about himself :

क्षिप्ताशुभस्सुभटवर्मनरेन्द्रसूनुः
वीरव्रती जगति भोजकुलप्रदीपः ।

1. See para 308 *supra.* In an inscription it is said (*JACS*, VII, 24).

देवभूयं गते तस्मिन्नन्दनोऽर्जुनभूपतिः ।
दोष्णा धत्तेऽधुना धात्रीवलयं वलयं यथा ॥
बाललीलाहवे यस्य जयसिंहे पलायिते ।
दिक्पालहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितम् ॥

Peterson, *Subh*, 6,

Jalhaṇa quotes a verse of his about Amaruka's poetry:

अमरुककवित्वडमरुकनादेन विनिह्नुता न सञ्चरति ।
शृङ्गारभणितिरन्या धन्यानां श्रवणविवरेषु ॥

Here is another verse:

नीतोऽस्मि येन महतीं सलिलेन वृद्धिं संयोजितश्च सततं गुरुणा फलेन ।
तच्छोष्यते दिनकृतेत्यतिचिन्तयेव शोकानतं कलमशालिवनं विपाण्डु ॥

Subh. 1822.

398. Laksmanasena was the Vaidya King of Bengal who ruled at Lakṣaṇāvaṭi. His era began 1119-1120 A.D. Śriḍharaḍāsa composed his anthology in during his reign.[1] In his court flourished Jayaḍeva, Umāpaṭi, Govarḍhana and Śaraṇa.[2] His description of Kṛṣṇa is alluring.

तिर्यक्कन्धरमंसदेशमिलितश्रोत्रावतंसं स्फुरद्-
बर्होत्तंसितकेशपाशमनृजुभ्रूवल्लरीविभ्रमम् ।
गुञ्जद्वेणुनिवेशिताधरपुटं साकूतराधानन-
न्यस्तामीलितदृष्टि गोपवपुषो विष्णोर्मुखं पातु वः ॥

Saduk. 57-2,

नेपथ्यं भूतभर्तुस्त्रिदशपरिषदां जीवनं यामिनीना-
मुत्तंसः पांसुलानां कुलरिपुरमृतस्रोतसामादिशैलः ।
आतङ्कः पङ्कजानां जयति रतिकलाकेतनं मीनकेतोः
सिन्धूनामेकबन्धुः कुसुमसमुदयानन्दकन्दोऽयमिन्दुः ॥

Saduk. 87-1.

399. Anandagajapati, Zamindar of Vizianagaram (1850-1897 A.D.), was a great poet. Many stray verses are now repeated. For instance:

प्राचां रीतिः पौनरुक्त्यप्रदात्री नव्या शिष्याचार्यमाधुर्यधुर्या ।
तस्मादस्तु क्षान्तिशीलाय तस्त्वं त्वत्संबोध्यं स्तोत्रमन्यापदेशः ॥

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1. See para 291 *supra.*
2. See paras 291, 302-6 *supra.*

400. The following royal poets are also quoted in the anthologies: Aciṭṭaḍeva, Ananṭaḍeva,[1] Anurāgaḍeva, Amṛṭaḍeva, Arṭhavarman, Bhramaraḍeva, Bhāskarasena, Ḍhanaḍaḍeva, Kumāraḍaṭṭa, Karṇāṭaḍeva, Nānyaḍeva,[2] Prabhākaraḍeva, Rūpaḍeva, Vasanṭaḍeva, Vijayapāla, Vinayaḍeva,[3] Viṣamāḍiṭya, Vikramāḍiṭya, Vikranṭivarman, Śankaraḍeva, Suravarman, Hariharaḍeva, Harivarman, Vāsuḍeva, Puruṣoṭṭamaḍeva,[4] Harṣapālaḍeva, Keśavasena, Śankaraḍeva, Pravarasena,[5] Kusumaḍeva.[6]

SECTION 3.

Unnamed Poets.

401. The anthologies ascribe verses to poets whose real names are not known, but who have acquired new names such as Sabḍārṇava or Laliṭānugraha as if they were titles conferred on them from attractive ideas exhibited in their compositions. So were other poets known by phrases Ḍīpaśikhā-Kāliḍāsa, Ghanṭā-Māgha, Chaṭra-Bhāravi and the like. In the case of the following poets, for instance, it is only the titular name or sobriquet and stray verses that have come down to us:

ḌAGDHAMADANA:

यदि प्रियावियोगेऽपि रुद्यते दीनदीनकम् ।
तदिदं दग्धमरणमुपयोगं क्व यास्यति ॥

Subh. 1255,

ḌARSANIYA:

सखि विवृणुते सन्तापस्ते तनुस्तनुतां गता कठिनहृदये धैर्यक्षेपाद्रतिर्गलितक्रमा ।
कथय विषमान्तर्दाहव्यथां सहते न तां मदनदहनज्वालावल्लीविलीढमिदं मनः ॥

Subh. 1172.

CANDRODAYA:

प्रसीद गतिरुज्झ्यतां व्रजतु राजहंसी सुखं स्मितं च परिमुच्यतां स्फुरतु कुन्दपुष्पप्रभा ।
निमीलय विलोचने भवतु हारि कर्णोत्पलं करस्थगितमाननं कुरु विभातु चन्द्रोदयः ॥

Subh. 2035.

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1. There is Ananṭaḍeva Silhāra, whose grant is dated śaka 1016 (*IA*, IX. 263).
2. See chapter on Music *post*,
3. Probably the same as Vinayaprabha (page 367 *supra*). Author of Canḍraḍuṭa, *CC*, II. 36,
4. Probably King of Orissa whose grant is dated 1483 A.D. (*IA*, I. 355).
5. See para 32 *supra*.
6. Author of Dṛṣṭānṭaśaṭaka or Dṛṣṭāntakalikā, printed Haberlin, 217. *CC*, I. 26a; *Subh.* 287-207.

DHAIRYAMITRA :

दिव्यचक्षुरहं जातस्सरागेणापि चेतसा ।
इहस्थो येन पश्यामि देशान्तरगतां प्रियाम् ॥

Subh. 1208.

NIDRADARIDRA :

जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वप्नेऽद्य दृष्टा मया
मा मां संस्पृश पाणिनेति रुदती गन्तुं प्रवृत्ता ततः ।
नो यावत्परिरभ्य चाटुकशतैराश्वासयामि प्रियां
भ्रातस्तावदहं शठेन विधिना निद्रादरिद्रः कृतः ॥

Subh. 1362.

PRIYAVIRAHA :

पक्षावुत्क्षिपति क्षितौ निपतति क्रोडं नखैरुल्लिख-
त्युद्बाष्पेण च चक्षुषा सहचरीं ध्यायन्मुहुर्वीक्षते ।
चक्राह्वो दिवसावसानसमये तत्तत्करोत्युन्मनाः
येनालोहितमण्डलोऽपि कृपया नास्तं रविर्गच्छति ॥

Subh. 1921.

MURKHA :

नैषा वेगं मृदुतरतनुस्तावकीनं विसोढुं शक्ता मैनां चपल सुभृशं भेदयेन्दीवराक्षीम् ।
रत्यभ्यासं विदधत इव प्राणनाथस्य गत्वा कर्णोपान्ते निभृतनिभृतं नूपुरं शंसतीव ॥

Subh. 2107.

VAGVINA :

अतन्त्री वाग्वीणा स्तनयुगलमग्रीवकलसावनब्जं दृङ्नीलोत्पलदलमपत्रोरुकदली ।
अकाण्डा दोर्वल्ली वदनमकलङ्कश्शशधरः तदस्यास्तारुण्यं भुवनविपरीतं स्फुटयति ॥

Saduk. 3-2,

VIRASARSVATI :

मधुरापथिक मुरारेरुद्गेयं द्वारि वल्लवीवचनम् ।
पुनरपि यमुनासलिले कालियगरलानलो ज्वलति ॥

Saduk. 62-5.

BHERIBHRAMAKA :

रम्भोरु क्षिप लोचनार्धममितो बाणान् वृथा मन्मथः
सन्धत्तां धनुरुज्झतु क्षणमितो भ्रूवल्लिमुल्लासय ।
किंचान्तर्निहितानुरागमधुरामव्यक्तवर्णक्रमां
मुग्धे वाचमुदीरयास्तु जगतो वीणासु भेरीभ्रमः ॥

Saduk. 49-1.

CANDALACANDRA :

अम्भोरुहं वदनमम्बकमिन्दुकान्तः पाथोनिधिः कुसुमचापभृतो विकारः ।
प्रादुर्बभूव सुभग त्वयि दूरसंस्थे चण्डालचन्द्रधवळासु निशासु तस्याः ॥

Saduk. 36-2.

JAGHANACAPALA :

दुर्दिननिशीथपवने निस्संचारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्यौ विदेशयाते परं सुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥

Kav. 518.

402. Kankana may be King Kṣemagupta surnamed Kankaṇa-varṣa who ruled over Kashmir in 958-968 A.D. (*Raj*. VI. 150-180). But it looks as if the poet got his name from the following verses and is a different author:

कण्ठग्रहे शिथिलतां गमिते कथञ्चित् यो मन्यते मरणमेव सुखाभ्युपायम् ।
गच्छन्स एष न बलाद्विधृतो युवाभ्यामित्युज्झिते भुजलते वलयैरिवास्याः ॥

Subh. 1015.

वीणाक्वाणलयोल्लासिलोलदङ्गुळिपल्लवः ।
भारत्याः पातु भूतानि पाणिर्लसितकङ्कणः ॥

Saduk. 71-1.

The following verse attributed to him in Śārasamuccaya, commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa, (*PR*, II, 15) is playful :

लीलापङ्कजमादधाति रुचिरे गम्भीरनाभ्यन्तरे
कस्तूरीद्रवचर्चितं वपुरपि श्यामीकरोत्यादरात् ।
ताटङ्कं च करे करोति कुतुकाचक्रानुकारं तदा
लक्ष्मीः क्रीडति पीतवस्त्रकलिता स्मित्वा सखीनां पुरः ॥

CHAPTER XVII

Desavrtta

403. Vidyapati was the son of Gaṇapaṭi and grandson of Jayaḍaṭṭa.[1] In L.S.[2] 291 (1410 A.D.) a copy of Kāvyaprakāśa was copied under Viḍyāpaṭi's order and in L.S. 309 (1428 A.D.) Viḍyāpaṭi himself copied Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa.[3] There is a copper plate grant of Mahārāja Sivasimha to Viḍyāpaṭi dated L.S. 293 (1412 A.D.).[4] His Kīrṭilaṭā, a poem in Avahiṭṭha language, mentions Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (1401-1440 A.D.).[5] Viḍyāpaṭi lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D.[6] Viḍyāpaṭi was one of the earlier Padavali poets whose songs in the vernacular charmed the people of Northern India.[7]

His Ḍurgābhakṭiṭarangiṇi[8] is a poem of one thousand verses on the ceremony of the autumnal worship of Durgā famous in Eastern Bengal. It was written under the patronage of Ḍhīrasimha (son of Narasimha) who was the ruling king in Miṭhila in L.S. 321 (1440 A.D.)

Likhanāvalī[8] is a Sanskrit work on forms of letter-writing composed under the patronage of Purāḍiṭya, a Jagirdar in North Miṭhila. It mentions L.S. 299 (1417-8 A.D.) frequently in the letters.

Viḍyāpaṭi's name is equally known by his two gazetteers *in prose*, Bhūparikrama and Puruṣaparīkṣā. Bhūparikrama covers Balarāma's journey round the earth, describing 56 countries. Passing along the banks of the Sarasvaṭī, the poet mentions various historical events, down to his own times, including the battle of Hammīra with Allaudin. Puruṣaparīkṣa contains moral or political tales for the instruction of children. It is on the plan or Pancaṭanṭra, but the characters

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1. Sir G.A. Grierson gives a genealogy in *Maithil Chrestomathys*, 39. A similar list was published by Rajkṛṣna Mukhopāḍhyāya in *Bangadarsan* a few years ago. See Basantkumar. Chatterjee, *Padavali Literature* [*Jl. Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta University, XVI. 23 34] which gives a complete account of Viḍyāpaṭi.
2. L.S. is Lakṣmaṇasena Era which commenced in 1119 A.D.
3. India Govt. Ms. fol. 117 a. See B. Chatterjee 1. c. 36.
4. B. Chatterjee, l.c. 38, quoting from Bangīya Sah. Part. Patrika, where V. Rāmaṭirṭha gave the text.
5. Elphinstone's *History of India*, (748-9)
6. Nagendranath Gupta (*Introduction*) thinks that Viḍyāpaṭi died in 1448 A.D.
7. *l. c.* 323. There is another work of this name by Māḍhava (*CC*, I. 256)).
8. *CSC* (1903), 445; *CSC* (1896), No. 29.

are men, some of whom are historical. It was written under the orders of Śivasimha of Mithila, but the king died before the work was finished.

404. **Pattubhatta** or Poṭaryārya of Vaḍhūlagoṭra was born in the village of Kākamrānipura near Masulipatam. His Prasangaraṭnāvali written in Śaka 1338 (1466 A.D.) is a collection of miscellaneous descriptions and comprises stanzas on moral and social duties, rules for particular ceremonies and personal conduct and sketches of individual biography and character. The 77th chapter gives short accounts of princes from the great Vikramāḍiṭya to Simhabhūpaṭi, Raja of Pittapur. Proverbial expressions are abundant.[1]

405. **Jaganmohana** wrote Ḍeśavalīvivṛṭi at the request of king Baijala of Chohan race who died in Saka 1570 (1648 A.D.)[2] It describes the 56 kingdoms of India with the names of rulers, ancient and modern, and contains much historical information.[3]

406. **Mahesa Thakkura** wrote Ākbarnāma or Sarvaḍesavṛṭṭānṭasangraha in prose and he was presented by Emperor Akbar with the Ḍarbhānga Raj.[4]

407. **Ramakavi** wrote Pāndavaḍigvijaya[5] in the court of Rāja of Śekharabhūmi in the 18th century A.D. It describes the conquest of India by Pāndavas. It is very voluminous, probably bigger than Mahābhāraṭa. "Like Ḍeśāvalivivriṭi, it is rather a geographical work describing the most noted places in India with historical or Paurāṇika events associated with them. The chief interest of the book consists in the accounts which it gives of the manners, customs, laws, religions, institutions and other social particulars of different parts of India before and after the Mahomedan conquest. The stories of Vikramāḍiṭya, Śālivāhana, Bharṭṛhari, Śankarācārya, Prabhākara Bhatta, Jumar Nandi, Jayacanḍra (king of Kambhoja), Praṭāparuḍra (ruler of Orissa), Surabhatta, etc., find a place in it. The authorities quoted are Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Skanḍa Purāṇa, Ruḍravijaya, Viśvaguṇāḍarsa, Mahābhojaprabanḍha, Śakāvali etc.,"

1. *TC*, III, 3771. *DC*, XX. 8065, where contents are given.
2. *CC*, I. 340; Big. 708; P. R. III. 395. See B. Chatterjee, *l.c.*, 25.
3. *CSC* (1903), 43-5. It contains an interesting account of Kalyānavarman killed at Puri in Kali 4600. Haraprasad Sastri (*JBORS*, III. 14) mentions Vikramasāgara of Jaganmohana.
4. See para 96 *supra*; All. Un. Studies. Vol. V. *Gazetteer Literature of India.*
5. *CSC*, (1896) No. 72.

408. **Cambhucandra Nrpati** wrote Vikramabhārata at the beginning of the 19th century, incorporating various stories about Vikramaditya and from Purāṇas.[1]

409. **Padmanandi** wrote Jambūḍvīpapragnapṭi in 13 chapters, describing the various divisions of Jambūḍvīpa and their measurements according to Jaina Siḍḍhānṭa.[2]

Jambūḍvīpavarṇana is a geography with maps and drawings according to Jain authorities. The author's name is not known.[3]

410. **Venkatakavisarvabhuma** was the son of Jogibhukṭa and Pārvaṭī. He appears to have lived in Goḍāvari District about the end of 18th century. He says he was a master of all arts and sciences and as indicative of his wide learning, he planned his PRAPANCADARPANA.[4] It is a huge encyclopaedia in three parts, Ḍharmakhanda, Arṭhakhaṇda and Kāmakhanda and under these heads it embraces various topics on Manṭras, Purāṇas, astrology etc., poetry and poetics etc. Often he makes quotations, but there is much there that is his own composition. References to authors and works seem to be so incorrect and unknown if not queer, that we are led to doubt their authenticity.[5]

411. **Ramakrsna Sastri's** Bhuvanapraḍīpikā written at Hassan in 1808 under the patronage of Krisna Raja Odeyar III of Mysore is an encyclopædia,[6] " on a variety of subjects such as creation. time, the Manvadis, geography, astronomy, history of Southern India and of Mysore with many details about his patron Krishna Raja Odeyar III, the Puranas, duties of the four castes and religious orders, Yoga and Vedanta. Among the Jaina kings of Tundira-desa are named Satyandhara, his son Jivandhara, his son Yasodhara, his son Gunapala, his son Yasahpala, his son Prajapala, his son Lokapala, his descendant Himasitala who ruled from Kali 1125 Pingala and in whose reign Akalanka vanquished the Bauddhas; then followed Harivikrama, Simhavikrama, Satyaratha, Nyayaratha and Dharmaratha whose son

1. *CC*, I. 569.
2. *Cat. C. P.*, No. 7217.
3. ,, No. 728.
4. *TC*, III, 4094; See Kuppuswami Sastri's *Rep.* (1916-19) 36.
5. For instance, he mentions Prasannarāghava of Murāri, Canḍragupṭa's Sṛṇgārasāra and Rasasāgara, Janakīpariṇaya of Gopāla, Śṛṇgāracanḍrika of Sāhasānka, Bilhaṇa's Bhojacariṭa, Dandin's Vasanṭakusumākara, Mayura's Vasanṭanāṭaka, Goṇīputra's Smaracanḍrikā, Allasani Peddanna's Rasamanjarī and Saṭyāpariṇaya etc.
6. *Mys, Arch. Rep.* (1918), 67.

Chamundaraya set up Gommata, 49 cubits high at Sravana Belgola in Kali 600 Vibhava. In Saka 778 Dhatu, Vinayaditya Ballala built Yadavapuri. In Saka 1095 Khara kings of the lunar race, known as Narapatis, built Vijayanagara. In Saka 1258 Dhatu, Madhavaryamantri built Vidyanagara and enthroned Bukka. On becoming a sanyasi, he attained celebrity as Vidyaranya-munindra. Here we have a clear statement of the identity of Madhavacharya with Vidyaranya."

BOOK IV

KATHANAKA

AND

GADYAKAVYA

CHAPTER XVIII

Kathanaka

(Fables and Fairy Tales)

SECTION 1.

412. Closely allied to Gāḍya Kāvya in the style of prose and to Niti Kāvya in import are the Fables. They are generally called Kaṭhā. But to distinguish these tales from the species of Romance called technically Kaṭhā, I have used the term Kaṭhānaka. In these fables and fairly tales, "the abundant introduction of ethical reflection and popular philosophy is characterstic; the apologue with its moral is peculiary subject to this method of treatment."[1]

"The controversy that was carried on towards the end of the last century between the advocates of the Eastern and the Northern origin of European fiction had reference especially to a particular class of creations—to those of chivalric romance—to the marvellous exploits magnified out of the traditional achievements wrought by the companion Knights of the Round Table or the Paladins of France. With all confidence, a different class of fiction that, at a later age, found accession into European literature can be traced back to oriental sources. Sir William Jones, in his discourse on the Hindus, observes that they are said to have laid claim to three inventions—the game of chess, the decimal scale of notation and the mode of instructing by apologues. The universal prevalence among the Hindus of the doctrine of metempsychosis was calculated to recommend to their belief the notion that beasts and birds could reason and converse and consequently the plan of such dialogues originated with them. Despite the questionability of the evidence in favour of the originality of the Hindus in the art of instruction by apologues, the purposes to which the Hindus directed it are peculiarly their own. Fable is with them practical ethics—the science of *niti* or polity. Each fable is calculated to illustrate some reflection on worldly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct."

The oldest Aryan fables, dating from centuries before Christ, have, according to Dr. Rhys Davids, travelled to different parts of Europe and have assumed various modern shapes. Otto Keller maintains the

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1. Macdonell, *SL*, 368.

Indian origin of fables common to India and Greece and suggests an ancient Assyrian channel of communication. The substantial link of connection with the west is the literature of the beast-fable. The *Mahavaipulya* sutras of the Buddhistic literature appear to contain the earliest Sanskrit legends in prose styled *Ityuktha* and *Vyakarana* (corresponding to the Itihasa-puranas in the Brahmanas) or legends in the form of parables styled *avadana* exhibiting many elements of the later animal fables and further tales of presages and wonders *adbhuta-dharma* and lastly special instruction in and discussion of definite topics, denominated *upadesa* and *nidana*. All these tales, partly mythical, partly didactic and partly allegorical, reappear in a more archaic dress in the Brahmanas in the *purana*. The poetry does not point to any close similarity with the language of Kalidasa's. The prose passages are devoid of all lucidity or simplicity. The verse and the Aranyakas as well as in the prose legends interspersed in the Mahabharata which, in the general tenor of their language, present many salient points of similarity with the style of the Buddhistic sutras. Most conspicuous among these are the *Jataka* tales, which treat of the prior births of Buddha and the Bodhisattwas."

In the Ṛk Veda are the stories of Man and the Fish, Indra's metamorphosis into birds Markata and Kapinjala. In the Chāndogyopaniṣad "we have the allegory or satire of the dogs which search out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of the two flamingoes whose remarks call attention to Raivaka and the instruction of the young Saṭyakā finding a bull, then by a flamingo, then by an aquatic bird." Fables were directly known to Paṭanjali.[1]

Early Sūṭra works of Jainas, contain impressive tales illustrative of their ethics and philosophy. Saṣtitanṭra consisted of stories explanatory of the subtleties of Sānkhya philosophy.

SECTION 2.

Brhatkatha

413. The earliest regular collection of Fables was Bṛhaṭkaṭhā of Guṇādhya.[2] But to us it is only the name that has survived. Guṇādhya has almost become mythical. He was placed in the same pedestal as Vālmīki and Vyāsa. Guṇādhya was inspired and was the third of the

1. See *ISt*, XIII. 486; Weber, *IL*, 211; Keith, *SL*, 242.
2. See S. Oldenberg's *Materials for the study of Indian Tales called* Brhatkatha, *Tr. of Russ. Or. Society*, 1888.

Epic. Triad. Govardhana salutes them all in a strain and compares their poetry to a river with three branches. He feels that Guṇādhya was Vyāsa incarnate. Kālidāsa mentions old men of Ujjain well-versed with the stories of Uḍayana.[1] Bāṇa compares Bṛhaṭkaṭhā with Haralīlā.[2] Subandhu names it in a simile.[3] Daṇdin instances it as a class of Kaṭhā.[4] Daśarūpa names Bṛhaṭkaṭhā and Dhanika calls it the source of Mudrārākhsasa and quotes two verses as 'Bṛhaṭkaṭhāyām.'

Nepālamāhāṭmya draws a parallel between Valmiki and Gunādhya. "Both come to Nepal, Valmīki because Narada, instructed by the gods, points out to him, to the north of the hill of Changu-Narayan, the confluent of the two branches of the Virabhadra as the 'sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of a poem as pure' as the *Ramayana*; Gunadhya, because Civa has imposed upon the demi-god of whom he, Gunadhya, is the human incarnation, as condition of his deliverance, after the composition of the *Brhatkatha*, the erection of a *lingam* on a sacred spot difficult of access; both before leaving Nepal, Valmiki, to return to his hermitage, and Gunadhya to heaven, erect commemorative *lingams*, the *Valmikicvara* and the *Bhrngicvara*.[5]

414. In copper plates discovered at Gummāreddipura, Kolar Dt.' dated 40th year of King Dūrvinīṭa (early part of the 6th century A.D.[6]) it is said: शब्दावतारकारेण देवभारतीनिबद्धबृहत्कथेन किरातार्जुनीये·पञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन ... ...

A Cambodian inscription of the 9th centry A.D. mentions Bṛhaṭ-kaṭhā: "That inscription is one of the five steles of the Thnal Baray, consecrated to the eulogy of King Yacovarman (Bergaigne Insc. sanscrites de Camp et due Cambodge, 2e fasc. Nos. LVI-LX):

पारदस्स्थिरकल्याणो गुणाढ्यः प्राकृतप्रियः।
अनीतियों विशालाक्षश्शूरोन्यक्कृतभीमकः ॥ *LVIII. C, 15.*

'A Paradah out of which the Kalyana subsists (willing to help but always happy) Gunadhya who did not like the Prakrit (rich in virtue

1. *Megha*, I.
2. समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना।
   हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥ *Harṣacaritra*, Int,
3. बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकानिवहैः। *Vasav.*
4. Kāvyādarsā, I. 38.
5. Lacote, *Essays*, 14. S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, I. 328, 387.
6. See *Mys Arch. Rep.* (1912), 65-9; *IA*, XLII. 204; *JRAS*, (1913) 389.

but not loving harshness), Vicalaksa, a stranger to the *niti* (with big eyes but without the torments of exile). He was Cura having humbled Bhimaka.'

Mr. Barth has pointed out (l.c. p. 313) another allusion.

गुणान्वितास्तिष्ठतु दूषितोऽपि स्थानार्पितो येन पुनर्गुणाढ्यः ।
गदोऽप्यलं चारु विभूषणाय हरप्रयुक्तः किमुतामृतांशुः ॥

LIX. B, 26.

'It matters not if a virtuous man is even vilified; because he was really a virtuous man. Gunadhya was reinstated in his place; even the poison that is closely united with Civa serves sufficiently as a graceful ornament; what to say of the moon?'

I still suspect a third allusion:

यस्य कीर्तेर्गुणाढ्याया बृहड्घनरयादिव ।
पतिताभूषमुद्रादीन् क्षमागाम्भीर्यधैर्यदिक् ॥

LVIII, C, 9.

415. It is possible therefore that the work was extant so late as the 12th century; it is a wonder that no trace of it is visible anywhere. Somaḍeva and Kṣemenḍra have made translations and epitomes in Sanskrit. Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara and Bṛhaṭkaṭhāmanjarī, and these represent the original Paisachi text to a great degree though these poems read by themselves disclose an originality of poetic narration. These two poems are from Kāṣmir. Later has been discovered Buḍhasvāmin's Brhaṭkaṭhā-Ślokasangraha representing the version of Bṛhaṭkaṭhā current in Nepal. Vāmanabhatta's Brhatkaṭhāmanjarī is a South Indian production, but only the 24th Betāla is available there.

416. The stories forming Bṛhaṭkaṭhā had a divine origin. There are two versions of it, Kāṣmerian and Nepalese. Somaḍeva thus recounts the story "Siva once narrated to Parvati the marvellous history of the seven Viḍyaḍhara Cakravarṭins. He was overheard by one of his attendants, Pushpadanta, who communicated it to his wife Jaya, a servant of Parvati. The latter again spread it amongst her fellows and the indiscretion of Pushpadanta soon became known to the divine pair. Parvati, filled with anger, then cursed Pushpadanta and condemned him, in punishment of his fault, to be born as a mortal. His brother Malyavan, who dared to intercede for him, received a like sentence. But when Parvati saw Pushpadanta's wife, her faithful attendant, overwhelmed by distress, she relented so far

as to set a term to the effects of her curse. She decreed that, when Pushpadanta, on meeting a goblin or Paisacha called Kanabhuti, in the Vindhyas, should remember the great tales and his former birth and should tell them to Kanabhuti, he should be delivered from his mortal body. Malyavan also should be allowed to return to heaven when he had heard the Vrihatkathas from Kanabhuti and had spread them on the earth. Agreeably to this order, Pushpadanta was born in Kausambi, as Vararuchi-Katyayana, and became a great grammarian and the minister of Yogananda, the last of the Nandas. After an eventful life he retired into solitude and on a pilgrimage to the temple of Parvati Vindhyavasini, he met Kanabhuti in the forest. He remembered his former life and communicated to the Pisacha the seven great tales. Having accomplished this he re-obtained his celestial nature, according to Parvati's prediction. Malyavan, also, who in his human birth had become Gunadhya of Pratishthana and had served King Satavahana as minister, came accompanied by his two pupils Gunadeva and Nandideva, to the dwelling place of Kanabhuti. He received from him the seven stories in the language of the Pisachas and wrote them down in 100,000 Slokas each, with his own blood. By the advice of his pupils, he sent the whole to king Satavahana, hoping that the king being a man of taste might preserve and spread them. But that monarch rejected with disgust a work that was written in the language of the goblins and with blood. On receiving this news Gunadhya burnt six of his stories; the seventh was preserved with difficulty through the entreaties of his pupils. King Satavahana, who accidentally learned that the recitation of the remaining book charmed even the beasts of the forest, repented of his former conduct, repaired to Gunadhya's habitation and obtained the manuscript of the remaining story. He studied it with the help of Gunadeva and Mandideva, and wrote the introduction, detailing its origin, likewise in the language of the Pisachas. The book then became one of the stories that are famed in the three worlds.[1]

NEPALAMAHATMYA (Chap. 27-29) has a different story:[2]

"It begins like the Cashmerian legend with a conversation between Parvati and Siva. The Goddess asks the God for a story that has not been told before and while Siva relates it, all the doors being closed, the Gana Bhrngin, under the form of a bee, enters through the key-hole, overhears Siva's tale and repeats it to his wife

1. F. Lacote, *Essays*, 30-31.
2. Levi, *The Nepal*, I. 203-4.

Vijaya. Some other day Parvati starts relating the tale to her maids, but Vijaya knows it already. 'Who is guilty of that indiscration?' Civa, through the intensity of his meditation, discovers the culprit, sends for and curses him. Bhrngin asks the God to have pity; the God complies and forgives him under the following conditions; he must become a man, learned, virtuous and skilful; he must write down in 900,000 verses, full of poetical feeling, the story he had overheard; he must erect a *linga* in a place difficult of access; and then only, will he be delivered from human condition and allowed to reascend the Kailasa. In this preamble we find again the notion of the originality of the *Brhatkatha* and besides, a precise detail on the nature of that poem; it is to be a love poem, the purpose of which is to produce a dramatic feeling; it must be *rasasamanvitah*. But one can see that the Nepalese version differs from the other in two particulars; the gana who is cursed is called Bhrngin and there is only one. Bhrngin is born at Mathura under the name of Gunadhya. Having become an orphan he sets out for Ujjayini where King Madana, the consort of the learned Lilavati, daughter of the king of Gauda, is ruling. The Pandit Carvavarman, who is in the king's service, appreciates the talents of Gunadhya and obtains for him a place of pandit at the Court. Then comes the story of the king's mistake on the word *modaka*. Gunadhya asks for twelve years to teach him grammar, Carvavarman only two. There is a bet as in the other version of the legend. Carvavarman wins it, thanks to the revelation of the grammar Kalapa (Katantra). Gunadhya is condemned to silence: he goes to live as an ascetic in a hermitage. The ascetic Pulastya passing by, advises him to write his tales in the Paicaci language; he will afterwards go to Nepal, erect a *linga* in honour of *Civa* and thus obtain deliverance from the curse which has made him a man. Gunadhya writes his poem with minerals on the leaves of trees; as he composes he recites the verses aloud; the wild animals surround him to listen to him and they forget to eat; the game served at the royal table is so lean that the king complains; the cooks blame the hunters; these in exploring the woods meet Gunadhya surrounded by the attentive animals; they themselves, falling under the spell, remain to listen. There is no longer any game for the king's dinner; enraged, he goes to see what has become of the hunters, sees Gunadhya and presses him to come again to Court; Gunadhya refuses, 'Sire, I have composed 900,000 delightful verses in Paicaci, you must have them written in Sanskrit, as for myself I will go to Nepal.' He goes to Nepal, sees

the Pacupaticvara, then setting forth for the temple of Pacupati he performs around the valley the *pradaksina* which the Nepalamahatmya describes at great length; it is the guide book of the modern pilgrim. Having returned to the temple, Gunadhya gathers all the munis who live in Nepal; establishes the Bhrngicvara and in an aerial chariot (*vimana*) reascends to the kailasa to resume his place among the Ganas. Evan at the present day, under the form of a bee, Bhrngin returns, at each phase of the moon to have a look at his linga."[1]

417. Guṇādhya was born at Pratisthāna on the Godāvarī. So says Kṣemendra. Somadeva mentions the city of Supratistha, capital of Pratisthāna, or at times calls it Pratiṣthāna on the banks of the Godāvari. It is the capital of the Āndhra dynasty of Śātavāhanas of which Hāla or Śātavahana or Śālivāhana was an illustrious scion. According to Puraṇas Hāla was the son of Ariṣta Śatakarṇi and ruled between 2644-2649 Yudhisthara Śaka, that is, 495 to 490 B.C.[2] On an identification of Śātavāhana and Śālivāhana it has been said by modern scholars that the patron of Guṇādhya lived about 78 A.D., the date of the Śālivāhana era.[3]

418. Budhasvamin's Brhatkathaslokasangraha comes from Nepal, and this led to its being called a Nepalese version of Guṇādhya's original, a version according to some orientalists, earlier than the works of Somadeva and Kṣemendra.

1. See Essai sur Gunadhya et la Bṛhatkatha by F. Lacote, Paris (Translated *JMy*, XII XIII). See C. H. Tawney's Review in *JRAS* (1909), 112.

2. Kṣemendra (xviii 137) calls city of Prasenajit Supratiṣtha, and Mahābhārata (III. 8314) notes Pratisthāna as a tirtha at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges.

F. Lacote thinks that Guṇādhya was born at Mathura and lived at Ujjain or Kauśāmbi. (*Essays*, 26).

3. On Hāla, see note on para 505 *supra*.

On his Saptaśati or Kośa, Bāṇa says

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत्सातवाहनः ।

Harṣacarita, *Int.* 13.

On the identity of Śātavāhana with Śālivāhana, see Wilson's *Col. Works*, III. 181 note and Seshagiri Sastri, *IA*. I. 314.

Buhler (*Kash. Rep.* 47) places Guṇādhya in 1st or 2nd century, and Weber (*IL*, 213; *ISt*. I. 358) in 6th century A.D. (*IA*, I. 307). Keith (*SL*, 268; *JRAS*, (1901), 145) and Levi (*TI*, 317; *Le Nepal*, II, 63) give the date 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Speyer (*Studies*) says Bṛhatkatha lies between 400 and 600 A.D, nearer the latter. Tawney (*JRAS* (1908), 908) agrees. V. Smith, (*EH*, 19⁴) dates it in the latter half of 1st century A.D. See also S. Krishnaswami Iyengar on Bṛhatkathā, *JRAS* (1906), 688.

Slokasangraha is now available as a fragment. It is a poem of sargas meant obviously to be an extensive book, but the fragment gets us only 28 sargas of about 4, 539 verses. Either the work was left incomplete or the manuscript has been lost to us. In estimating the dimensions of the whole collection, Lacote says, "Naravahanadatta must relate the conquest of his twenty-six wives (IV, 3.); and yet, at the end of the twenty-eighth book, that is of 4,539 verses, he has only come to the sixth one. The history of the first five has taken up 3,622 verses; the proportions being the same—and one does not see that he abridges more as he goes on with the narration; far from it—the history of the twenty-sixth spouse would take us into about 19,000 verses; to it one must add the whole history of the conquest of the empire. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to estimate the whole length of the poem at 25,000 verses at least, divided into more than 100 sargas."[1]

The poem begins with an encomium of Ujjayinī and the death of Mahāsena or Pradyoṭa. Gopāla, his son, succeeded him, but afflicted with the talk that he was a patricide he abdicated in favour of his brother Pālaka. Warned as if by a heavenly sign, he gave up his throne and Gopāla's son Avantivardhana ascended the throne. Then comes the story of his love with Surasamanjarī. The 28th canto leaves us with Naravāhanadatta in the company of Bhagirathayaśas.

F. Lacote thinks that Budhasvāmin must have lived about the 5th or 6th century A.D.[2] He remarks: "The differences with regard to the other two versions are enormous. The subject announced at the beginning of the fourth sarga, after the three sargas which form the introduction, is the history of Naravahanadatta, son of the king of the Vatsas, Udayana, and emperor of the Vidyadharas. It is the same as the principal subject of the *Kathasaritsagara* and of the *Brhatkathamanjari*, but the arrangement of the matter and, in some parts, the matter itself are altogether different. The spirit in which the subject is dealt with is also quite new. It is no longer a question of slight differences in the order of the books, like those one notices between the *Kathasaritsagara* and the *Brhatkathamanjari*, which, in spite of the various readings, show a common original. Here we have a poem entirely different; if it has the same ancestor as the other two, which to me seems to be certain, its relation to them is several degrees removed."[3]

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1. Ed. and Tr. by E. Leroux, Paris.
1. *Essays*, 110, 114.
1. *Essays*, 10-11.

419. Ksemendra Brhatkathamanjari comes next.[1] Kṣemendra was in the Court of King Ananṭa of Kāśmir (1029-1064 A.D.). His writings have been noticed in a prior chapter.[2] His three Manjaris are in reality distinct pieces of poetry and they can be called epitomes only in respect of the narrative of their originals.

Kṣemendra's poem like Somadeva's "is divided into eighteen '*lambhakas*' the names of which are the same as those of the corresponding Books in the Kathasaritsagara. Besides, we find in the Brhatkathamanjari a double system of subdivision. Most of the accessory tales and some of the principal episodes of the hero's history are followed by a colophon which resumes the substance of the tale—something like the marginal sub-titles found in the translation of the Kathasaritsagara by Mr. Tawney. It is a kind of index of the several incidents found in the text, and it is most convenient for ready reference. This method of subdivision, being found in all the manuscripts of the Manjari, must be rather ancient."[3]

420. Somadeva, son of Rāma, was a Brahmin poet of the Court of King Ananṭa of Kāśmir who ruled about 1029-1064 A.D. Ananṭa's son was Kalaśa and Kalaśa's son was Harṣa. For the amusement of Sūryāvaṭi, queen of Ananṭa, Somadeva wrote KATHASARITSAGARA in 18 Books of 124 Ṭarangas and 24,000 verses, the earliest large collection of stories extant in the world, about 1070 A.D. Somadeva declares that his work is a condensed Sanskrit version of Guṇādhya's Paiśāci Bṛhaṭkaṭhā.

In his prospectus of the Edition of Tawney's Translation of this work N. M. Penzer says:

"Turning to the work itself, one is amazed by the mass of stories of every conceivable kind it contains. Animal stories dating back hund-

1. *DC*, XXI. 8165. Ed. Bombay by Sivadatta & Parab; by S. Levi, *JA*, (1885) 397-479, (1886) 178-222 with translation of Bks. I, VI and part of Bk. IX. Translated in part by L. Von Mankowski.

2. See para 68 *supra*.

3. *Essays*, 84-5.

4. See *Raj.* VII. 945.

5. Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1900), 120] gives this date. Wilson (*SL*, I. 158) fixes the date at 1030 A.D. Seshagiri Sastri (*IA*, I. 355) gives Somadeva 1059-1071 in the time of King Harṣa. Buhler (*IA*, I. 302) gives the date 1063-82 A.D.

6. Ed. Bombay. Ed. and translated by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig. Translated by C. H. Tawney, *Bibl. Ind.* now being reedited with introduction and elaborate notes by N. M. Penzer.

reds of years B.C., wild legends of Rig-Veda days explaining the creation of the earth, harrowing tales of blood-sucking vampires, beautiful and poetic love stories and vivid descriptions of terrible battles between gods, men or demons. All these are found in this storehouse of romance. Nor should it be forgotten that India is the true land of Romance, more so indeed than either Persia or Arabia, for India's own history is a romance hardly less exaggerated and enthralling than the tales themselves.

The collector of these stories, Somadeva, was a man of genius who rightly ranks next to Kālidāsa among Indian poets. His power of telling a story in a clear, entertaining and absorbing way is only equalled by the richness and diversity of his subject-matter. His knowledge of human nature, the elegance of his style, the beauty and force of his descriptions and the wit and wisdom of his aphorisms, are masterly in their execution.

On the other hand, in most Eastern collections of tales (especially Indian), the way in which fresh stories are embedded in other ones and the bewildering rapidity with which one follows another, makes the reader long for Ariadne's thread to lead him safely out of the labyrinth. The Editor, therefore, has taken special care to provide an efficient thread in this new edition. A system of numbering the stories has been introduced, that not only makes the reading easy, but acts as a guide to students of Comparative Folk-lore.

The Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara is, of course, a much older book than *The Thousand Nights and a Night*, and is the origin of many tales in the *Nights*. Through them it has given ideas not only to Persian and Turkish authors, but also to the western world through the pens of Boccaccio, Chaucer, La Fontaine, and their innumerable imitators.

Mr. Tawney's excellent notes, supplemented by those now added, afford an enormous amount of information which will prove interesting not only to the student of Comparative Religion, Folk-lore, Magic (both black and white), Ethics, Sociology and Anthropology, but also to the intellectual lay reader, who wishes to increase his store of out-of-the-way and esoteric knowledge."[1]

"Its literal translation is 'The Ocean of Streams of Story.' Somadeva felt that his great work united in itself all stories, as the

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[1] See generally, J. S. Speyer's Studies about Kathāsaritsāgara, *JRAS* (1908) 907; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 1034; IV. 871; Wilson, *SL*, I. 156, II, 109; Weber, *SL*, 213; Keith, *SL*, 281-7.

ocean does all rivers. Every stream of myth and mystery flowing down from the snowy heights of sacred Himalaya would sooner or later reach the ocean, other streams from other mountains would do likewise, till at last fancy would create an ocean full of stories of every conceivable description—tales of wondrous maidens and their fearless lovers, of kings and cities, of statecraft and intrigue, of magic and spells, of treachery, trickery, murder and war, tales of blood-sucking vampires, devils, goblins and ghouls, stories of animals in fact and fable, and stories too of beggars, ascetics, drunkards, gamblers, prostitutes and bawds.

This is the *Ocean of Story*; this the mirror of Indian imagination that Somadeva has left as a legacy to posterity."

421. Somaḍeva thus dealt with the original Bṛhaṭkatha:

यथा मूलं तथैवैतन्नमनागप्यतिक्रमः ।
औचित्यान्वयरक्षा च यथाशक्ति विधीयते ॥
कथारसाविघातेन काव्यांशस्य च योजना ।
वैदग्ध्यख्यातिलोभाय मम नैवायमुद्यमः ॥
किन्तु नानाकथाजालस्मृतिसौकर्यसिद्धये ।

In the preface Somadeva gives the following account of his work: "The first book in my collection is called Kathapitha, then comes

1. "As in the original work, so also in this one, there is not anywhere the least omission; only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large. I have endeavoured as much as possible to choose the most suitable expressions, and while describing in the stories the various movements of the passions (rasas), a work has been produced which may be considered a piece of poetry. My work did not spring from the desire to secure the fame of learning, but simply to facilitate the memorizing of that many-coloured net of myths."—*Brockhaus*.

"This book is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken; there is not even the slightest deviation, only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work; the observance of propriety and natural connexion, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are, as far as possible, kept in view; I have not made this attempt through desire of a reputation for ingenuity, but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales."—*Tawney*.

"As is the original such is the copy; it does not deviate from it, even by one line; I simply epitomize the primitive work and I translate; that is all the difference. Careful to observe, as far as possible, the literary propriety, and the logical sequence, in doing my best not to break off either the narrative or the spirit of the sentiments expressed, I am no less careful to arrange a portion of a regular poem."—*Lacote*.

Kathamukha, then the third book, named Lavanaka, then follows Naravahanadattajanana, and then the book called Caturdarika, and then Madanamancuka, then the seventh book named Ratnaprabha, and then the eighth book named Suryaprabha, then Alankaravati, then Saktiyasas, and then the eleventh book called the Vela, then comes Sasankavati, and then Madiravati, then comes the book called Panca, followed by Mahabhiseka, and then Surasamanjari, then Padmavati, and then the eighteenth book Visamasila."[1]

Somadeva then gives the wonderful origin of the tale at great length (Kath. I. 1-13-181).

" Each book comprises a number of stories loosely strung together by being narrated for the recreation or information of some individuals or arising out of their adventures. There are Vatsa, King of Kausambi, and his son Naravahanadatta. The marriage of the latter with various damsels of terrestrial or celestial origin and his elevation to the rank of King of the Vidyadharas a class of heavenly sprits are the leading topic of most of the books but they merely constitute the skeleton of the composition, the substance being made up of stories growing out of these circumstances or springing from one another with an ingenuity of intricacy which is in reality one of the great charms of all such collection."[2]

"The stories all wind up at the end of each book or not infrequently sooner. The action is never suspended for any prolonged interval and the complication is not of such a nature or extent as to convert variety into confusion. The stories are always characterised by the features of Hindu nationality and are illustrations of Hindu opinions, usages and beliefs. They exhibit, in a striking and interesting manner, the peculiarities of the social condition of India, and in the exposure of its follies and vices furnish those delineations of the similar imperfections of all civilised society of which the general applicability and truth have recommended their imitation to the satirists and story-tellers of Europe. The greater number of them turn upon the wickedness of women, the inconstancy, profiigacy, treachery and craft of the female sex. These attributes no doubt originate in the feelings which have pervaded the East unfavourable to the dignity of the female character; but we are not to mistake the language of satire or the licentiousness of wit, for truth, or to suppose that the pictures which

1. *CSC*, (1896) No. 143.
1. Wilson, *SL*, III. p. 112-113.

are thus given of the depravity of women owe not much of their coloring to the malignity of men."[1]

422. The well known Arabian nights are a similar composition. They were rendered into Sanskrit under the title Āravyayāminī by JAGADBANDHU PANDITA at the request of Śambhucandra, Zamindar of Kakiniya.[2] In his introduction to the translation of Arabian Nights, Sir R. F. Burton thus sums up the subject-matter of Kathāsaritsāgara in comparison with the Arabian nights: "The thaumaturgy of both works is the same: the Indian is profuse in demonology and witchcraft; in monsters as wind-men, fire-men and water-men; in air-going elephants and flying horses (I. 541-543); in the wishing-cow; divine goats and laughing fishes (I. 24); and in the *speciosa miracula* of magic weapons. He delights in fearful battles (I. 400), fought with the same weapons as the Moslem uses, and rewards his heroes with a "Turband of Honour" (I. 266) in lieu of a robe. There is a quaint family likeness arising from similar stages of society; the city is adorned for gladness; men carry money in a robe corner and exclaim: "Ha, Good!" (for "Good, by Allah!"); lovers die with exemplary facility; the "soft-sided" ladies drink spirits (I. 61) and princesses get drunk (I. 476), whilst the eunuch, the hetæra and the bawd (Kuṭṭini) play the same preponderating parts as in the *Nights*."

JAGANNATHAMISRA'S KATHAPRAKASA borrows the tales of Kaṭhāsaritsagara (ix-xiii and xxiv-xxxvii).[3]

SECTION 3.

Pancatantra.

423. **Pancatantra,**[4] the famous collection of fables, has, it has been said, a circulation in the world, next only to the Bible. Hertel records two hundred (and more) versions in about fifty languages some of which are extra-Indian. During the reign of King Chosran Anosharwan (531-579 A.D.) a Persian Physician Burzoe or Burzuyeh translated it into Pahlavi and incorporated it into his Book of Stories called Karataka and Damanaka. This Pahlavi translation is lost as also its Sanskrit original and we have now an old Syriac version made by Bud in 570

1. Wilson, *SL*, II. 114.
2. *CSC*, (1903), 110.
3. *I.O.* No. 4105.
4. For a full history of Pancaṭanṭra, see Hertel's *History of the Beast Fable in India (HOS)*.

A.D. and an Arabic version made by Abdallah Ibnal Mogaffa about 750 A.D.[1]

Pancatantra is so called because it is divided into five Tantras or sections, and is as such known also as Pancopākhyāna. Viṣṇuśarman extracted the essence of all the most celebrated works of this class and composed it as Nīti Śāstra for the education of the sons of King Amaraśakti of Mahilāropya in the Deccan. The prefatory invocation is addressed to Sarasvaṭī and all authors on ethics, Manu, Vācaspaṭi, Uśanas, Parāśara, Vyāsa and Cāṇakya. The use of the word *dīnāra*, it is said points to its date as somewhere after the Christian era, and therefore, says Keith, "it is not sufficient to assign it to the 2nd century A.D, at the earliest."[2]

Speaking of the priority of Kautilya's Arṭhaśāsṭra, it has been said "The titles such as separation of friends, winning of friends, war and peace, the loss of one's acquisition, and hasty action, given to the 5 books of the Panchatantra are political ideas explained in no earlier work than the Arthasastra. They are adumbrated with appropriate illustrative stories in the Pancatantra. There is reason to believe that the author of the Panchatantra is indebted to the Arthasastra for the use of the word Prakriti in the sense of a friend or an enemy (Mitraprakriti and Ariprakriti). A friend or an enemy inside a State is called abhyantaraprakriti and outside a State, bahyaprakriti. In the 15th book entitled Tantrayukti of the Arthasastra, Chanakya says that use of the word Prakriti in the sense of a friend or an enemy is his own device (svasanjna) which he explains as parair asamitas-sabdah, a word not used by others. Besides making use of the technical terms devised and political ideas taught in the Arthasastra, the author of the Panchatantra not only mentions the name of Chanakya as a writer on Nripasastra or Nitisastra, but also makes verbatim quotations sometimes wrongly and sometimes rightly from the Arthasastra in support of his views."[3]

424. Purnabhadra, the pupil of Jinapaṭi Sūri, was a Śveṭāmbara Jain monk.[4] He revised Pancaṭanṭra at the instance of Somamanṭrin in

1. Ed. and Tr. by G. Bickell, Leipzig. See for these other versions, Edgerton. *l.c.* 41-2. W. Norman Brown, *The Pancatantra in modern Indian Folklore*, *JAOS*, XXXIX. I.

2. Keith, *SL*, 245 et seq. *JRAS* (1925) 504. There are Pancaṭanṭrakāvya of Dharmapaṇḍiṭa and Pancaṭanṭrakāvyadarpaṇa (*CC*, I. 314).

3. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927), 16.

4. For his poems, see para 101 *supra*, See *PR*, IV. 27.

1199 A.D.[1] It is marked by the appearance of twenty-one new stories, including a famous one of the gratitude of animals and the ingratitude of man.[2]

Pūrṇabhadra used an earlier Jain recension whose author quotes Māgha and Rudrata must have therefore lived after the 9th century A.D.[3]

In *Sam.* 1716 (1600 A.D.), Meghavijaya composed Pancākhyānoḍḍhāra, a modified version of these various recensions.[4]

The south Indian Pancaṭanṭra is a careful and slight abbreviation and preserves the narrative and the language with faithfulness.[5] Very often its sentences agree with Ṭanṭrakhyāyikā and it is later than Bhāravi.[6]

The Nepalese version has all the verses, particularly of the South Indian recension. "We may agree with Hertel in thinking that the South Indian Pancaṭanṭra and the complete text on which the Nepalese is based," says Edgerton "were not identical, nor directly derived one from the other, but that they are closely related offshoots of the same archtype."[7]

425. Tantrakhyana or Ṭanṭrakhyāyikā is a form of Pancaṭanṭra, manuscripts of which come from Kasmir and is itself in two sub-recensions, in one of which there are more verses and more prose. According to Hertel "it is the only version which contains the unabbreviated and not intentionally altered language of the author,[8] which no other Indian Pancatantra version has preserved, while the Pahlavi translation distorts it by numerous misunderstandings.[9]

But according to Edgerton, "In short, the difference between the Tantrakhyayika and the other versions, in their relations to the original,

1. Ed. (*HOS*) by Benfey, J. Hertel with English translation by P. E. More, Liepzig. The Prasasti gives the date as Sam. 1255. See *IO*, 2643, *BR* (1897), xix For an analytical account, see Wilson, *SL*, II. 1.

2. Keith, *SL*, 261.

3. Keith (*SL* 260). places it in 1100 A.D.

4. Keith, *SL*, 260. On Meghavijaya, see para 93 *supra*.

5. Ed. by Haberland it, and again by J. Hertel, Leipzig.

6. See Edgerton, *Am. Or. Series*, III. 17 ; Keith, *SL*, 262.

7. Ed. by J. Hertel in Anmerkungen. *AOS*, III, 20.

8. Ed. by J. Hertel, Berlin. Tr. Leipzig, *HOS*, Vol. 14. See Abhandlungen of Saxon Society, Vol. 22.

9. *ZDMG*, LXIX. 113. See also Zachariae, *Kl. Schriften*, 170. Winternitz on Tantrākhyāyikā, *IOJ*, XXIV. 49.

is a difference of degree and not a difference of kind. All are to a considerable extent original. All are to a not inconsiderable extent unoriginal. On the whole, the Tantrakhyayika contains more of the original than of any other. In this respect it is surpassed by the Southern Pancatantra, which has much less unoriginal material than the Tantrakhyayika, and probably less than any other version, except the greatly abbreviated and versified Somadeva."[1]

426. It is said that there has been an unbroken tradition of narratives in the style of Pancaṭanṭra from time immemorial with ramifications in various times and countries and these versions "all go back to a book of fables and stories consisting of five books or sections and a brief introduction. The introduction provides the "frame" or setting, and at the same time suggests what must have been to the author's mind the key-note of the whole work: it was supposed to be a kind of *Furstenspiegel* or *Mirror for Magistrates* teaching worldly wisdom to princes, by entertaining examples, as well as by cleverly phrased precepts. The precepts are principally found in the verses which are abundantly scattered through most parts of the work. The examples consist in the stories themselves, which are told mainly in prose. Each of the five sections or "books" forms a dramatic unit in itself, and all five are, as I said, set into the introduction as a frame. In the introduction a wise brahman undertakes to enlighten three ignorant princes. He does so by narrating to them, one after another, the five books of the Pancatantra. Each of the five books contains not only a primary story, which we call the "frame-story" but also at least one, and usually several, "emboxt" stories; that is, stories represented as told by one character in the frame story to another. Sometimes there is a double "emboxtent"; a character in an "emboxt" story tells a story to another character. (In some of the late versions of the Pancatantra this process was carried even further, so that we have a sort of "Chinese nest" of stories). Most of the stories are beast fables, that is, their principal actors are animals decked out with human properties but a number of them have only human characters, while some have both men and animals, and even though rarely—gods and other supernatural beings. The stories are in general very well told and of a high artistic quality."[2]

Among several scholars that have investigated the history of Pancaṭanṭra there are preeminently two, J. Hertel and F. Edgerton. In

1. *HAOS*, III. 16. See Keith *SL*, 259, 60.
2. Edgerton, *HOS*, III, 4.

Hertel's view there are only two different sources of Pancaṭanṭra tradition; one Ṭanṭrākhyāyikā and another "K", archtype of all other versions and an intermediate archtype to which the Southern and Nepalese and an intermediate archetype to which the Southern and Nepalese versions and Hitopadeśa go back.[1] But Edgerton says there are four independent streams of the tradition flowing from one single old source: Southern Bṛhaṭkaṭha of which Somaḍeva's and Kṣemenḍra's are epitomies; (ii) Ṭanṭrākhyāyikā (iii) Southern Pancaṭanṭra (iv) the original of Pahlavi version. Pūrṇabhaḍra's recension is a combination of Ṭanṭrākhyāyikā and Southern Pancaṭanṭra.

Somaḍeva's Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara contains the five books of Pancatantra, "separated from one another by extraneous materials, but preserves considerably more than Kṣmenḍra does of the bulk of the narrative and Kṣmendra's text of Pancaṭanṭra[2] is the most drastically abbreviated among all versions."

From a comparison of these various versions Edgerton made up the text of what he considered the original of Pancaṭanṭra.[3]

427. Hitopadesa is a far later version of Pancaṭanṭra and has been more popular with the students of Sanskrit Literature. Avowedly based on Pancaṭanṭra, Hiṭopaḍeśa is a work with a plan original in itself of Nārāyaṇa.[4] Instead of five books, Hiṭopaḍeśa has only four. Its third book has as its frame a story which is only a remote reflex of Pancatantra Book III. The frame of its fourth book is wholly new, though evidently intended as a companion piece to Book III and suggested by the title of the original Pancatantra's third book. Book IV of the Pancatantra is wholly omitted; the stories of Book V, including the frame story, are included as emboxt stories in Hitopadesa Books III and IV. Several of the emboxt stories of Pancatantra Book I are transferred to the Hitopadesa's new Book IV; those of Pancatantra Book III are impartially divided between Hitopadesa Books III and IV;

1. See on this Hertel, *ZDMG*, LVI, 317; LIIX, 113, 118; Winternitz *DLZ*, XXXI, 2760.

2. This has been separately edited, Der Auszugans dem Pancaṭanṭra in Kṣemenḍra's Bṛhaṭkaṭhānanjarī, Leipzig.

3. "Pancatantra reconstructed," *HOS*, Vol. 2. Text and critical apparatus and vol 3. Introduction.

4. Ed. everywhere: by F. Johnson, London; by P. Peterson, Bombay and in *Handbooks for the study* of *Sanskrit* by Max Muller with an interlinear translation. On Hitopadesa, see Edgerton, *AOS*, III. 20-22; *PR*, III, 397. There is a Hiṭopaḍeśapaḍyasangraha (*CC*, III. 158.)

not a few stories of the first three books of the Pancatantra are omitted altogether, and various stories not found in the Pancatantra are inserted in all four books of the Hitopadesa, presumably from the unnamed " other works " referred to by Narayana."[1]

SECTION 4.

428. Ananta Bhatta who describes himself as son of Nagadeva Bhatta, a Brahmin of Kanva caste. In his Pancopākhyānasangraha or Kaṭhāmṛṭaniḍhi he professes to preserve the whole of the narrative Pancaṭanṭra.[2]

"Each fable is designed to illustrate and exemplify some reflection on wordly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct, and the illustration is as frequently drawn from the intercourse of human beings, as from an imaginary adventure of animal existence and this mixture is in some degree a pecularity in the Hindu plan of fabling or story telling.[3]

429. Simhasanadvatrimsika or Vikramārkacaritra[4] is a collection of thirty-two tales. The throne was a gift from Inḍra to Vikramāḍiṭya and when Śālivāhana vanquished him and killed him in battle, the throne was buried in the earth. King Bhōja by chance unearthed it, and as he was ascending the throne, images of maidens sculptured on the throne became animated and related the tales in praise of Vikramāḍiṭya to Bhōja and regained their liberty.[5]

There are various versions of the work, attributed to Kāliḍāsa, Rāmacanḍra, Śiva and Siḍḍhasena Ḍivākara.[6] Kṣemankara, a Jain, who lived at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. wrote in prose, with verses at the beginning and condensed the tales. The South Indian version is generally known Vikramarkacariṭa. There are North Indian versions, one in verse and are considerably different, and are both anonymous. In Bengal, the recension is ascribed to Vararuci and is mostly Kṣemankara's.

1. Edgerton, *l.c.* 21-2. Garcin de Tassys, *Hist. de la Lit. Hindouie*, II. 448.

2. *CC*, I. 78. *IOC*. VII. 1560.

3. Wilson's *Essays*, II. 79. Essai sur les Fables Indiennes by M. A. Loiseleur Des Longchamps, Paris,

4. It is also known as Dvāṭrṃśaṭ-puṭṭalikā ; *CAL*, II. 1, 2 and Dvāṭrimśaṭ-sālabhanjikā (*CC*, I. 717).

5. *IOC*, VIII. 1566 ; Ed. Madras, Bombay, Calcutta. *PR*. V. 189, and Harward See Weber, *ISt*. XV. 185, F. Edgerton, *AJP*, XXXIII. 249 ; Keith, *SL*, 292 ; *BRI*, 93, *PR*. IV. 31. R. F. Burton's *Vikrama and the Vampire*, London.

6. *CC*, I. 717 ; III. 148.

430. Sukasaptatikatha is a collection of 70 clever stories of erotic nature but of ultimate didactic import. It is said that this story was related to Indra in his assembly by Nārada in the form of a parrot and that any one who hears the story attains all ends. One Devadāsa kept a parrot and when the King sent him away to a distant country with intent to seduce his wife, the parrot to whom Devadāsa entrusted the care of his family began to relate each night one story to her, keeping her interested in it till dawn and by the end of 70 stories the husband returned and all was well.[1]

There are three recensions of this work, *ornatior* and *simplicior* of R. Schmidt (who has edited a Mahrati version), the first by Cintāmaṇi Bhatta and second later by a Śvetambara Jain,[2] and a third by Devadatta, son of Puruṣottamadeva.[3]

431. Vetalapancavimsati is a series of 25 stories, very old in origin.[4] Kṣemendra and Somadeva relate the same stories in their poems. Independently we have versions by Śivadāsa in prose and verse[5] and by Jambhāladatta in prose[6] and one anonymous in prose.[7] Vallabhadāsa's work is an abbreviation.[8] There is also Veṭālavimśaṭi of Venkatabhatta.[9]

432. Tales relating to Vikrama are found in Ananta's Vīracarita and Śivadāsa's Śālivāhanacarita,[10] in the anonymous Vikramodaya,[11] in the Jain work Pancadandachatra-prabandha[12] and Nandīśayāgnika's Vikramārkacaritra.[13] Vikramasenacarita is a collection of stories like

1. Ed. Madras. *DC*, XXI. 8172. Keith, *SL*, 359.
2. Ed. *AKM*, X. 1; *ZDMG*, LIV. 515; LV. 1; *ABA*, XXI. 2. Tr. Kiel and Stuttgart.
3. Hertel, *Festchrift Windisch*, 138. Keith, *SL*. 290-2.
4. See Keith, *SL*, 288-90. *IOC*, VII. 1563-5. Levi. *JA*, VII. 191; *PR*, V. 386.
5. Ed. by H. Uhle, Leipzig, *AKM*, VIII. 1. See Bosch, *De legende vān Jimutavahana*, 22 ff. Kathārṇava of Śivadāsa has 35 stories. For other Śivadāsas, see *CC*, I. 649.
6. Ed. Calcutta. *IOC*, 3108.
7. Ed. *AKM*, VIII. 1. See for another version *BSGW*, (1914), 66, where the manuscript is dated 1487 A.D.
8. *IOC*, I. 1564; *PR*, III. 396, III. 30.
9. *Opp*. 4544.
10. See para 204 supra.
11. *IOC*, I. 3960; Zachariae, *EL Schriften*, 152, 166.
12. Ed. and Tr. *ABA*, (1877).
13. *CC*, I. 757. *Mys*. 292. Printed, Madras.

Vikramārkacariṭa narrated to King Vikramasena of Prathiṣṭhāna by a vampire stationed in a simsupa tree.[1]

433. Meruṭunga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi and Rājaśekhara's[2] Prabanḍhakōśa contains quasi-historical narratives.[3]

Hēmacanḍra's Ṭriṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacariṭa and its supplement Pariśiṣṭaparva contain much folklore besides tales mythical and biographical.[4]

Siḍḍharṣi was the pupil of Saḍḍarsin. His Upamiṭabhāvaprapancakaṭhā was written in the year 962 (Vīranirvāna ?) which would mean Sam. 492 (436 A.D). This tallies with the date of Haribhaḍra (who died in Sam. 585) who wrote his Laliṭavisṭara for Siḍḍharṣi's edification.[5] Peterson says (*PR*, IV. 5), "Of the fact that Siddha and Magha were cousins there appears to be no reasonable doubt. Their common grandfather was Suprabhadeva, minister of the king of the time of Srimala in Gurjaradesa. Suprabhadeva had two sons, Datta and Subhankara. Magha (who tells us himself that he was the son of Dattaka and the grandson of Suprabhadeva) was the son of the one, and Siddha the son of the other."

Prabhācanḍra's Prabhāvakacariṭa was revised by Praḍyumnasūri[6] about 1250 A.D. It is a collection of stories in verse, mostly biographical notices[7] in 22 chapters, probably based on a similar work of Hemacanḍra.[8]

434. Somacandra was pupil of Raṭnaśekhara of Tapā Gaccha. He wrote his Kaṭhāmahōḍaḍhi, a collection of 126 Jain stories, in 1504 (1448 A.D.) beginning with the story of Karpūraprakara.[9]

Bharatakaḍvāṭrimśikā are 32 stories of Jain origin, satirical of Brahmin usages.[10]

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1. *DC*, XXI. 8592.
2. Ed. by J. Hertel, Leipzig.
3. See paras. 119, 201 supra.
4. Ed. H. Jacobi, *Bib. Ind.* Tr. J. Hertel, Leipzig and by Helen M. Johnson, *GOS*, Baroda. See Keith, *JRAS*, (1908) 119; *SL*, 204.
5. Ed. *Bibl Ind.* Calcutta. *PR*, IV. 129, III. *App*. 146.
6. Printed. Bombay.
7. See *PR*, IV. 79-81. He wrote Samarāḍiṭyacariṭa, in Sam. 1334.
8. Among such stories are those relating to Bāṇa and Mayura, see Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura* (*Col. Un. series*), 17–19.
9 *PR*, III. 18, 317; IV, cxxxiv.
10. *Oxf*. 155.

435. Jagannathamisra's Kaṭhāprakāśa is a collection of tales taken from various sources and contains interesting episodes. The fourth story relates the sufferings of Bhāravi during his sojourn in his father-in-law's home. Jagannāṭha was the son of Lakṣmaṇa of Rādhi-vamśa and lived about the 17th century A.D.[1]

Kaṭhākośa[2] is a collection of twenty-seven tales, illustrating in simple prose the usual fruits of different actions of men, such as kindness, worship, anger, avarice etc.

436. In Ciṭrasenapaḍmāvatīkaṭhā,[3] a small poem, Rājavallabha pāthaka, pupil of Mahimacandra or Mālucanḍrasūri, gives the fable of Ciṭrasena and Paḍmāvaṭī. "These were a pair of swans in their previous birth and dwelt in a lake in a Campakavana on the boundary of Campa. Once upon a time in midday, a merchant came up to the bank of the lake and put up there with his caravan. The merchant bathed in the lake, worshipped Jina and after having prepared food, waited for a guest, when a sage fasting for more than a month happened to pass by him. The merchant was exceedingly glad to meet with such a guest, and took him to his place and supplied him with the best food sufficient to satisfy his hunger. The pair praised this action of the merchant with all heart and in consequence of that virtue they were born as prince Citrasena and princess Padmavati in their next birth and became husband and wife. This was composed in Sam. 1524 (1580 A.D.)."[4]

437. Kalikacaryakatha[5] in prose gives the tale of Kālikācārya, a Jain Sṭhavira. It was composed by Samayasunḍara, pupil of Sakalacanḍra. It narrates also the ancient tales of the establishment of the Vikrama and Śāka era. According to it, Śāka kings took their name from the Śāka Coast or bank and were defenders of the Jaina faith until they were conquered by Vikramāḍitya. But 135 years after that conquest, there was a Śāka King who destroyed the successor of Vikramāḍiṭya and set up an era of his own.

438. Kavikunjara's Rājaśekharacariṭra or Sabhāranjanaprabanḍha is a poem inculcating morals by means of stories abridged from those which are said to have been originally related in the Court

1. *IO*, 948, 1426 where a summary of its contents is given.
2. *CSC*, (1909). No. 56. Translated by C. H. Tawney, London.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 58. *PR*, III. Ap. 215, IV. lxxxix.
4. *CSC*, (1910), 96 gives date are युगे च युग्मे रमरबाणचन्द्रे संवत्सरे चाश्विनमासके च.
5. *PR*, III. 32. See also Jacobi, *ZDMG*, XXXIV, 266; *CSC*, No 67 (1910), 94.

of Rājaśekhara and which were afterwards repeated by Rājaśekhara to Subuḍḍhi.[1]

439. Viḍyāpāṭi's Purusaparikṣā is a collection of 44 stories and has been noticed.[2] Ānanḍa's Māḍhavānalakaṭhā relates in prose the story of Maḍhavānala and Kāmakanḍalā.[3]

Mukṭācariṭa is anonymous. In simple prose it narrates the story of the miraculous power of pearls sown and grown by Kṛṣṇa on arable fields for the delectation of Saṭyabhāma.[4]

Śrīvara's Kaṭhākauṭuka gives the story of Yusuf and Zulaika from the well-known poem of Jaini. It was composed during the reign of Sultan Zainulabdin in 15th century A.D.[5] The Sanskrit translation of "Aladin and Wonderful Lamp" from the Arabian Nights by Appasastri Rashivadekar excels the original in narration. Nārāyaṇa Bālakṛṣṇa has a Sanskrit rendering of the Aesop's Fables, Isabanīṭikaṭhā.[6] Sulemaṭcariṭa by Kalyāṇamalla relates the story of Solomon and David from Old Testament.[7]

440. There are the following Jain stories in prose:

Srīpālacariṭra of Jayakīrṭisūri, Hīrapraṣna of Kīrṭivijayagaṇi, Amaraḍaṭṭamiṭrānanḍacariṭa of Bhāvacanḍrasūri, Cauryāsīprabanḍha of Rajaśēkharasūri, Ḍhanaḍaṭṭacariṭa of Bhāvacanḍra, Bhāvanābhānukevalicariṭra of Hamsagaṇi, Rupasenacariṭa Kāmaghatanākaṭha, Raṭnaśekharacariṭa of Ḍayavarḍhanagaṇi;

And the following in verse: Ambālacariṭa, Uṭṭarakumāracariṭa of Cārucanḍra, Paḍmacariṭa of Sūbhavarḍhana, Balabhaḍracariṭa of Sūbhavarḍhanagaṇi, Vimalanāthacariṭa of Jnānasagara; Vimalasahacariṭa of Inḍrahamsagaṇi (*all printed*); Uḍayanarājacariṭa of Mallisena (*Opp.* II. 421); Vasumaṭiciṭrasena of Gangāḍhara (*Opp.* 4714); Vijayacanḍracariṭa of Canḍraprabha Mahaṭṭara (*PR*, VI. 46 written in *Sam.* 1127); Sāhasānkacariṭa of Maheśvara (*Oxf.* 18).

1. *DC*, XI. 8167.
2. See para 403 *supra*.
3. Ed. by Pavolini. *GSAI*, XXII. 313,
4. *CSC* (1908), 126. The story begins with a query by Saṭyabhāma:

लतास्ते मधुराः कस्मिन् जायन्ते धन्यनीवृति ।
नाथ मत्कङ्कणन्यस्तं यासां मुक्ताफलं फलम् ॥

5. Ed. and Tr. by R. Schmidt, Kiel. See para 188 *supra*.
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8150.

441. The following are other books of tales:

Kathālatāmanjarī of Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin, Kathāvalī of G. Ramaswāmi Śāstri, Puruṣaparīkṣā by Lakṣmaṇaśiva,[1] Kathākusumamanjarī (anonymous),[2] Madanasukhacapetikā of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa,[3] Sudāmacaritra of Śrīnivāsa,[4] Sūryaṇacarita of Candraśekhara,[5] Kathārṇava of Śivadāsa,[6] Tārakabrahmakathā (anonymous)[7] and Pramathacaritra of Brahmavidyādhvarin.[8]

In Kathāpancaka,[9] Mrs. Kṛṣṇarao of Bombay depicts five careers of sadness and despair and inculcates the high Indian ideal of pity and forgiveness. "In the pathetic tales of the dejected young widow and the fisher folk, the blame seems to be thrown on the hard tyranny of social laws and customs rather than on the individuals. The old widow in whom the motherly instinct triumphs over vengeance, and the generous youth who rises above nature and self-interest to rid the people of a heartless tyrant are full of tragic dignity."

Āryacarita is a symposium of stories illustrating Hindu ideals selected from the epics and Purāṇas prepared at the instance of V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Judge, High Court, Madras.[10]

442. Ratnasimha's Maithileśacarita is a poem on the present dynasty of Darbhānga.[11] Rudrasimha's Vignānataranginī describes the life of a mythical king Sānkaradāsa. It was composed in 1411 A.D.[12] Sānkara's Śānkaracetovilāsa is a poetical biography of Zamindar Cetasimha.[13] Pāndurānga's Vijayapurakathā, composed in 1808 A.D., contains an account of Bijapur and its Musalman sovereigns. Udayarāja's Rājavinoda describes the greatness of Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad, a king of Gujarat.[14]

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1. Printed Madras. For Puruṣaparīkṣā, see *CC*, I. 340.
2. Printed, Srirangam.
3. Printed, Calcutta.
4. *CAL*, II. 26.
5. *BRI*, 76.
6. *Oxf*, 153; *CC*, II. 15 (mostly in prose.)
7. *IO*, 1558. *Mys*. 638. There is a Mādhavānalanātaka by Ānandadhara, (*PR*, V.) and another by Kaviśvara, *CC*, I. 450.
8. *Mys*, 638.
9. Printed, Sahakari Granthakar, Bombay.
10. Printed, Madras.
11. Jayaswal's *Cat. of Mithila*, I. No. 295.
12. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1924), 12.
13. *Oxf*, 121.
14. For a critical notice, see Bubler's Rep. (1874-75), 9-10. The lives of Gujarat kings (Gurjarakṣmāpatis) is given in the colophon.

443. In **Colavamsavalicarita,**[1] otherwise known as Bṛhaḍīśvaramāhāṭmya, the origin, construction and development of Bṛhaḍīśvara temple in Ṭanjore is described. Incidentally the work gives the history of 16 Cola kings of the Solar race who ruled at Ṭanjore for about 12 centuries beginning with Kulottunga Cola and ending with Bhaḍra Cola.

444. EKAMBARA ḌIKSITA'S VIRABHADRAVIJAYA[2] is a poem meant to describe the festival of Vīrabhaḍra but contains also an account of the Kempe Gowda Chiefs of Mysore. Ekāmbara was a poet of the Court of Kempe Gowda III, known more fully as Mummudi Kempe Virappa Gowda who ruled in 1705-1728 A.D.

Jayarāma's Rādhāmāḍhavavilāsacampū describes mainly the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Rāḍhā and incidentally the court life of Sahāji Bhonsle.[3] There is an introductory essay in Mahratti on the rise of the Mahrattas and their kingdoms. Puruṣoṭṭama's Śivakāvya describes the Mahrata rule from Śivāji to the abdication of Bajirao II.[4]

445. **Tritantri.** I saw the manuscript of a work called Ṭriṭantrī, some years ago, at Rajahmundry, but I lost touch with it. It was the work of Venkatārya. The first ṭanṭra is named Śraḍḍhāṭanṭra. It is quasi-dramatic. Nāraḍa enters the stage and says, I shall create a war between the three worlds. In the second tanṭra there is a story of the marriage of Sukumarī, daughter of Raṭnākara, Emperor of Delhi. Then there is the story that the emperor offered the hand of his daughter to one who would bring a pearl of the size of Āmalaka and a person who posed himself as mad obtained a pearl of a bigger size by the grace of the Lord of the Occans, when the Emperor proposed the marriage the person said that he had no intent to marry the princess, but only to falsily the verse written at the gate of the palace. In the third ṭanṭra there is the story of Prabhāvaṭi.[5]

446. **Avadanas** of Buddhist literature are illustrative stories appended to ethical and religious precepts. They were well-known

1. A summary of the work is given by P. P. S. Sastri in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
2. For an account of this dynasty by B. Puttaiya, see *JMy*, XIII. 723.
3. Ed. by V. K. Rajavarde.
4. Ed. by J. B. Modak, Bombay.
5. It is regretted that the information given above is very meagre perhaps inaccurate, and it is based on mere recollection.

long before the Christian era. Of these Avadānaśataka[1] is the earliest extant and was translated into Chinese in the 3rd century A.D.

The collection of legends known as Ḍivyāvadāna is of great merit, generally in prose, but interspersed with verses of various metres.[2] Āryasena's Jātakāvali contains tales illustrating the various supreme qualities of Buddha.[3]

Besides Avadānakalpalatā[4] of Kṣemendra, in which the last tale was added by his son Somendra, there are Vratāvadānamālā, Bhadrakalpāvadāna, Ḍvāvimśatyavadāna &c.[5] and Saddharmapundarīka[6] of Mahāyana School where tales in prose and verse are narrated of religion and didactic instruction.

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1. Ed. J. S. Speyer, *Bibl. Bud.* III. 1902-9.
2. Ed. F. B. Cowell, Cambridge. Keith, *SL*, 64.
3. Ed. H. Kern, *HOS*, Tr. by J.S. Speyer, London. Keith, *SL*, 67-9. V. Smith, *EH*. 154, 458.
4. Ed. *Bib. Ind.* Calcutta.
5. See Mitra's *Nep. Bud. Lit*, 85, 102, 231, 275. Oldenburg, *JRAS*, (1893) 331. Keith, *SL*, 493.
6. Ed. *Bibl. Bud.* X. 1908. Tr. *SBE*. Keith, *SL*, 493.

CHAPTER XIX

Gadyakavya

(Romance)

SECTION 1.

447. Romances. Kâvyas are of two kinds, Sravya and Ḍrśya, audible and visible. Of the former, some are in verse and some in prose. Works in verse have been noticed under the heads of Mahākāvya and Laghukāvya, major and minor poems. Now come works in prose—Gaḍyakāvyas, commonly called Romances.

Gaḍya has been thus defined as वृत्तगन्धोज्झितं गद्यम् what is not in verse, that is, prose.[1]

Of romances there are two classes, KATHA and AKHYAYIKA. Earlier authors recognised a distinction between them; and Bhāmaha wrote in his Kāvyālankāra

प्रकृतानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना ।
गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाख्यायिका मता ॥

वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्यां नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् ।
वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च काले भाव्यर्थशंसि च ॥

कवेरभिप्रायकृतैः कथनैः कैश्चिदङ्किता ।
कन्याहरणसङ्ग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता ॥

न वक्त्रापरवक्त्राभ्यां युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि ।
संस्कृतं संस्कृताचेष्टा कथापभ्रंशभाक् तथा ॥

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1. Generally, see Keith's *Origin of Tragedy and Akhyāna, JRAS* (1912); Grey's *Literary Studies on the Sanskrit Novel* (*WZKM*, XVIII, 40, 50); Dunlip's *History of Prose Fiction*; Mc Culloch's *Childhood of Fiction* and Gaḍyāḍarśa of Varaḍa Kānta Vidyālankāra, Calcutta.

Gray, '*The Hindu Romance*,' in Princeton University Bulletin, XIII. 99-100. '*The Sanskrit Novel and the Arabian Nights*,' pp. 39-48; '*The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama*,' pp. 58-54: '*Reincarnation as a Novelistic Device*,' pp. 54-58.

For reincarnation in a modern western novel, see Margaret Potter's Flame-Gatherers (London, 1904), and Bain's Descent of the Sun (London, 1903). The earliest example known is *The Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers*, written in the nineteenth dynasty (1375-1202 B.C., tr. Maspero, Contes populaires dei' Egypte ancienne, 3 ed., pp.3-20, Paris, 1906).

अन्यैस्स्वचरितं तस्यां नायकेन तु नोच्यते ।
स्वगुणाविष्कृतिं कुर्यादभिज्ञातः कथं जनः ॥

"Akhyāyikā is a literary composition, which is written in prose in words pleasing to the ear (*śravya*) and agreeable to the matter intended (*prakṛtānukūla*), but which may contain metrical pieces in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metre, the object of these verses being to give a timely indication of future happenings in the story; which should have an exalted substance (*udāttārtha*) with some characteristics supplied by the poet's imagination as a special mark and having for its theme the abduction of a girl (kanyā-haraṇa), a fight (*saṃgrāma*), a separation (*vipralambha*) and the (final) triumph (*udaya*), apparently of the hero, in which an account of his deeds is given by the hero himself; in which the story is divided into several pauses called ucchvasas. In the katha, on the other hand, there are no vaktra or aparavaktra verses, no division into ucchvasas; and the story should not be narrated by the hero, but by someone else. It may be written in Sanskrit or in Apabhramsa, which indicated by implication that the akhyayika should always be composed in Sanskrit." [1]

But Daṇḍin denies the distinction :

अपादः पदसन्तानो गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।
इति तस्य प्रभेदौ द्वौ तयोराख्यायिका किल ॥
नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा ।
स्वगुणाविष्क्रिया दोषो नात्र भूतार्थशंसिनः ॥
अपित्वनियमो दृष्टस्तथाप्यन्यैरुदीरणात् ।
अन्यो वक्ता स्वयं वेति कीदृग्वा भेदकारणम ॥
वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च सोच्छ्वासत्वं च भेदकम् ।
चिह्नमाख्यायिकायाश्चेत् प्रसङ्गेन कथास्वपि ॥
आर्यादिवत्प्रवेशः किं न वक्त्रापरवक्त्रयोः ।
भेदश्च दृष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्वासो वास्तु किं ततः ॥
तत्कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिस्संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता ।
अत्रैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चाख्यानजातयः ॥

"A succession of words not amenable to division into metrical feet is called prose. Chronicle and Tale are its two varieties. Of these chronicle, we are told, is what is narrated by the hero himself exclusively; the other by the hero as well as by any other person. The

1. S. K De, "*Akhyayika and Katha in Classical Sanskrit.*"

showing forth of one's own merits is not here, in view of his being a recorder of events that have actually occurred, a blemish. This restriction, however, is not observed in as much as there (in akhyayika) also other persons can narrate. That another person narrates or he himself does it—what kind of a ground for distinction is this? If (the metres) Vaktra and Aparavaktra and the having of the title Ucchvasas (for a subdivision) are to be the differentiating mark of an Akhyayika, occasionally even in kathas, why, as in the case of Arya and other metres, should there not be scope for Vaktra and Aparavaktra? Lambha and other (titles for sub-division) are observed (in Kathas) as a distinguishing characteristic. Let Ucchvasas be one of them; what matters? Hence, Katha and Akhyayika constitute just one species denoted by two names. Herein also are comprised the remaining species of narration. The abduction of a maiden, battle, deception, somebody's rise in fortune and such other topics are common to it (Akhyayika) no less than to compositions-in-cantos; they do not form its differentiating characteristics. Any peculiar mark that the poet might affect according to his fancy (in a Katha etc.,) he could without impropriety affect in other composition. For accomplished persons, in the attainment of their desired ends, can there be any occasion that may not (just as well) serve as an opening."[2]

Rudrata, says S.K. De, "accepted and generalized the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the Katha and the akhyayika respectively. According to him, we have in the katha an introductory namaskriya in verse to the devas and gurus, and a statement of the author's family and the motive of his authorship; the prose narrative written in Sanskrit (or in verse in other languages) in light alliterative words, the plot including pura-varnana, etc., (as in the case of the Utpadya-kavya, xvi, 3); a kathantara at the beginning, which is immediately connected with the main story; (4) a theme consisting of the winning of a girl (kanya-labha), which being the main issue, the sentiment of love is developed fully in it (vinyasta-sakala-srngara). In the akhyayika on the other hand (1) we have the namaskriya to devas and gurus in verse together with an incidental praise of older poets, a confession of one's own inability and a statement of the poet's motive in writing notwithstanding these drawbacks, which motive may spring from the poet's devotion to a particular king, his addiction to the praise of other people's merits or from some other special causes; (2) the story should be written in the manner of a katha,

2. See S. K. Belvalkar's translation of Kāvyādarśa.

but emphasis is put on the injunction that an account of the poet himself and his family must be contained in it, written in prose and not in verse; there are divisions into ucchvasas and two arya-verses should occur at the beginning of each chapter, excepting the first."

It will be therefore noticed that the earliest traditional forms are described by Bhāmaha, but as later poets did not conform to these rules, —for instance, the definition of Katha did not suit Kādambarī—[1] facts had to be faced. Ḍandin, an admirer of Bāṇa, repudiated the distinctions and probably offered an apology for Bāṇa's indifference to the accepted canons of classification. Rudrata submitted himself to things as they were and adapted his definition to suit Harṣacariṭa as an Ākhyāyikā and Kādambarī as a Kaṭhā and later rhetoricians do not dilate on this topic, though the orthodox view was not yet forgotten by Viśvanāṭha.

Hemacandra says Kaṭhā may be in verse or in prose and instances Līlāvaṭi[2] as पद्यमयी कथा and gives other classes of Kaṭhā thus:—

प्रबन्धमध्ये परप्रबोधनार्थं नलाद्युपाख्यानमिवोपाख्यानमभिनयन् पठन् गायन् यदैको ग्रन्थिकः कथयति तद्गोविन्दवत् आख्यानम् ।

1. Peterson says:—"This is a description wholly inapplicable to Kadambarī, but it is an exact description of Yasastilakacampu. I conclude that the definition of Katha was drawn up at a time when the literary pantheon of India opened its doors to adherents of all creeds and that Kadambari was dragged into the explanation by later fanatics who abhorred the Jain and his works and would find no better illustration among the books left to them of a definition which they were too conservative to abandon."

2. Bhoja in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (XI) says

या नियमितगतिभाषा दिव्यादिव्योभयेति वृत्तवती ।

कादम्बरीव लीलावतीव वा सा कथा कथिता ॥

and quotes verses from it, all in prākṛt. In Ch. XXVII under दूती, he says

सहपांसुक्रीडा यथा कुवलयावळी महागुणवत्या लीलावत्यां ।

Līlāvaṭi is mentioned in Vāgbhata's Alankāraṭilaka. On the story of Līlāvaṭi, see M. R. Kavi's Līlāvaṭikaṭhā, *Bharati* (1923), 3.

In Vallabhācārya's Nyāyalīlāvaṭī (p. 69) we have

यथा वा स्वेच्छास्मृतपदार्थसार्थे भवति शालिवाहनो नृपतिरिदानीं शृङ्गारसरसीतीरे देव्या लीलावत्या सह ललितमधुरं सङ्गीतकमनुतिष्ठतीति ज्ञातम् ।

In *Jess. Cat.* (50-51) it is given as the work of Bhuṣaṇabbhaṭṭaṭanaya. See para 106 note *supra*.

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तिरश्चामतिरश्चां वा चेष्टाभिर्यत्र कार्यमकार्यं वा निश्चीयते तत्पञ्चतन्त्रादिवत् धूर्तविटकुट्टनीमतमयूरमार्जारादिवच्च निदर्शनम् ।

प्रधानमधिकृत्य यत्र द्वयोर्विवादः सोऽर्धप्राकृतरचिता चेटकादिवत् प्रवह्लिका ।

प्रेतमहाराष्ट्रभाषया क्षुद्रकथा गोरोचनानङ्गवत्यादिवत् मतल्लिका । यस्यां पुरोहितामात्यतापसादीनां प्रारब्धानिर्वाहे उपहासस्सापि मतल्लिका ।

यस्यां पूर्वं वस्तु न लक्ष्यते पश्चात्तु प्रकाश्यते सामत्स्यहसितादिवत् मणिकुल्या ।

एकं धर्मादिपुरुषार्थमुद्दिश्य प्रकारवैचित्र्येणानन्तवृत्तान्तवर्णनप्रधाना शूद्रकादिवत् परिकथा ।

मध्यादुपान्ततो वा ग्रन्थान्तरप्रसिद्धमितिवृत्तं यस्यां वर्ण्यते सेन्दुमत्यादिवत् खण्डकथा ।

समस्तफलान्तेतिवृत्तवर्णना समरादित्यादिवत् सकलकथा ।

एकतरचरिताश्रयेण प्रसिद्धकथान्तरोपनिबद्धा उपकथा ।

लम्भाङ्किताद्भुतार्था नरवाहनदत्तचरितवत् बृहत्कथा ।

448. Indian and Greek Romance. It has been said that "of the Romance particularly the Erotic Romance of the Milesian school one finds likeness in the Indian novels written in the 7th century A.D. by Bana and Subandhu." In his introduction to Kādambarī Peterson outlines a comparison in some important points between Kādambarī and Leucippe and Clitephon and holds with M. Goblet Alviella that the Indian Romance was directly borrowed from the Greeks.[1] "The romances of the two peoples," says Levi "are totally different both in plan and spirit as even a cursory reading will show. /The least part of the Sanskrit romance is the thread of the story or the adventures of its characters; all the stress is laid on rhetorical embellishment, minute discriptions of nature, detailed specification of exploits and of mental, moral and physical qualities. In the Greek Romance on the other hand as in Latin the story is everything. The reader is hurried from one adventure to another, the wilder and more improbable, the better; fine writing is practically disregarded; description and appreciation of nature are to all intents and purposes avoided."

M. F. Lacote discusses the connection of Greek and Indian Romances: "In India we have been unable to render a satisfactory account of the progressive development of the system of romance writing. It had never ceased to exist but extended to all the narratives in prose and perfected itself in the process so well that the Kathas

1. On the question, see G. Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India.*

when most rigorously constructed were nothing but romances. The Greek romance on the contrary had not delayed to outstrip its primitive type and to approach the ordinary stand of a narrative epic and at the same time the erotic element was present in it in a more marked degree."

SECTION 2.

449. Early literature. The earliest passages in prose that have successfully survived "the ship-wreck of Sanskrit literature" are to be sought for in the Samhiṭa of the *Black Yajus.* Unlike Samhiṭa of Ṛik which is purely a lyrical collection of hymns, Ṭaiṭṭirīya Samhiṭa contains prose portions in it, which formed the only Brahmanas in Katha and Maiṭrāyanīya Schools. In the Samhiṭa, the sacrificial formulæ were accompanied by dogmatic explanations and by descriptions of ceremonials pertaining to them. These explanations were elucidations of the sacrificial enigmas and embodied the speculation of generations of priests. These *dicta theologica* were imparted by oral tradition, preserved as well as supplemented in the course of years in different families or parishads. The more numerous these works became, the more unsystematic their contents grew. Harmony was needed to bring them to order. To this end, compilations of the different opinions were uniformly arranged under different headings and such digests were in later times called *Brāhmanas.* These were in most cases regular commentaries in prose on the vedic hymns, explanatory and analytical. This practice of adopting a prose-style for linguistic explanations and traditional narratives introduced into this Vedic period descended to the Purāṇic period. Mahābhāraṭa and Purāṇas contain prose portions in them, which at least in the former appear to be directly descended from the language of the Brāhmaṇas. This kind of long prose-work becomes too elaborate to be preserved or got up by rote. The compilers now hit at the other extreme. They would be more concise and precise. References must be facilitated. Thus *brevity took the place of verbosity.* This is the origin of the literature of the *Sūṭras.* The saying was proverbial that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Sometimes the sūṭras were so meagre as to have a single syllable in it, illustrations of which Pāṇini can furnish in abundance.[1] Rules of interpretation were equally hard and the principle of *descent* and *cessation* of words was the chief

1. *E.g.* अ अ, VIII. iv. 68.

means of construction. Apart from any want of artistic excellence, they form an ingenious part of Indian literature, to which no other nation can offer a parallel. In a very short time, every department of science or religion began to have a suṭra literature of its own, long before the beginning of the Christian era. Then came the *vṛṭṭi*, which were the sūṭras themselves in a more expanded form and in some cases they contained hints at the interpretation of the sūṭras. The language of both the sūṭras and the vṛṭṭis gave rise to differences of opinion among the learned, and this conflict necessitated commentaries expressive of the arguments in support of the author's interpretation. These were the *Bhāṣyas*. Strictly speaking, the 'evil,' which the suṭra literature was intented to remedy, once more appeared—evil in the sense of elaborateness. Bhāṣya literature therefore mostly resembles the Brāhmaṇas but with a few variations. The aim is no longer to explain sacrificial symbols or ceremonial rituals, but to elucidate the intricate theories involved in the suṭras of various departments of learning. Their language in general bears no resemblance to the language of the romances. The tone of the former is serious and scientific, while that of the latter is levitous and recreative. Bhāṣyas are stuffed with substance and technicality; they are *vasṭu-pradhāna*. Literary prose proper is the result of poetic art and rhetorical embellishment.

SECTION 3.

450. Early Romances. The literature of Romances, Ākhyāyikā, appears to have been quite advanced long before the Christian era. Kāṭyāyana mentions ākhyāyikas (in the plural). Besides naming Sumanoṭṭara and Bhaimarathī, Paṭanjali instances Vāsavaḍaṭṭā as an Ākhyāyikā and speaks of its readers as Vāsavaḍaṭṭikas,[1] but does not mention the names of the authors. In his Harṣacariṭa Bāṇa praises writers on Ākhyāyikā and (an Ākhyāyikā) Vāsāvaḍaṭṭā :

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1. i. अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे, लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम् । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यत्र लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलं लुब् वक्तव्यः । वासवदत्ता सुमनोत्तरा नच भवति भैमरथी ।—
Mahābhāṣya, IV, iii, 87.

ii. रसादिभ्यश्च......दृश्यन्ते ह्यन्ये रसादिभ्यो मत्वर्थीयाः । रसको नटः, ऊर्वशीवैरूपिण्यस्परसाम् ।—Mahābhāṣya, V, ii, 95.

iii. आख्यायिका वासवदत्तिकः इति भाष्यम् । वासवदत्तिक इति वासवदत्तामधिकृत्य कृताख्यायिका वासवदत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्छः । तस्य लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लुप्, ततो अनेन ठक् ॥—Kaiyata.

उच्छ्वासान्तेऽप्यखिन्नास्ते येषां वक्त्रे सरस्वती ।
कथमाख्यायिकाकारा न ते वन्द्याः कवीश्वराः ॥
कवीनामगळद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥

Haradaṭṭa in Kāśikā mentions Ūrvaśī.

Next to Vāsavadaṭṭa, we have references to two romances, Cārumaṭi of Vararuci[1] and Ṭarangavaṭi[2] of Śrīpāliṭa[3]. Śrīpāliṭa was a distinguished poet of the Court of Hāla and has been praised by Ḍhanapāla and Abhinanda. Ṭarangavaṭī was probably in prakrit. Rāmila and Somila wrote Śūḍrakakathā.[4] Besides the mention of Cārumaṭī, Bhoja refers to Manovaṭi and Saṭakarnīharaṇa[5] which must have belonged to the beginning of the Christian era.

Manovaṭī praised by Ḍandin was probably of great merit. He says

धवळप्रभवा रागं सा तनोति मनोवती ।
कविगन्धगजेरेभिः ... ... ||Avanṭisunḍarī.

451. Haricandra (Bhattara) was praised by Bāna for his enchanting prose composition "luminous in its arrangement of words of

1. See para 6 supra.
2. पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा । Ṭilakamanjarī.
3. For the verse of Abhinanda, see para 23 note supra.
4. (i) Bhoja mentions it :

शुको जरद्गिरः शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा ।
जं वदणरव इविण ओ पआसइतेदं बदकीरणिता ओभासइ ।
जइहारिळख्खुजणजुत्तहोदि जउसद्धल अतवणि उत्तहो ॥

Śṛngaraprasakāśa, xxviii.

संभ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मलिम्लुचानामुर्वीशश्शमितमयोथयद्धनुष्मान् ।
कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती वनेषु चार्ता वार्तायै कमितुरितस्ततो जगाम ॥

Vinayavaṭī is the beloved of Śudraka. (*Ibid*, xxx.)

(ii) तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
काव्यं ययोर्द्वयोरासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमौ ॥

Jalhaṇa.

(iii) Subhāṣiṭāvali (2227) quotes under Kaviputrau :

भ्रूचातुर्यं कुञ्चितान्ताः कटाक्षा स्निग्धा हावा लज्जितान्ताश्च हासाः ।
लीलामन्दं प्रस्थितं चासितं च स्त्रीणामेतद्भूषणं चायुधं च ॥

5. सौरिकः शुकुनिकः शकुन्तिकायाः सातकर्णीहरणे ।

Śṛngāraprakāśa, xxviii, 9.

choice letters." His romance, probably known as MALATI, has not been traced.[1]

Śīla's language is extolled for simple grace like Bāṇa's, but her work is not named.[2]

Bhoja himself wrote a romance Śṛngāramanjarī.[3] Kulaśekhara composed Āscaryamanjari,[4] Vāḍiganghāla mentions a work Kusumamanjari[5] and Jayaraṭha quotes from Anangalekhā,[6] but their authors are unknown. Hasṭimalla appears to have also written an Ākhyāyika divided into Lambhas.[7]

1. पदबन्धोज्ज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थितिः ।
भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो विभाव्यते ॥ *Harṣacarita.*

See para 47 supra.

2. शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुम्फो पाञ्चालीरीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥
Jalhaṇa's *Sukṭimukṭāvali.*

3. *Jess. Cat.* 55. See Introduction to Yukṭikalpaṭaru.

4. दूरादपि सतां मध्ये लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।
कुलशेखरवर्माख्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥
Jalahaṇa's *Sukṭimukṭāvali* and *DC*, XXI. 8105.

आर्ये ! मा मैवम् । यस्य परमहंसपादपङ्केरुहपांसुपटलपवित्रितमुकुटतटस्य वसुधात्रिबुधधनायान्धकारायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलदाश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रवः
Prologue to Tapaṭisamvaraṇa, *TSS. DC*, XXI. 8135

5. In his commentary on Kāvyāḍarśa, I. 28.

6. नदीप्रकरमुल्लिङ्गितवन्तं मनोहरहस्तमत्यजन्तं च, सपर्याणां रुचि वहन्तं सर्वत्र पूजनीयं च, सकुम्भं सकलशंचरन्तं च, सदानदन्तं मदपर्याविलदर्शनं च, करटं कमपि बिभ्रतं कवाटविभ्रममसुञ्चन्तं च, कुञ्जराजिवर्धितरुचिं वारणरणरणिकाकुलितं च, राजमानविसन्धायिनं विराजमानं च, शारीभूतं मदसलिलेन, शबलीभूतं च, इति पुनरुक्ताश्रयम् ।—अनङ्गलेखायां हस्तिवर्णने । *Commentary on Alankārasarvasva, Kāvyamālā Edn.* p. 19.

ii. विदर्भाङ्गनाजनमपि दर्भगर्भकरमकरोत् । पञ्चतां जनयन्नपि पञ्चालस्य वैमुख्यमपुष्णात् । पारसीकरणमप्यपारसीकरणं चकार । मागधानपि विमागधानप्यधात् । चोळकान्ता अप्यचोळकान्ताः समपादयत् । कुन्तलालसानप्यकुन्तलालसांश्च निर्ममे । शूरसेनानप्यशूरसेनानदर्शयत् ।
अनङ्गलेखायां राजवर्णने । *Ibid.* 123.

Tīkāsarvava quotes कुरङ्गैरिव कुशलवादिभिः from this romance.

7. हस्तिमल्लेन लम्भान्ते लम्भशब्दः ।
Ṭaruṇavācaspaṭi's commentary on Kāvyāḍarśa, I. 30.

Malayasundarī of Māṇikyasundara[1] is in verse; Ciṭralekhā mentioned by Rayamukuta[2] and Gupṭavaṭi[3] are anonymous.

Rudrata's Ṭrailokyasundarī[4] appears to have related the tale of Kṛṣṇa. Aparājiṭa's Mṛgānkalekhā[5] is mentioned by Rājaśekhara[6] and must be different from Mṛgāvaṭikaṭhā of unknown authorship.[7]

Agasṭya's Kṛṣṇacariṭa,[8] Viśveśvara's Madanamanjarī,[9] Jagannāṭha's Āsafvilāsa[10] and Vāsudeva's Rāmakaṭhā have been noticed.[11]

SECTION 3.

452. Bana was the son of Ciṭrabhānu and Rājadevī and of Vaṭsa-goṭra. Arṭhapaṭi was his grandfather, Candrasena and Mahīsena his half-brothers and Ganapaṭi, Adhipaṭi, Tārāpaṭi and Śyāmala, his paternal cousins. Mayūra was his brother-in-law.[12] They lived at Pṛṭhukūta on the banks of the Sōna river. As an infant Bāṇa lost his mother, and his father tended him with maternal care. When he was fourteen his father passed away, and with this Bāṇa's life changed. Well educated in Sanskrit and with a competency uncontrolled by elders, he became self-willed and with the buoyancy of youth he planned travel. He gathered together a mob of companions who with proficiencies heterogenious could indeed have got on gaily anywhere. But the fortune was soon dissipated and he returned home. One day he was called to the Court of Harṣavardhana, then encamping near Maṇipura on the Ajirāvaṭi. There on the commendations of Harṣa's brother, he was well received and soon he became the King's favourite.[13]

1. Printed. *Bik.* 685; *PR.* I. 123. There is another by Jayaṭilakasuri.
2. *CC.* I. 180 (an upakaṭhā).
3. *Opp*, II. 8040.
4. सुश्लिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी |—Ṭilakamanjarī.
5. Quoted by Bhoja in Śṛngāraprakāśa, Chap. 28.
6. Mentioned in prologue to Karpuramanjarī.
7. *PR*, I, Ap. 83.
8. See para 126 supra. *Tanj*. VII. 2992.
9. See para 312 supra. *PR.* V mentions author as a pupil of Lakṣmidhara.
10. See para 311 supra.
11. *DC*, XXI. 8023. See para 172 supra.
12. So says Mānaṭunga in his Bhakṭāmarasṭotra.
13. For a fuller account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (*BSS*, No. 24), 46ff. On Bāṇa generally, see Hall, introduction to Vāsavadaṭṭa, 12ff; Aufrecht, *CC*, I. 368; *ZDMG*, XXVII. 50-4; Peterson, *PR*, I. 105; IV. lxxxii. 62-6; *JBRAS*, XVI. 175; Bhandarkar, *BR*, (1887) xviii, xxxiii; Weber *ZDMG* (1853); Macdonnel, *SL*, ; R. C. Dutt, *AC*, II. 298. Cartellieri, *Das Mahabharata dei Subandhu und Bana*,

Bāṇa's ancestors were devout brahmins and votaries of Śiva. Blessed with a hereditary instinct for learning and himself well-educated he had seen life and world. He proposed to narrate to his friends the story of his patron, and thāt is Harshacarita.

453. **Harṣacarita**[1] begins with an autobiography where Bāṇa traces his descent from Ḍaḍhīca and Sarasvaṭi and from Ḍaḍhīca's brother's son Vaṭsa. He names his immediate ancestors of some generations with veneration due to their piety and learning. He gives an account of his early life and his sojourn at the royal Court. Next comes the history of King Harṣa. In the city of Sṭhāṇvīśvara in the country of Srīkantha, there lived a king Puṣpabhūṭi. In his line was born king Prabhākaravarḍhana of great prowess. He has two sons Rājyavarḍhana and Harṣavarḍhana and a daughter Rājyaśrī. Rājyaśrī married the Maukharī prince Grahavarman. On the death of Prabhākaravarḍhana, Rājyavarḍhana refused the throne, but before he could instal Harṣa in his stead news reached them that the king of Mālva had slain Rājyaśrī's husband and carried her away to his capital; Rājyavarḍhana set out on an expedition against him, but there he was killed by treachery by the king of Gauda. Upset by this calamity, Harṣa marched on Mālva to avenge the disgrace. But on his way he learnt that Rājyaśrī had escaped from prison, and was rescued by a Buddhist Saint from her resolve to ascend the funeral pyre. Here the book ends as it is with the meeting of Harṣa and Rājyaśrī and is obviously incomplete. This in short is the story of Harṣacariṭa.[2]

From the comparison of the account given by Bāna in Harṣacarita with the description of the life and history of King Harṣavarḍhana Śīlāḍiṭya[3] by the Chinese traveller Hiouen-Thsang, it has been possible

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VOJ, XIII. 72; On the close lexical affinity between Harsacariṭa and Rājaṭarangiṇi, see *VOJ*, XII. 33; *JRAS*, (1699) 485. On Kāḍambari and Bṛhaṭkaṭha, see Mankowski, *SOJ*, XIII. No. 2.

1. In Bhoja's Sṛingāraprakāśa (Chapter 20), there is a quotation:

यथा हर्षचरिते भवः,

तस्य च सुता कुमारी रूपवती सर्वलक्षणोपेता ।

तां भवतः प्रयच्छति हर्षो प्रहिते सहास्माभिः ॥

This shows the existence of another Harṣacariṭa.

2. Ed. Bombay. For a more detailed account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kāḍambari (*BSS*. No. 24) 1–38. Translated into English by Cowell and Thomas (Cambridge).

3. On Śilāḍiṭya, see Dosabai's *History of Guzerat*, 316.

to identify Bāṇa's patron with that king who ruled at Kanouj in 610-650 A.D.[1] This certainty of date has brought an additional value to Harṣacarita, as a land-mark in Sanskrit literary history, for the introductory verses mention the names of some prominent poets whom Bāṇa admired, Vyāsa, Cora, author of Vāsavadatta, Bhattāra Haricandra, Sātavāhana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, author of Bṛhatkathā and Ādhyarāja.[2]

454. **Kadambari**. By far the work with which Bāṇa's literary glory is associated is his romance Kādambarī.[3] He wrote only the first part of it and what was left unfinished was made up by his son Pulinda or Bhūṣaṇabhatta.[4] It is a long tale of complicated construction narrated by a parrot called Vaiśampāyana to king Sūdraka of Vidiśā. It describes the loves of Candrāpīda of Ujjain and Kādambarī, the Gandharva princess and interlaced with it the loves of Kādambarī's friend Mahāśveta and Pundarīka. The marriages of these heroines are interrupted by the sudden, but apparent, deaths of their lovers, when on the assurances of a heavenly voice, they bide their time. The parrot concluded the narrative and flew away; the woman that brought the parrot told Sūdraka that the parrot's tale was but a description of his life in his prior birth and this seemed to remind him of his past doings and that Candrāpīda was only his incarnation. Thus the curse which had caused these inpediments in the way of the lovers exhausted itself and Candrāpīda and Pundarīka were revived and were reunited with Kādambarī and Mahāśveta at Ujjain. There they lived happily together in sublime felicity.[5]

In literary merit Kādambarī is supreme. The reader loses himself in a poetic trance. The name is true to the grace, for Kādambarī means

1. For a discussion of the narratives, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (*BSS*, No. 34) 60ff. For Hiouen Thsang's account, see Stanislas Julien's *Memoires* I. 247-265; *IA*, VII. 196-202.

2. For a full account of these references, see Peterson, *l.c.* 66ff. Three verses of Kādambarī in praise of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Bramha are quoted in a grant of Mahārāṇaka Kumārapaladeva (Sam. 1297; *IA*, XVII. 230). But the introductory verses are not found in a manuscript, *DC*, XXI. 6315.

3. Ed. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and Mysore. Translated into English by C. Ridding, London, and Uttarārdha by V. R. Nerurkar.

Ed. with Introduction by P. Peterson, *BSS*, and by R. V. Kane, Bombay, Mysore and at Madras.

4. There is a Lilāvatīkathā in prākṛt poetry by Bhuṣaṇabhattatanaya (*Jess. Cat.* 55) on the story of Śalivāhana. See para 106 *supra*.

5. For a detailed account, see Peterson'introduction to Kādambarī.

also liquor. If liquor makes one forget himself, so does the Romance of Kādambarī. Such is the proverbial repute.[1] Govardhana days that Vāṇī (Sarasvatī) became Bāṇa.[2] "Bāṇa's words breathe a freshness of vigour that bespeak a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature which the Indian Scenery offers to the poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets."[3] From his represen-

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1, "कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ।
कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ॥"

2. "जाता शिखण्डिनी प्राग्यथा शिखण्डी तथावगच्छामि ।
प्रागल्भ्यमधिकमाप्तुं वाणी बाणो बभूवेति ॥

3. For appreciation by many other poets, see *Jl. af Sam. Sah. Par.* XIII. 38-6. For instance :

गंगादेवी—

वाणीपाणिपरामृष्टवीणानिक्वाणहारिणीम् ।
भावयन्ति कथं वान्ये भट्टबाणस्य भारतीम् ॥

त्रिलोचनः—

"हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रमः ।
भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥"

त्रिविक्रमः—'नलचम्पूः'

"शश्वद्बाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन निःशेषो रञ्जितो जनः ॥"

धनपालः—'तिलकमञ्जरी'

"केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् बाणः करोति विमदान् कवीन् ।
किं पुनः क्लृप्तसन्धानपुलिन्ध्र(न्द?) कृतसन्निधिः ॥"

धर्मदाससूरिः—'विदग्धमुखमण्डनम्'

"रुचिरस्वरवर्णपदा रसभाववती जगन्मनो हरति ।
तत् किं तरुणी ? नहि नहि वाणी बाणस्य मधुरशीलस्य ॥

चन्द्रदेवकविः—

"श्लेषे केचन शब्दगुम्फविषये केचिद्रसे चापरे-
ऽलङ्कारे कतिचित्सदर्थविषये चान्ये कथावर्णने ।
आसर्वत्र गभीरधीरकविताविन्ध्याटवीचातुरी-
सञ्चारो कविकुम्भिकुम्भभिदुरो बाणस्तु पञ्चाननः ॥

lation of the horse Indrāyudha, he has come to be known as Turanga Bāṇa. His language is chaste yet ornate and learned yet charming and his descriptions show no end of their resources. The meeting of Sarasvatī and Dadhīca, the last embrace by Prabhākaravardhana of his son, these for instance in Harṣacarita, the beginning of the narrative by the parrot, the advice of Śukanāsa to Candrapīda, the progress of the amours of Kādambarī and Candrāpīda in the Gandharva capital and the pleasant association of the lovers after vicissitudes, these for instance in Kādambarī are worthy of a special appreciation.

455. There are commentaries on Harṣacarita by Rājānaka Śankarakantha,[1] by Ranganātha,[2] by Rucaka,[3] by Śankara.[4]

सोड्ढलः—'उदयसुन्दरीकथा'

१ । "श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु
नाम्नैव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
श्रीहर्ष एष निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा
संपूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥"

२ । "बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निशितामुदीक्ष्य
शक्तिं न केऽत्र कवितास्त्रमदं त्यजन्ति ।
मान्द्यं न कस्य च कवेरिह कालिदास-
वाचां रसेन रसितस्य भवत्यधृष्यम् ॥" १।५ ॥

३ । "वागीश्वरं हन्त भजेऽभिनन्द-
मर्थेश्वरं वाक्पतिराजमीडे ।
रसेश्वरं स्तौमि च कालिदासं
बाणं तु सर्वेश्वरमानतोऽस्मि ॥" ८।२

सोमेश्वरदेवः—'कीर्तिकौमुदी' १।१५

"युक्तं कादम्बरीं श्रुत्वा कवयो मौनमाश्रिताः ।
बाणध्वनावनध्यायो भवतीति स्मृतिर्यतः ॥"

[११४७—१२६२ खृ. आ.]

1. Ed. Bombay, Śankarakantha was father of Ratnakantha who lived about 1650 A.D,

2. *TC*, III. 3858.

3. Called Harṣacaritavārtika.

4. Printed, Bombay. *PR*, I. 120.

There are commentaries on Kādambarī by Bhānucandra and Siddhacandra,[1] Haridāsa,[2] Śivarāma,[3] Vaidyanātha, son of Rāmabhatta,[4] Balakṛṣṇa,[5] Suracandra,[6] Mahādeva,[7] Sukhākara,[8] Arjuna son of Cakradāsa,[9] Ghanaśyāma,[10] and some anonymous.[11]

456. The story of Kādambarī is found in Vāmana Bhatta Bāṇa's Bṛhatkathāmanjarī,[12] Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Dandin's Avantisundarīkathāsāra, and in the latter the story agrees with the narrative of Bāṇa only so far as the Pūrvabhāga.

Dhundirāja Vyāsayajvan, son of Lakṣmana, wrote Abhinavakādambarī, and a gloss on Mudrārākṣasa in 1713 A.D.[13] He is probably the same as the commentator on Lakṣmīsahasra,[14] and is the author of the musical work Sahajīvilāsa.[15]

Abhinanda's Kādambarīkathāsāra, a poem in 8 cantos, has been noticed.[16] Vikramadeva (Trivikrama), son of Rājarājadeva, and pupil of Vidyācakravarti, wrote the poem Kādambarīkathāsāra in 13 cantos,[17] Kalpitakādambarī[18] is anonymous. Tryambakā's Kādambarīkathāsāra,[19] Śrīkanthābhinava Sastrin's Kādambarīcampū,[20] and Narasimha's play Kādambarīkalyana,[21] and Padyakādambarī[22] of Kṣemendra relate the same story.

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1. Printed, Bombay.
2. Printed, Bombay.
3. *CC*, II. 17; Bhaudarkar's *List*, Part I (1893). See under Dandin *post*.
4. *SKC*, 80; *Ulwar*, 896.
5. *PR*, II. 53, 188.
6. *CC*, II. 17.
7. *PR*, II. 188.
8. *PR*, II. 188.
9. *Mys*. 261.
10. See para 166 *supra*.
11. *SKC*, 80; *TC*, IV. 5115.
12. See para 128 *supra*.
13. *Tanj*. VIII. 3475.
14. *CC*, III. 5, I. Printed, Bombay.
15. See para 163 *supra*.
16. See para 60 *supra*.
17. See para 100. *TC*, IV. 4292; Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1919), 38.
18. See Kavindrācārya's *List* (*GOS*) No. 1935.
19. *Śāradā*, II, April-August 1916.
20. Printed, Mysore. See also *CC*, I. 92 where author's name is not given.
21. *TC*, III. 3489. See on the author Chapter on Sanskrit Drama *post*.
22. See Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1919) 39. It is quoted in Kavikanthābharaṇa. The manuscript is with Paliathachan, Sendamangalam, Malabar.

There are epitomes of Kāḍambarī; Kāḍambaryarṭhasāra by Maṇirāma,[1] Sankṣipṭa-Kāḍambarī by Kāśīnāṭha,[2] Kāḍambarīsangraha by R. V. Kriṣṇamācārya,[3] Canḍrāpīdacariṭra by V. Ananṭācārya,[4] and epitomes of Harṣacariṭa by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācarya,[5] and by Śrīnivāsācārya.[6]

457. Among other works of Bāṇa are Candīśataka, Śivaśaṭaka, Mukutaṭāḍiṭaka and Śaraḍācanḍrikā.

Candīśaṭaka is a centum of verses in long Śarḍūla metre in praise of Candī, a form of Kāli, with an allusion in every verse to some incident in the fight between Kālī and Mahiṣāsura. Its sourse is the Ḍevīmahāṭmya (ch. 80) of Markandeya Purāṇa. This, "the Suryasataka of Mayura and the Bhaktamarastotra of Manatunga," says Peterson "are three opposing poems written by devotees of one or other of the great forms of religion which flourished side by side under Harsha's protection." There are commentaries is on Candīśaṭaka by Ḍhaneśvara,[7] by Nagojibhatta,[8] by Bhāskararoya[9] and another anonymous.[10]

Śivasṭuṭi like Canḍīśaṭaka was in praise of Śiva and of his victory over of Ṭripurāsura.[11]

Of Mukutaṭāḍiṭaka nothing is known except a quotation by Bhoja in Śṛngāraprakāśa and by Guṇavijayagaṇi in his commentary on Nalacampū.[12] It has for its theme Bhīmasena's smashing of Ḍuryoḍhana with his club.

1. *IOC*, 1520.
2. *IOC*, 866, VII. 1558. He was a Kasmirian and wrote at the instance of Paḍmarāja.
3. Printed, Srirangam.
4. *Sah*. XIV.
5. Printed, Kumbakonam.
6. Printed, Trichinopoly.
7. Ed. with the commentaries, Bombay, See Hall's Introduction to Vāsavaḍaṭṭa, 8, 49; Buhler, *Id*, I. 111.
8. *PR*, I. 114.
9. *Ibid*.
10. Introduction to Kāḍambarī, 97 f.n. On this, G. P. Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura*, Int. 39.
11. The name of the author is not given, but verses from it are quoted under Bāṇa in all the anthologies.
12. यदाह मुकुटताडितनाटके बाणः ।

आशाः प्रोषितदिग्गजा इव गुहाः प्रध्वस्तसिंहा इव
द्रोण्यः कृत्तमहाद्रुमा इव भुवः प्रोत्खातशैला इव ॥
बिभ्राणाः क्षयकालरिक्तसकलत्रैलोक्यकष्टां दशां
जाताः क्षीणमहारथाः कुरुपतेर्देवस्य शून्यास्सभाः ॥

Pārvatīpariṇaya is a play long considered to be the work of this Bāṇa, but recent opinion has been inclined towards attributing it to Vāmana Bhatta Bāṇa.[1]

Speculation has been rife also on a reading of the passage of Kāvyaprakāśa according to which Bāṇa is said to have received wealth from Harṣa in lieu of his poetry and some scholars have therefore thought that Raṭnāvali, Nāgānanḍa and Priyaḍarśikā must be Bāṇa's composition.[2] There is Sarvacariṭanāṭaka mentioned in his name.[3]

Śaradāṭanaya mentions a play named Śāraḍācandrikā by Bāṇa, of which the plot related to Canḍrāpīda.[4]

Kṣemenḍra in his Aucityaricāracarcā quotes a verse saying that it is part of a description of the condition of Kāḍambarī in her separation from Canḍrapīda and has other verses in his Kavikanṭhābharaṇa, which are referable to similar situations.[5] Is it possible that Bāṇa wrote Kāḍambarī in verse also? Some of these verses are very charming and are as good as verses quoted as Bāṇa's in the anthologies, leaving us not in doubt that Bāṇa was good at verse as at prose. He was probably also a philosopher, for Ānanḍajīvin, in his commentary Ṭaṭṭvaviveka on Anubhavānanda's Nyāyaraṭnadīpāvaḷi, gives a reference to a work of Bāṇa on Veḍānṭa.

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1. See Telang, *IA*, III. 219 and Peterson's Int. to Kāḍambari, 97.
2. See on this subject chapter on Sanskrit drama *post*.
3. *CC*, I. 368.
4. कल्पितं भट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ।
दिव्येन मर्त्यस्य वधः काव्यस्यावश्यभावतः ॥

Bhāvaprakāśa (*GOS*), 252.

Daśarupa mentions Śaraḍācanḍrā as an example of Uṭsṛiṣtikānka.

चन्द्रापीडस्य मरणं यत्प्रत्युज्जीवनान्तिमम् ।
कल्पितं भट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ॥

5. हारो जलार्द्रवसनं नलिनीदळानि प्रालेयशीकरमुचस्तुहिनांशुभासः ।
यस्येन्धनानि सरसानि च चन्दनानि निर्वाणमेष्यति कथं स मनोभवाग्निः ॥

अत्र विप्रलम्भभरभग्नधैर्यायाः कादम्बर्या विरहव्यथावर्णनं माधुर्यसौकुमार्यादिगुणयोगेन पूर्णेन्दुवदनेन प्रियंवदत्वेन हृदयानन्ददायिनीं दयिततमतामातनोति ।

—Bom. Edn. p. 121.

For all such verses, see Peterson's *Subh*. 62-68 and Thomas, *Kav*, 55-59.

e. g. अथोदयौ बालसुहृत्स्मरस्य श्यामाधवश्यामललक्ष्मभङ्ग्या ।
तारावधूलोचनचुम्बनेन लीलाविलीनाञ्जनबिन्दुरिन्दुः ॥

458. The following passages from Harṣacarita are of historical value :[1]

कृतमवधारयतु स्वामी समादिष्टं किन्तु स्वल्पं विज्ञप्तव्यमस्ति भर्तृभक्तेः । तदाकर्णयतु देवः । देवेन हि पुष्पभूतिवंशभूतस्याजात्यस्य सहजस्य तेजसो दिक्करिकरप्रलम्बस्य बाहुयुगलस्यासाधारणस्य च सोदरस्नेहस्य सर्वं सदृशमुपक्रान्तम् । काकोदराभिधानाः कृपणाः क्रमयोऽपि न मृष्यन्ति विकारं, किमुत भवादृशास्तेजसां राशयः । केवलं देवराज्यवर्धनोदन्तेन कियदपि दृष्टमेव देवेन दुर्जनदौरात्म्यम् ।

तदियमात्मदेशाचारोचिता स्वभावसरलहृदयजा त्यज्यतां सर्वविश्वासिता । प्रमाददोषाभिषङ्गेषु श्रुतबहुवार्त एव प्रतिदिनं देवः, यथा ।

1. नागकुलजन्मनः सारिकाश्रावितमन्त्रस्यासीन्नाशो नागसेनस्य पद्मावत्याम् ।

2. शुकश्रुतहास्यस्य च श्रीरशीर्यत श्रुतवर्मणश्श्रावस्त्याम् ।

3. स्वप्नायमानस्य च मन्त्रभेदोऽभून्मृत्यवे मृत्तिकावत्यां सुवर्णचूडस्य ।

4. चूडामणिलग्नलेखप्रतिबिम्बवाचिताक्षरा च चारुचामीकरचामरग्राहिणी यमतां ययौ यवनेश्वरस्य ।

5. लोभबहुलं च बहुलनिशिनिधानमुत्खातखड्गप्रमाथिनी ममन्थ माथुरं बृहद्रथं विदूरथवरूथिनी ।

6. नागवनविहारशीलं च मायामातङ्गाङ्गान्निर्गता महासेनसैनिका वत्सपतिं न्ययंसिषुः ।

7. अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैलूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेवः ।

8. प्रियतन्त्रीवाद्यस्यालाबूवीणाभ्यन्तरसुषिरनिहितनिशिततरवारयो गान्धर्वच्छात्रच्छद्मानः चिच्छिदुरश्मकेश्वरस्य शरभस्य शिरोऽरिपुरुषाः ।

9. प्रज्ञादुर्बलं च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्यः सेनानीरनार्यो मौर्यं बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्पमित्रस्स्वामिनम् ।

10. आश्चर्यकुतूहली च चण्डीपतिर्दण्डोपनतयवननिर्मितेन नभस्थलयायिना यन्त्रयानेनानीयत क्वापि ।

11. काकवर्णः शैशुनागिश्च नगरोपकण्ठे निचकृते निस्त्रिंशेन ॥

1. Bombay Edn., page 197-200.

2. This is Sankara's gloss. काकवर्णो यवनान् विजित्य तैश्च स्वपुरुषानुपायनकृत्य यन्त्रयानैस्तद्गतैः परदारादीन् गच्छन्यवनैरात्मदेशं प्रापय्य निहत इति ॥

12. अतिस्त्रीसङ्गरतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूतिदासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत् ।

13. असुरविवरव्यसनिनं चापजहूरपरिमितरमणीमणिनूपुरझणझणाह्लादरम्यया गोधनगिरि-सुरङ्गया स्वविषयं मेकलाधिपमन्त्रिणः ।

14. महाकालमहे च महामांसविक्रयवादवातूलं वेतालस्तालजङ्घो जघान जघन्यजं प्रद्योतस्य पौणकिं कुमारं कुमारसेनम् ।

15. रसायनरसाभिनिवेशिनश्च वैद्यव्यञ्जनाः सुबहुपुरुषान्तरप्रकाशितौषधगुणाः गणपतेर्विदेह-राजसुतस्य राजयक्ष्माणमजनयन् ।

16. स्त्रीविश्वासिनश्च महादेवीगृहगूढभित्तिभागभ्राता भद्रसेनस्याभवन्मृत्यवे कालिङ्गस्य वीरसेनः ।

17. मातृशयनीयतूलिकातलनिषण्णश्च तनयोऽन्यं तनयमभिषेक्तुकामस्य दध्रस्य करूषाधि-पतेरभवन्मृत्यवे ॥

18. उत्सारकरुचिं च रहसि ससचिवमेव दूरीचकार चकोरनाथं शूद्रकदूतश्चन्द्रकेतुं जीवितात् ॥

19. मृगयासक्तस्य च भ्रमतो गण्डकानुद्दण्डनड्वलनलवननिलीनाश्च चम्पाधिपचमूचर-भटाश्चामुण्डीपतेराचेमुः प्राणान् पुष्करस्य ।

20. बन्दिरागपरं च परप्रयुक्ता जयशब्दमुखरमुखा मल्ला मौखरीमूर्खं क्षत्रवर्माणमुदखनन् ॥

21. अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेशषगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तश्शकपतिमशातयदिति ।
प्रमत्तानां प्रमदाकृताः प्रमादाः श्रुतिविषयमागता एव देवस्य, यथा ।

1. मधुमोदितं मधुरकसंलिप्तैर्लाजैः सुप्रभा पुत्रराज्यार्थं महासेनं काशिराजं जघान ।

2. व्याजजनितकन्दर्वदर्पा च दर्पणेन क्षुरधारार्पितान्तेनायोध्याधिपतिं परन्तपं रत्नवती जारूथम् ।

3. विषचूर्णचुम्बितमकरन्देन च कर्णेन्दीवरेण देवकी देवानुरक्ता देवसेनं सौह्मम् ।

4. योगपरागविरसवर्षिणा च मणिनूपुरेण वल्लभा सपत्नीरुषा वैरन्त्यं रन्तिदेवम् ।

5. वेणीनिगूढेन च शस्त्रेण बिन्दुमती वृष्णिं विदूरथम् ।

6. रसदिग्धमध्येन च मेखलामणिना हंसवती सौवीरं वीरसेनम् ।

7. अदृश्यागदलिप्तवदना च विषवारुणीगण्डूषपायनेन पौरवी पौरवेश्वरं सोमकम् ॥

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1. On that Sankara's glores says: चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानश्चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवीवेषधारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन रहसि व्यापादित इति ।

459. Dandin was the son of Vīraḍaṭṭa and Gaurī. His father was Manoraṭha and Manoraṭha's father was Bhāravi.[1] They lived at Kāncī.[2] Ḍandin lost his parents in childhood, but as he has himself well described it, the place of the lost parents "was taken by Sarasvaṭi and Śruṭa."[3] After Kāncī was beseiged by the Chalukya king Vikramāḍiṭya I[4] about the year 655 A.D., the city became deserted and Ḍandin roamed through various seats of learning and attained high proficiency in the Veḍas and the arts. When the Pallava king Narasimhavarman[5] vanquished his foes and regained his capital Kāncī, Ḍandin came

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1. See para 48 *supra*.

2. In commenting on Kāvyāḍarśa

नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चातुर्वर्णविभूषिता ।
अस्ति काचित्पुरी यस्यामष्टवर्णाह्वया नृपाः ॥

This verse is found in Maheṇḍravarman's Mamandur inscription also. Premacaṇḍra interprets it as *Pundraka* instead of *Pallava* in this verse (*JMy*, X. 356).

Ṭaruṇavācaspaṭi says that this enigma refers to Pallavas ruling at Kāncī :

काञ्चीनगर्यां पल्लवानाम क्षितिपतयस्सन्तीति विवक्षितः ॥

3. स बाल एव मात्रा च पित्रा चापि व्ययुज्यत ।
अयुज्यत गरीयस्या सरस्वत्या श्रुतेण च ॥

Ananṭisundarikaṭhāsāra, I.

4. Vikramāḍiṭya I was the son of Pulakeśin. In A.D. 655, he captured the Pallava capital Kāncī (see V. Smith, *EI*, 427, 436. Kielhorn, *EI*, VIII. App.; *IA*, VII. 219.

5. Narasimhavarman I ruled between 630-668 A.D. After the seige of Kāncī he regained his sovereignty. During his reign Hiuen Thsang visited Kāncī and stayed there for a considerable time (see V. Smith, *EH*, 473; 436; G. J. Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. of Deccan* (Pondicherry), 67-70; (*The Pallavas*, 70). If Hiuen Thsang visited the court of Harṣavarḍhana Śilāḍiṭya of Kanauj, it follows that Dandin and Bāṇa might have been contemporaries. Were they friends? Compare these passages:

अरत्नलोकसंहार्यमवार्यं सूर्यरश्मिभिः ।
दृष्टिरोधकरं यूनां यौवनप्रभवं तमः ॥ *Kāvyāḍarśa*, II 197.

केवलं च निसर्गत एवाभानुभेद्यमरत्नालोकोच्छेद्यमप्रदीपप्रभापनेयमतिगहनं तमो यौवनप्रभवम् ॥ —Kāḍambari.

Peterson (*Int.* to *Das.*) infers from this that Dandin must have been later than Bāṇa and places him in the 8th century A.D.

back and was given a place of honour at the royal court.[1] Matṛdatta[2] and Rāmaśārma[3] were his intimate friends.[4]

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1. M. Govindapai (Jl. of Andhra H.R. Sociἑt VII. I, 146, VIII. 1), discusses the Pallava chronology from Kalābhartṛi to Paramcśvaravarma II and tabelates it as follows:

1 Kalabhartri, 87-107 A.C.
|
2 Chuta-Pallava, 107-127 A.C.
|
3 Virakurcha, 127-147 A.C.
|
4 Skandasishya, 147-167 A.C. (*alias* Skandavarma I)
|
5 Kumaravishnu, 167-200 A.C. (*alias* Sivaskandavarma)
|
6 Buddhavarma, 200-228 A.C. (*alias* Skandavarma II)
|
7 Viravarma, 228-258 A.C.
|
8 Skandavarma, III 258-296 A C.

Left branch (from 8):

9 Simhavarma I, 296-315 A.C.
|
11 Skandavarma IV, 340-364 A.C.
|
13 Nandivarma I, 414-437 A.C.

Right branch (from 8):

10 Vishnugopa I, 315-340 A.C.
|
12 Simhavarma II, 364-389 A.C.
|
14 Vishnugopa II, 389-414 A.C.
|
15 Simhavarma III, 437-472 A.C.
|
16 Simhavishnu, 472-520 A.C.
|
17 Mahendravarma I, 520-555 A.C.
|
18 Narasimhavarma I, 555-595 A.C.
|
19 Mahendravarma II, 595-630 A.C.
|
20 Paramesvaravarma I, 630-660 A.C.
|
21 Narasimhavarma II, 660-685 A.C.
|
22 Paramesvaravarma II, 685-750 A.C.

2. Māṭṛdaṭta is the author of a commentary on Hiraṇyakeśi's Śrouṭa and Gṛhya Suṭras (*GOS*). He was probably a Nambudri Brahmin of Malabar.

3. Rāmaśarma is the author of Acyuṭoṭṭara Kāvya. Bhāmaha refers to him and criticises his verse:

सपीतवासाः प्रगृहीतशार्ङ्गो मनोज्ञभीमं वपुराप कृष्णः ।
शतह्रदेन्द्रायुधवान्निशायां संसृज्यमानश्शशिनेव मेघः ॥–(II. 58).

4. मित्राणि मातृदत्ताद्याः केरळेषु द्विजोत्तमाः ।

Ḍandin was a specialist in the art of architecture. One day one Lalitālaya requested Ḍandin to go to Mahāmallapuram[1] and inspect his jointure of the broken arm of the idol of Trivikrama in the temple *then* touching the waters of the sea. Ḍandin went to Mahāmallapuram and appreciated the imperceptible conjunction of the broken parts of the arm. While he was offering his worship, a full-blown lotus was wafted by the waves of the sea, and when it touched the feet of the Lord, there arose from it the splendid figure of a Viḍyāḍhara. The Viḍyāḍhara bowed gracefully and vanished. Ḍandin's curiosity was awakened. His mind was set upon discovering the secret of the occurrence and on returning to Kāñcī, he sat in penance and in the trance of meditation, the story of Avanṭisunḍarīkathā was revealed to him. Such is the autobiography prefixed to the narrative of the splendid romance of Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā.[2]

Ḍandin may therefore be safely assigned to the period 635-700 A.D.[3]

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1. This is now called Mahābalipuram in Chingleput District, Madras Presidency.

2. In an anonymous commentary on Kāvyāḍarśa (I, 28) this work is mentioned as an ākhyāyikā आख्यायिकेति कादम्बर्यवन्तिसुन्दर्यादि ।

and Vāḍigangbāla says

आख्यायिका शूद्रकचरित्रप्रभृतिः सा आदिर्येषामवन्तिसुन्दर्यादिकथानाम् ।

and Vāḍigangbāla lived about the year 963 A.D.

It is interesting to note that in Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭā (Trav. Edn; p. 59) Viḍuṣaka says

मादाणिभवं अत्ताणं ओहसि अंकादुं । किम्तु इमस्सि राजउळे अवान्तिसुन्दरी णाम जक्खिणी पडिवसदि ॥

The epithet Yakṣiṇi for Avanṭisunḍari has a parity in that Manḍākini and Ṭārāvali are described here as Yakṣa women.

3. R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya (*Sah.* XIX, 222) says Dandin lived in 6th century, as he criticises Bhāmāha and is criticised by Vāmana. He says Daśakumāracariṭa is Dandin's work. R. C. Dutt (*Civ.* I. 18, 25, II. 298) says Dandin was an old man when Śilāḍiṭya (570-620 A.D.) reigned; M. Rangācārya (Int. to Kāvyāḍarśa, 9) gives date 6th century A.D. V. K. Chuplankar, *Essay on Dandin* (Bombay) says ("From a comparison of the story in Chapter V of Daśakumārācariṭa and Act V of Mālaṭimaḍhava, he infers that Dandin must have been prior to or contemporary with Bhavarbhuṭi.")

Weber (*IL.* 213, 232) mentions the possibility of Dandin having lived under an earlier Bhoja in the 8th century. For a similar view, see F. E. Hall, *Pref. to Vasavadatta*, 19 ff. Wilson (*Essays*, I. 346) relies on the mention of the race of Bhoja in the Daśakumāracariṭa and of the rarity of allusions to Yavanas and says that Dandin must have lived during the time of one of the immediate descendants of king

460. This specimen of poetic art was long lost in oblivion and the fall of the Pallava kingdom must have been the cause of it. The existence of the work had so far been gone out of recollection, that even among rhetoricians, it has been rarely noticed and Ḍāśakumāracariṭa, almost an epitome of it, has come to be regarded as Ḍanḍin's original work.

Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā relates almost the same story as the Ḍaśakumāracariṭa, except that in the former, the descriptions are very elaborate and narrative very complete, so that we have it in the tales of Śūḍraka, Vararuci, Kāḍambarī and Samuḍraḍaṭṭa[1] and Śaunaka and Banḍhumaṭī.[2]

Only a fragment of the work was till recently available in print, but the whole work has been recovered by M. R. Kavi in Madras and is now being prepared for print.

Bhoja of Dhar, so that he places Dandin about the end of the 11th century. For a critics of this view, see Kale (Int. to Edn).

On Dandin generally; see Weber, *IL*. 213, 231; *Essays on the Ramayana*, 76; *ISt*. XIV. 65; and *Int. to Das*. I. 311; F. W. Thomas, *Kav*. 42; Peterson, *Subh*. 101, 130; Macdonell, *SL*. 333; Pischell, *Int. to Śṛṅgāratilaka* (Kiel) 13 ff. Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, *XXVII*, 34-5; *CC*., I. 243; *Int. to Vasavadatta* (Col. Un. series), Buhler, *IA*. IV. 83; Telang, *JBRAS*, *XVIII*. 153, Peterson, *Preface to Das*. also *IA*. *III*. 82; R. C. Dutt *Civ*, II. 298; Maxmuller, *India*, 332, 358. Ramakrishnakavi, *Mahakavi Dandi* (*Kalā*, I.) which contains the latest and the most learned account); M. R. Kale, *Int to Dasakumaracharita* (Bombay); Agashe, *Int. to Daśakumāracarita* (BSS); S. K. De. *SP*, II. 58, II. 74; Collins, in his Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracariṭa (Leipsig) places Dandin's literary activity before 585 A.D Meyer, *Daśakumācarita* (Leipsig). B. Bhattacarya (*Jl. Dep. of Letters*, IX, 30-1) places him in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D.

1. Samuḍraḍaṭṭa is the hero of the drama Puṣpābhu(ḍu)ṣiṭaka, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama *post*.

2. Śaunaka was the pupil of Somaṭrāṭa. Once when they were on a visit to the court of the Kosala king, Śaunaka fell in love with the princess Banḍhumaṭī and had secret intrigues with her. In the meantime the king of Ṭrigarṭa to whom the hand of the princess had been promised came to take her, but Śaunaka managed to elope with her unseen in a boat down the Sarayu. The boat was wrecked and he lost sight of her. Lamenting her loss, he saw the corpse of a fair woman on the banks and taking her to be the princess, he cremated the body. He then resolved to give up his life and when preparing for it, he met a Ṭāpasi and in her hermitage Banḍhumaṭī was safe. On hearing Śaunaka's voice, Banḍhumaṭī came out and the lovers met. Banḍhumaṭī explained that she was rescued by a cowherdess, but the latter was bitten by a snake and died at once and it was her corpse that he had cremated. There, by chance the father of Banḍhumaṭī came, having been deprived of his kingdom by the king of Ṭrigarṭa irate at the loss of Banḍhumaṭī's hand, Śaunaka fought and restored his father-in-law to his kingdom.

It is suspected that there must have been a drama somewhere of the name Banḍhu-

Bṛhaṭkaṭhā appears to have been the model for the construction. Vararuci is Kāṭyāyanā's son and lived in the days of King Mahāpadma. Śaunaka, the lover of Banḍhumaṭī who was reborn as Śūḍraka, reappears here as Kāmapāla. Likewise, Banḍhumaṭī who transmigrated as Vinayavaṭi, queen of Śūḍraka, is reborn here as Kānṭimaṭī. Banḍhumaṭi's maid who was born as the wife of Śūḍraka becomes Ṭārāvaḷī here. Thus, Ḍandin maintains an intimate connection with the ancient narratives and attempts as if to frame a sequel.

461. Chronology does not make it impossible that Ḍandin knew Bāṇa and the proximity of dates suggests that Ḍandin was Bāṇa's younger contemporary and probably a friend too. In Avanṭisunḍarī Ḍandin narrates the story of Kāḍambarī and his narrative follows Bāna's Pūrvabhāga and diverges widely from the Pulinḍa's (Bhūṣaṇa's) Uṭṭarabhāga. It is therefore inferred that Ḍandin wrote his Avanṭisunḍarī before Bāṇa's son thought of concluding the narrative.

It is fairly certain that Ḍandin studied and admired Kāḍambarī. He mentions it by name with the usual device of paronomasia:

बहुलभाषिणो बृहत्कथाजलाशयाः सेतुबन्धलग्नाश्च, नम्रमदस्पृशः कादम्बरीरसानद्दृयः समन्दाक्षाश्च, विश्रुतबहुश्रुताश्च रामायणादि * * * भिज्ञाश्च दृष्टमहाभारता भीमगदाभिघातवार्तामुग्धाश्च ॥

A reading of Kāḍambarī by the side of Avanṭisunḍarī will display a conscious elaboration by Ḍandin of Bāṇa's ideas, fancies and descriptions. Same situations are adopted, but the delineation is unique and the fault of the loan of situations is excused by the resplendence of amending shots of poetic imagery blended with the sweetest melody of expression. Extracts are printed at the end of this chapter.

462. Apart from the merit of the Kaṭhā as a piece of literary art, it contains a laudatory preface in praise of several poets which furnishes a clue to some lost works and makes it a landmark in literary history. Reference is made there to Vyāsa,[1] Subanḍhu, Guṇāḍhya, Mūlaḍeva,

maṭi or Banḍhumaṭi-Śaunaka. The conjecture is strengthened by the following verse in Kaumudīmahotsava.

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमारकं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीयं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥

1. The verse in praise of Vyāsa:

मर्त्येयन्त्रेषु चैतन्यं महाभारतविद्यया । अर्पयामास तत्पूर्वं यत्तस्मै मुनये नमः ॥

is quoted as Daudin's in the anonymous Subhāṣiṭāvali (para 373 supra)

Śūḍraka, Bhāsa, Sarvasena, Pravarasena, Kāliḍāsa, Nārāyaṇa, Bhāravi (?) Bāṇa and Mayūra, in a manner very probably indicating a chronological order among them.[1]

463. Avanṭisunḍarī-kaṭhāsāra is a poetic summary of the kaṭha, which in the merit of composition rarely falls short of the original which

1.

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
तस्यैव हृदयं बद्ध्वा वत्सराजो * * * ॥
* * * * तमानवदेवया ।
गोमुखान्वितया जातिः का बृहत्कथयोज्झिता ॥
सनारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रया कृतिः ।
मूलदेवोदि * * * * * * ॥
शूद्रकेणासकृज्जित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गधारया ।
जगद्भूयोऽप्यवष्टब्धं वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥
सुविभक्तमुखाद्यङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभिः ।
परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासः शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥
राज्ञाश्रीसर्वसेनेन * * * * ।
* * * * * विजयं हरेः ॥
लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन्यस्य निर्विशा गिरः ।
तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥
चक्षुः क्षति * * * * * ।
* * * * * * * ॥
व्याप्तुं पदत्रयेणापि यश्शक्तो भुवनत्रयम् ।
तस्य काव्यत्रयव्याप्तौ चित्रं नारायणस्य किम् ॥
भिन्नस्तीक्ष्णमुखेनापि चित्रं बाणेन निर्व्यथः ।
व्याहारेषु जहौ लीलां न मयूरः * * * * ॥
* * * * * चित्रीयते मम ।
वर्णहीनापि या जाता जात्युत्कर्षगुणास्पदम् ।
धवळप्रभवा रागं सा तनोति मनोवती ।
कविगन्धगजैरेभिः * * * * ।
* * * * न्न दामोदरवंशजः ॥
आवर्जने तिरश्चामप्येति हृद्य इव ध्वनिः ॥

Sarvasena's Harivijaya is mentioned by Hemacandra (*KS*, 335). Nārāyaṇa is probably Bhattanārāyaṇa, author of Veṇīsamhāra. The verse beginning with चक्षुः क्षति probably refers to Kumāradāsa. The verse वर्णहीना probably refers to Kāḍambari or Vijjakā.

it sought to epitomise. At present the name of the author is unknown. It bears the Ānandānka at the end of each canto[1] and when we see that Bhoja and Hemacandra mention Pancaśikha's poem as of that anka,[2] is it possible that the author of this poem was PANCASIKHA? The extant work is also incomplete and stops in the seventh canto.[3]

464. It is a tradition that Daṇḍin wrote three works[4] and if we take Avantisundarikathā, in the place of Daśakumāracarita, the two other works are Dvisandhāna and Kāvyādarśa.

DVISANDHANA is a poem with a double entendre and narrated the stories of Rāmāyana and Māhābhārata. Except in rare references to it by later writers[5] the work is lost. It served as a model for

1. For instance,

मुक्त्वा शय्यां मिलितपुलकप्रातमुत्थाय भूयः ।
प्राप्तानन्दो विरतिसमये प्राक्तनीनां क्रियाणाम् ॥ Canto I.

2. मङ्गलाङ्कता यथा । अभ्युदयः कृष्णचरिते, जय उषाहरणे, आनन्दः पञ्चशिखस्यशूद्रक कथायाम् ॥—Kāvyānuśāsana 335.

यथाह शुको जरद्गिरश्शूद्रककथायां ।—Śṛngāraprakāśa, XI.

3. For a complete account of the Kathā and Kathāsāra, see M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *Dandi* (*Kalā*, I). The 7th canto is a citrasarga, in which some particular alphabets are avowedly avoided.

4. त्रयोऽग्नयस्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो गुणाः ।
त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥ *Hārāvali.*

Much thought has been expended on discovering the names of the three works here referred to as Dandin's. Pischell thought the third was Mṛcchakatikā, because the verse लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि is found there as well as in Kāvyādarśa (see Peterson, *Subh.* 130). Others thought that the third work was Chandoviciti, because in Kāvyādarśa Dandin says छन्दोविचित्यां सकलस्तत्प्रपञ्चो निरूपितः. There is no work known as Chandoviciti at all and it may mean only "a collection of metres." Chapters XIV and XV of Bharataśāstra also goes under the name of Chandoviciti and Yādavaprakāśa's Bhāṣya on it is called Chandoviciti-bhāṣya. Even Varāhamihira (in his Bṛhatsamhita) says

विपुलामपि बद्ध्वा छन्दोविचितिं भवति कार्यमेतावत् ।
श्रुतिसुखदवृत्तसङ्ग्रहमिममाह वराहमिहिरोऽतः ॥

On this question, see R. V. Krishnamacharya, Int. to Vāsavadattā, xxxiv-vi.

5. Bhoja in his Śṛngāraprakāsa says (in Prakasa VII) दण्डिनो धनञ्जयस्य वा द्विसन्धाने and (in Prakāśa IX) रामायणमहाभारतयोर्दण्डिद्विसन्धानमिव and quotes the verse

उदारमहिमारामः प्रजानां हर्षवर्धनः ।
धर्मप्रभव इत्यासीत् ख्यातो भरतपूर्वजः ॥

several compositions of that style and even the name was adopted by Ḍhananjaya and Kavirāja.[1]

KAVYADARSA, his well-known treatise on poetics, will be noticed in a future chapter.

Śivapancastavī is a small poem of devotion ascribed to Daṇḍin called Anāmayastoṭra.[2]

465. **Dasakumaracarita** is in two parts; the former Pūrvapīthikā is in 5 chapters and the latter Uttarapīthikā is in 8 chapters. Rājahamsa, king of Magadha, had three ministers and in regular succession their sons became ministers too. When a war broke out between Rājahamsa and Mānasāra, king of Malwa, Rājahamsa sent away his pregnant wife to a rendezvous in the Vindhya mountains. He was severely wounded in battle and his chariot was drawn off by the frightened horses into the same forest. There he rested until he became conscious. When the queen heard the news of her missing husband, she resolved to die and as she was offering a prayer before hanging herself to a tree, Rājahamsa recognised her voice, and they were united. She gave birth to a son Rājavāhana. About the same time, his four ministers also got four sons, Pramati, Mitragupta, Mantragupta and Viśruta. Then the story is related how by chance five foundling boys were brought to the king, and were received by him with kindness. When of age, he sent them out on a campaign of conquest. When the princes were journeying in the Vindhyas, Rājahamsa was met by a brahmin Matanga and was induced to accompany him to Pātāla through an opening revealed to Matanga by Śiva in a dream. When they reached Pātāla, the queen of that land offered her hand and kingdom to Matanga and Matanga became king. In the meantime, not knowing the movements of Rājahamsa, the nine princes set out in different paths agreeing to meet later at Ujjain. Rājavāhana proceeded to Ujjain, and there married Avantisundarī, the daughter of that king. The princes met each other one after another and narrated their adventures. At the end of the narrative the princes captured Mālwa and proceeded to Puṣpapura and paid homage to the king and queen. The king distributed among them the various kingdoms they had conquered. Rājavāhana became king of the United kingdoms of Puṣpapura and Ujjain. Guided by Rājavāhana the princes ruled over

1. See paras 68 and 86 *supra*.
2. Ed. Madras and elsewhere.

their kingdoms justly and "enjoyed pleasures not easily attainable even by Indra."[1]

"Dasakumaracarita begins and ends in an abrupt manner and it introduces the reader at once to strange persons and strange events. Pūrvapīthika, preliminary chapter, is commonly ascribed to Ḍandin himself, but as it is somewhat less ambitiously written, and as the incidents related are, in one or two cases, briefly repeated in the body of the work, and with some contradictions, doubts have been started as to the accuracy of the attribution,"

466. Sesa[2] or supplement to the Cariṭa, a continuation and conclusion of the stories, is the work of Cakrapāṇi Ḍīkṣiṭa, a Mahratta Brahmin. It displays an elaborate construction with an expression fairly equal to its precursor. Cakrapāṇi was the son of Canḍramauli Ḍīkṣiṭa.

Because Pūrvabhāga differs in various manuscripts and in some even the story is altered (See *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 2998-3007), the oldest commentaries are only on Uṭṭarabhāga and there is much similarity between Uṭṭarabhāga and Avanṭisunḍarī. M. R. Kavi (Int. to Edn.) thinks that Ḍandin's work was lost and the story was re-written as Pūrvabhāga from materials available in translations or from tradition. He adds "Of the translations of Dasakumaracarita, the oldest is in Telugu by Ketana of about 1250 A.D. A comparison of his work with the original shows that the Purvabhaga corresponds exactly with the Telugu portion except that the story of Somadatta comes after the meeting of Rajavahana and Avantisundari, but before their marriage and that Uttarabhaga is very much condensed in Telugu. Most of the idioms peculiar to Telugu are also crudely found in Sanskrit in the Purvabhaga. Ketana states that he was writing in chapters the story

1. Ed. by H. H. Wilson; by Peterson (Bombay); by Buhler (Bombay); by T. Tarkavācaspaṭi (Calcutta) with notes; by G. J. Agashe (Bombay) with introduction and notes. For a complete summary in English and notes, see Edn. by M. R. Kale (Bombay). See also Meyer, *Dandin's Dasakumaracaritam, die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen*, Leipzig: Collins, *Geographical data of Raghuvamsa and Dasakumaracarita*, Leipsig. Tr. by Meyer, o. c. and by Haberland (Munich); by M. R. Kale (Bombay); by P. W. Jacob (*Hindu Tales*); by Wilson (*Essays on SL*, II. 160); by Jānakināṭha, (*IOC*, VII. 1551). For Agashe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Daśakumāracariṭa and Kāvyāḍarśa, see *IA*, XLIV, 67.

2. *IOC*, VII. 1552.

M. R. Kale says that the Uṭṭarapīṭhikā printed in his edition is not the same of Cakrapāṇi's work. But Uṭṭarapīthikā is the Daśakumāracariṭa proper intended by Wilson. In *CC*, I. 247 it is said that Padmanābha wrote Uṭṭarapīṭhikā.

of Dasakumaras (ten young men) as related by Dandin in his prose work. These facts suggest whether the Purvabhaga was translated from Telugu putting Somadatta's story a little earlier in the Sanskrit rendering, Kanarese translation has quite a different story for this portion. Thus we are tempted to say that the first portion of Avanti was lost and was re-written by several unknown writers. Perhaps the friends of Dandin might have taken copies to Malabar and the ghats have protected them from the ravages of time and political catastrophes."[1]

But S. K. De takes a contrary view and says that Ḍaśakumāracaritạ is the real work of Ḍandin and Avanṭisunḍarī is the work of some later author. He says "It is well known that Dandin, the author of the Kāvyāḍarśa, refuses to admit the fine distinctions made by theorists between a katha and an akhyayika, but his own definition of these two species of prose composition is entirely negative and does not help us in fixing his conception of them. It is not until we come to Rudrata, who has accepted and generalised the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the katha and the akhyayika respectively, that we find these two species entirely stereotyped in theory. It is possible, therefore, that the Avantisundarikatha was composed before this fixing of characteristics in Rudrata's time; and this would explain the apparent confusion of the characteristics of a katha and an akhyayika made by its author. But he could not have been very far from the time of the author of the Dasakumaracarita whose work he utilised and whose biographical details were not yet entirely lost in his time."[2]

467. There are poetic versions of Pūrvapīthikā, one by Appaya Diksita, the author of Kuvalayānanḍa, printed at Serampore in 1804 and another by Vinayaka. Gopinatha Mahārājāḍhirāja undertook "the bolder task of ameliorating (samśoḍhana) the text. Like the two preceding, his introduction is in metre and in three sections, but they contain six hundred and seventy nine slokas and are therefore much more diffuse. In the body of the work the author reverts to prose, where his so called improvement—really a disfigurement, consists in the occasional amplification or explanation of the incidents of the original,

1. *Int. to Edn.* See also Agashe's Int. to Daśakumāracariṭa (*BSS*).
2. *IHQ*, III. 161.
3. *IOC*, 1764, VII 1553. Printed as appendix to Colebrook's edn. of Hiṭopadeśa.
4. *IOC*, 586, VII. 1553. It is in three chapters and begins with the story of Rājahamsa at Puṣpapura.

the text of which with such occasional interpolations or substitutions, is given without any alteration. The story is also carried on to completion."[1]

468. There are commentaries on Daśakumāracarita by Śivarāma,[2] Gurunātha Kāvyatīrtha,[3] Kavīndrācāryasarasvatī,[4] Haridāsa Siddhanta-vāgīśa,[5] Haripādachattopadhāya,[6] G. K. Ambedkar,[7] A. B. Gajendragatkar,[8] Revatīkānta Bhattācārya,[9] Jībānanda,[10] Tārānātha,[11] and some anonymous.[12]

There are epitomes, Daśakumāracaritasangraha, anonymous[13] and the other by R. V. Krishnamacharya.[14]

469. The greatness of Dandin as a poet has a traditional recognition. He has been known as Ācarya Dandin.[15] It is said that Sarasvatī declared him a poet[16] and that with Vālmīki and Vyāsa he was of the same rank.[17]

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1. *IOC*, 1850; VII. 1554.
2. Ed. Bombay. This is on the Purvapīthika only. He was the son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Trilokācandra and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Keśavarāma. His commentary Bhuṣaṇa (Ed. Bombay) relates only to Daśakumāracarita (8 Uchavasas) and not Purva and Uttarapithikas. He has also commented on Kādambarī (See Rajagrah Library Cat. 60). Ed. by N.B. Godabole and K P. Parab (Bombay).
3. Printed, Calcutta.
4. Printed, Bombay.
5. Printed, Calcutta.
6. Printed, Calcutta.
7. Printed, Bombay with glossary.
8. Printed, Bombay with introduction and appendices.
9. Printed, Calcutta.
10. Printed, Calcutta.
11. *SKC*, 81.
12. Ed. Bombay. *CC*, II. 52.
13. *Opp*, II. 3165.
14. Printed, Srirangam.
15. So say the colophons of his works, as well as Bhatta Gopāla in the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa.

See S. Pattabhiram: *Acarya Dandin as a critic.* Paper read at the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924.

16. In a rivalry between Kālidāsa and Dandin, Sarasvatī was called to declare merit. She said कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी न संशयः but when Kalidasa asked, कोऽहं रण्डे she said त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं न संशयः
17. जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ कविरित्यभिधाऽभवत् ।
कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयस्त्वयि दण्डिनि ॥

470. Subandhu. The age of Subanḍhu as a writer of Sanskrit romance has been a matter of literary speculation. His name is associated with VASAVADATTA. In the introductory verses to Harṣacariṭa, Bāṇa has a eulogy of poets and poems and there he mentions a Vasavaḍaṭṭā. It has been considered from this reference that Bāṇa had in mind Subanḍhu's writing, so that Bāṇa's date being known, the age of Subanḍhu was anterior to him.

In a similar preface to Vāsavaḍaṭṭā, Subanḍhu deplores the decay of poetic aesthetics after the days of Vikramāḍiṭya, the generous patron of letters :

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति नो कङ्कः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

On the identity of this Vikramāḍiṭya there has been a display of original research. But two considerations chiefly lead us to conclude

1. On Subanḍhu generally, see Hall, Int. to Vasavadatta. R.V. Krishnamacharya (Int. to Vasavadatta) thinks Subanḍhu was a Vaishnavite following Mīmāmsa philosophy. Weber, I. 271 quoting Cunningham (*JASB.* XVII, 98-9) says there is a legend that Subanḍhu was a Kashmirian Brahmin.

2. R.V. Krishnamacharya thinks this verse here an interpolation as it is not found in some manuscripts. *Introduction to Vasavadatta*, xxxix.

Vāmana in his Kāvyālankāra has passage :

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा—
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ।
कृतधियामित्यस्य च(व)सुबन्धु ॥

Some scholars have preferred the reading वसुबन्धु to च सुबन्धु. In Ms. No. 4 B 820 of Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the reading is the latter. The discovery of Avanṭisunḍarīkathā has set the difficulty at rest, for it is stated there that Subanḍhu was attached to Binḍusāra, the son of Canḍragupṭa :

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् । तस्यैव हृदयं बध्वा ... ॥

The available Vāsavaḍaṭṭā of Subanḍhu is unconnected with Uḍayana Vaṭsarāja. There are no data to connect this Subanḍhu with Vāsavaḍaṭṭā mentioned by Paṭanjali. M. Ramakrishna Kavi (*Kalā*, I 70) however says so. R. V. Krishnamacharya (*o. c.* xlvii) says that there was one Vasubanḍhu, pupil of Manoraṭha, in the court of Vikramāḍiṭya Canḍragupṭa II. Takkakusu in his *Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu* finds a passage that king Vikramāḍiṭya of Ayoḍhya sent his crown prince Bālāḍiṭya to Vasubanḍhu to learn Buddhism. [*JRAS* [1908), 44]. Smith (*EH*, 292, 320) and Pathak take this Vikramāḍiṭya to be Skanḍagupṭa. But Bhandarkar says he was Canḍragupṭa II who lived in Gupta era 93 or 411 A.D. and identifies Bālāḍiṭya with his son Govinḍa Gupta [see also IA. XLI. 15]. Subanḍhu, therefore, it is suggested, saw that the ancient romance of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā so highly praised of Bāṇa was lost and with confidence in his literary ability, he set out to make up this loss. On this question, see R. Saraswati, *JMy*.

that Vāsavadaṭṭa mentioned by Bāṇa was not the work of Subandhu. Paṭanjali instances Vāsavadaṭṭa as an Ākhyāyikā and speaks of readers as Vāsavadaṭṭikas.[1]

In this allusion to Vikramādiṭya[2] there is express indication that Vikramādiṭya so lamented was the patron of the 'nine gems' and if as tradition says the patron of 'nine gems' was the founder of the Vikrama era in 56 B.C, Paṭanjali who flourished far earlier than that date could not have referred to this Subandhu's romance.[3] In his Śṛngāraprakāśa, Bhoja mentions an Ākhyāyikā Līlāvaṭī, now lost. But Nemināṭha Kavirājakunjara, the Canarese poet, has written a romance of that name, probably an adaptation of the Sanskrit original. It describes the love of Kandarpakeṭu and Līlāvaṭī and the story is almost similar to that found in this work, except that the name of the heroine had been altered from Līlāvaṭī to Vāsavadaṭṭā. Is it possible that the source of Subandhu's plot was the original Līlāvaṭī and that he narrated the same story in a new form, so as to illustrate the power of Sanskrit paranomasia? But Subandhu, the author of Vāsavadaṭṭā, is not a late writer. He is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyālankāra. An anonymous commentary on Vāsavadaṭṭā begins with a verse, which commences Bhāmaṭī, the commentary on Śankarabhāṣya by Vācaspaṭimiśra. It is therefore likely that this commentary was the work of Vācaspaṭī, who lived in the 9th century A.D. and Vāmana was in the Court of Jayāpīda (779-819 A.D.) Subandhu mentions Bauddhasangaṭi, Uddyoṭakāra and a story of Śakunṭalā (apparently as represented by Kālidāsa). Bauddhasangaṭi was a rhetorical work by Dharmakīrṭi,[4] and

1. See para 450 supra.

2. For the view that Paṭanjali's Vāsavadaṭṭā was not this Subandhu's, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambari, 72 and R.V. Krishnamacharya, l.c. xxxvi.

3. "The romance of Vasavadatta referred to in Malaṭimādhava as in like manner that found in Kathasaritsagara and which has been dramatised in Ratnavali resembles in scarcely a feature, barring the common appellation of their respective heroines"-Hall.

4. बौद्धसङ्गतिमिव अलङ्कारभूषिताम्. Śivavarāma in his commentary says that Bauddhasangaṭi was the work of Dharmakirṭi. Hall (Int. to Edn.) accepts this statement. R. V. Krishnamacharya adopts the reading सत्कविकाव्यरचनामिवालङ्कारभूषिताम् and says that Alankāra was the name of a work by Dharmakirṭi. Levi says that Dharmakirṭi has not been known to be a rhetorician at all, (*Bulletin de 'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient*, III. 45). Thomas accepts this opinion (Int. to Kav. 48). S.K. De does not mention Dharmakīrṭi as a writer of rhetoric (*SP.* 48), but says that Bhāmaha adopted Dharmakīrṭi's Buddist doctrines, placing Dharmakīrṭi in the middle of the 7th century A.D., because he is not noticed by Hiuen Thsang (630-643 A.D.), but mentioned by I Tsing (673-693 A.D.) as a recent author. (See Takakasu, *Record of*

Uḍḍyoṭakāra,[1] the great logician, was the author of Nyāyavārṭika and these writers lived in the 6th century A.D.

471. "Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political seience (lokasastra viruddha) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (Vijigishu). The story of Vasavadatta is as old as Patanjali, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on Panini IV. 3. 57. One of the versions of the story based upon the Brihatkatha is found narrated in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara and it seems to be the Brihatkatha version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political seience. Chandamahasena, the king of Avanti, made a large artifical elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of Vatsas. After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindhya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant. As expected, Udayana came along to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahasena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadatta. Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants. It is also opposed to the dictates of political science inasmuch as no king like Udayana ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon a risky adventure as he is said to have done. Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is not

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the Buddist Religion). Taranatha (*Geschichte*, 184-5) makes him contemporary of the Tibetan king Strong bstan-sgam po who died in 650 A.D. So does Kern (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 130). Peterson and Hall (*Subh.* 47 *Int.* to *Vas.*) say that Dharmakīrṭi the writer on Alankāra, was identical with the Buddhist philosopher of that name. Ānanḍavarḍhana quotes verses by Dharmakīrṭi. Dharmakīrṭi is now generally placed between the 6th and 7th century A.D. Telang (*JBRAS*, XXVII, 147, places Dharmakīrti in the middle of 6th century A.D. See Aufrecht, *ISt.* XVI, 204-7; *ZDMG*, XXVII, 44; *CC*, I. 268; Feterson (*JBRAS*, XVI, 172-3); Bhandarkar [*BR*, (1897) xxx]; Max Muller. (*India*, Index); Duff, (*Chronology*), *JBRAS*, XVIII. 18, 88 96, 148-150. For works and verses of Dharmakīrṭi in the anthologies, see Thomas *Kav*, 47-50 and Peterson, *Subh*. 46-8).

1. Uḍyoṭakāra's work is meant to be a refutation of Dingnāga's heterodox views. If Dingnāga lived in 6th century, A.D. Uḍyotakāra must have lived later. (On Dingnāga's date, see para 17 *supra*).

liable to such charges. If that work had existed in Bhamaha's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection."[1]

The posteriority of Subandhu to Bāṇa is confirmed by internal evidence. To Bāṇa's works Subandhu was indebted at times for words, expressions, passages and situations, bordering on plagiarism.[2] The use of the word Indrāyudha indicates an allusion to the Candrāpīda's horse[3] of that name. The resolves of Mahāsveta and Kādambarī to give up their lives when their lovers were dead and the sudden interruption of their attempts by the intervention of a heavenly voice have their counterparts in a similar situation created for Kandarpaketu when he missed his sweetheart Vāsavadatta. Above all Subandhu has appreciated Bhavabhuti by drawing upon him for his fine expressions of poetic fancy. The instance given below is too glaring[4] to avoid the inference that Subandhu lived after Bhavabhūti and was a student of his plays. Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti were too original in their ideas and too conscious of their genius that a contrary inference is not possible. Subandhu appears therefore to have flourished between Bāṇa and Vāmana, that is, about the end of the 8th century A.D.[5]

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1. Mys. Arch. Rep. (1927), 25.

2. For instance, see the use of the phrases: किं बहुना, देवः प्रमाणम्, अचिन्तयच, आसीच्चास्य मनसि ।

3. वक्रेणैवेन्द्रायुधेन मनोजवनाम्ना तुरगेण सह नगरान्निर्जगाम । (Srirangam Edn. 339.)

4. Compare लीनेव प्रतिबिम्बितेव लिखितेवोत्कीर्णरूपेव सा
प्रत्युप्तेव च वज्रलेपघटितेवान्तर्निखातेव च ।
सा नश्चेतसि कीलितेव विशिखैश्चेतोभुवः पञ्चभिः
चिन्तासन्ततितन्तुजालनिबिडस्यूतेव लग्ना प्रिया ॥—Malalimadhava.

हृदये विलिखितमिव उत्कीर्णमिव, प्रत्युप्तमिव कीलितमिव, निगळितमिव वज्रलेपघटितमिव, अस्थिपञ्जरप्रविष्टमिव, मर्मान्तरस्थितमिव, मज्जारसशबलितमिव कन्दर्पकेतुं मन्यमाना ॥
Srirangam Edn. 191-2.

5. Hoernle identifies Vikramāditya with Yaśodharman and dates Subandhu about 608-612 A D the latter being the date of Harṣa's coronation, see *JRAS*, (1903) 845, (1909) 89, 144, and see *contra* Fleet, [*JRAS*, (1904) 164]. V. Smith, [*ZDMG*, LVIII, 781-96] places Yaśodharman, as founder of Malva empire, in 533-583 A.D, Grey (Int. to Edn.) places Subandhu between Bāṇa and Udyoṭākāra, at least a century latter than Dandin between 550 A.D. and somewhere after 606 A.D. For this priority see Weber, *IAX*, I. 211-315, R. V. Krishnamacharya puts Subandhu after Bāṇa and before Vāmana. Hall (*Int.* to *Vas.* 11) places Subandhu before Bāṇa (see also Cowell's Preface to Nyayakusumanjali, VI); Cartellieri (*Das Mahabharata Subandhu and Bāna*, *VOJ*, II. 115, III. 145, XIII. 72) says Bāṇa knew Subandhu and composed his

472. Prince Kanḍarpakeṭu son of king Cinṭāmaṇi, saw the image of a fair damsel in dream and enamoured of her he not set with his friend Makaranḍa in quest of the original of that image. Halting under a shady tree for a night, he overheard the tale related by a parrot to its spouse, that Vāsavaḍaṭṭā daughter of king Śṛṅgāraśekhara of Kusumapura dreamt of a young man of splendid attractions and would not therefore choose any out of the several princes that were assembled at her Swayamvara. She now sent out her own maid Ṭamālikā as an emissary to gather news of that young man, who had captured her heart. Kanḍarpakeṭu was delighted and made friendship with Ṭamālikā. He accompanied her to Vāsavaḍaṭṭā's harem, and to avoid her proposed marriage with Puṣpakeṭu, a Viḍyāḍhara prince, the lovers secretly eloped. On their way they felt tired and fell asleep. As Vāsavaḍaṭṭa awoke and went out to gather fruits and flowers she saw two rival Kirāṭa chiefs with their forces in pursult of her, but in a fight between themselves they destroyed each other. But the Sage in whose garden Vāsavaḍaṭṭā had entered was incensed at the havoc made by the rival armies and cursed her to become a lifeless statue, as the real cause of the whole trouble, but at her importunities he limited the curse to the day of the casual contact of her lover Kanḍarpakeṭu. Kanḍarpakeṭu rose to find his sweetheart missing and when in despair he approached the waters of the sea to give up his life a heavenly voice assured him that he would soon be united with Vāsavaḍaṭṭā. So he rambled through woods and awaited the uncertain day, when by chance he happened to pass by a statue and discovering in it some likeness he embraced it, the statue gained animation and Vāsavaḍaṭṭā stood before him in all her original glory.

473. Subanḍhu has been praised by later writers,[1] Mankha, Rājaśekhara, Vāmabhaṭṭa Bāṇa[2] and is quoted in the anthologies.

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work to eclipse Subanḍhu's fame. Telang (*JRRAS*, XVIII. 147) puts Subanḍhu at the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 7th century and before Bāṇa and Dandin also. "At the time when Vāsavaḍaṭṭā was composed the teachings of Kumārila, had already borne fruit against sects, but in Kāḍambari, Harṣacariṭa and Daśakumāracariṭa, we find allusions to Mimāmsa to Bauḍḍha and Jain systems though there is no allusion of contest between them." See also his introduction to Muḍrārākṣasa, 55 note.

1. And probably by Vākpaṭi in Gaulavāho. See *CC*, I. 726 and R. V Krishnamacarya's Int. to Edn. xli.

2. प्रतिकविभेदनबाणः कवितातरुगहनविहरणमयूरः ।
सहृदयलोकसुबन्धुर्जयति श्रीभट्टबाणकविराजः ॥

In his Vāsavadattā, Subandhu's sole aim was to illustrate the potency of expression of the Sanskrit language and his dexterity in framing discourse made of equivoques in every syllable. To him the choice of the plot and ingenuity in its development was of secondary importance. In this field of literature Subandhu is without an equal. All nature and all art is familiar to him. There is not one mythological incident to which he has not alluded, not one word whose significance he has not understood, not one style of prose writing which he has not adumbrated and not one mode of expression which he has not invented for the glory of his tale. "What with the comprehensive range of his hagiology," says Hall, "his familiarity with the bye-paths of elder days, his matchless command of Sanskrit vocabulary, and his mastery over the anamolies of its grammar, he is indeed not seldom an enigma to his scholiasts……There is true melody in the long, rolling compounds, a sesquipedalian majesty which can never be equalled save in Sanskrit; and the alliterations have a lulling music all their own to ears weary of the blatant discords of vaunted modern 'progress'. There is, on the other land, a compact brevity in the paronomasias, which are, in most cases, veritable gems of terseness and two-fold appropriateness, even though some are manifestly forced and are actually detrimental to the sense of the passages in which they occur."[1]

There are commentaries on Vāsavadattā by Jagaddhara,[2] Trivikrama,[3] Timmayasūri,[4] Rāmadevamiśra,[5] Siddhacandragaṇi,[6] Narasiṃhasena,[7] Nārāyaṇa and Śṛṅgāragupta,[8] Sarvacandra,[9] Śivarāma,[10] Prabhākara,[11] Sarvarakṣita,[12] Kāśirāma,[13] Ranganātha,[14] R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya,[15] and some anonymous.[16]

1. On Subandhu generally, see Gray, 'Sivarama's Commentary on the Vasavadatta,' in *JAOS*, XXIV. 57-63. Manning, *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, II. 344-346, Mazumdar, A brief outline of the plot of the Vasavadatta. '*Who were the Kankas?*' (*JRAS*, 1907, 406). Strehly, '*Un Roman indien, Vasavadatta de Soubandhou*' in Revue politique et litteraire, LIV, 305 311; Telang, '*Subandhu and Kumarila*' (*JRAS*, XVIII, 147-167); Cartellieri, '*Das Mahabharata dei Subandhu und Bana*,' (WZKM, XIII. 57-J4); *Subandhu and Bana* (WZKM, I. 115-132).
2. *DC*, XXI. 8532; *Tanj*, VII. 301. He gives his geneology.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8329; *Tanj*, VII 3018. He calls himself Medhāvi Trivikrama.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8330.
5. *CC*, I. 566.
6. *PR*, IV. 23.
7. *Oxf*. 156.
8. *CC*. I. 566; *Ulwar*, 967.
9. *IOC*, 543, 996.
10. *Oudh*, XV. 44.
11. Hall's Edn. 196-214.
12. *SKC*, 81.
13. *IOC*, 543.
14. *CC*, III. 120.
15. Printed, Srirangam with a long introduction.
16. *DC*, XXI. 8331. *IOC*, 543; *CC*, III. 120; *Tanj*, VII. 3020, 3022, 3023.

In Vāsavaḍaṭṭākaṭhāsāra, T. Narasimha Iyengar gives an epitome of the story.

474. " Bāṇa's reference to Vāsavadattā probably refers to Vāsavadattā Nrittapāra of Subandhu or some other romance of the name metioned in Mahābhāshya IV. iii. 87. The available Vāsavadattā of Subandhu does not relate the story of Udayana's wife and has references to later authors as Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti etc."[1]

" Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science (lokasastra-viruddha) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (Vijigishu). The story of Vasavadatta is as old as Patanjali, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on Panini IV 3,57. One of the versions of the story based upon the Brihatkatha is found narrated in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara and it seems to be the Brihatkatha version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of

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1. (*a*) To Kālidasa—

विफलमेव दुष्यन्तस्य कृते दुर्वाससश्शापमनुबभूव शकुन्तला ।

Rhetoricians like Kuntalaka assert that Kālidasa introduced the curse of Durvāsas into the story of Śakuntalā.

(*b*) to Bhāravi—

ताळफलरस इवापातमधुरः परिणामे विरसः ।

Compare

" शरदम्बुधराभाया गत्वयो यौवनश्रियः । आपातरम्या विषयाः पर्यन्तपरितापिनः ॥"

(Kirāṭārjunīya, xi-12).

(*c*) to Bāṇa—

अनवरतदह्यमानकालागरुधूपपरिमळोद्गारेषु ।

is found in Kādambari.

(*d*) to Udyoṭakāra—

न्यायविद्यामिवोद्द्योतकारस्वरूपाम् ।

(*e*) to Jaimini—

जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव तथागतध्वंसिनः ।

This refers particularly to Kumārila.

(*f*) to Bhavabhuti.

प्रियतमे मागच्छ मागच्छेति दिक्षु विदिक्षु च विलिखितामिव, उत्कीर्णामिव चक्षुषि, निखातामिव हृदये, प्रियतमां जुहाव ... ... हृदये विलिखितमिव उत्कीर्णमिव प्रत्युसमिव निगाळितमिव वज्रशारघटितमिव ।

Cf. Mālatimādhāva (V-10) लीनेव प्रतिबिम्बितेव etc., quoted in page 469 *supra*.

the world and to the dictates of political science. Chandamahasena, the king of Avanti made a large artificial elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of the Vatsas. After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindjya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant. As expected, Udayana came alone to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahasena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadatta. Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant-forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants. It is also opposed to the dictates of political science, inasmuch as no king like Udayana, ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon such a risky adventure as he is said to have done. Subandhu's version of the story Vasavadatta is not liable to such charges. If that work had existed in Bhamaha's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection. As Subandhu refers to Vikramaditya (i.e. Chandragupta Vikramaditya) in whose court Kalidasa, also said to have been a poet, it follows that the capital of Chandragupta Vikramaditya was a haven of poets and scholars like Kalidasa, Bhamaha, Subandhu and others and that each poet or scholar was familiar with the literary productions of others living in the place. Accordingly Bhamaha may be presumed to have been earlier than Subandhu and a little later than Kalidasa, as he refers to Kalidasa and not to Bhamaha."[1]

475. **Narakanthirava Sastri** of Kāśyapagoṭra and of Vatti-palli family was a professor in the Sanskrit College, Tirupati about 1900 A.D. Many of his poems are said to be locked up at Kalahasti. Besides stotras on Śrī Venkateśa and Gnānaprasūnāmbikā, which have been printed, his summary of the story Abhinava-Vasavadatta in āryā metre is a running narration.[2]

476. **Anandadhara's Madhavanalakatha** relates the story that Vikramāḍiṭya regaled himself in an enigmatic conversation between his friend Māhavānala and Kāmakanḍalā, a damsel of his Court, and when the latter was overcome, she was given away to the victor. The

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927), 25.

2. His pupil B. Sesha Sastri has written lyrical poetry, and lives at Tirupati.

prose is interspersed with occasional poetry. It appears to be older than the 10th century A.D.[1]

477. **Dhanapala** was son of Sarvaḍeva and brother of Śobhana[2] of Kāśyapagoṭra. Alienated from his family on some domestic differences, he gave up his home and rambled through the Universities of India. In a few years he grew well-versed in literature and arts, and when he returned he was received by his brother with remorse and affection. He calls himself son of Goddess of Learning. He seems to have been a convert to Jainism with all his family. He was a contemporary of of Halāyuḍha,[3] Paḍmagupṭa, Ḍhananjaya and Ḍevabhaḍra[4] and at the durbar of kings Sīyaka and Vākpaṭi of Ḍhāra was hailed as the foremost of the learned of his day.

He composed his romance of TILAKAMANJARI[7] to please his royal patron, who though versed in all art and literature was anxious to have an idea of the stories of the Jaina theology. This long romance was being handed over part by part to the king and once when yet it

1. *CC*, II. 104; *CAL*, B. 133; *IOC*, VII. 1558; *SKC*, 81, Tr. of 9th oriental confece, I. 430. There are plays of the name of Māḍhavānalā (*CC*, I. 118), by (i) Ānanḍaḍhara (ii) Kavīśvara (*CC*, I. 450; *PR*, I. 118; V. 428) and a Madhāvānala-Kāmakanḍalā-kathā (*PR*, V. 429, *CC*, III. 97).

2. Śobhana was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Dhanapāla into his faith after prolonged efforts. He was known as Śobhanamuni. He lived in the Court of Dhāra in the 10th century. His sṭuṭi also called Caṭurvimsāṭikā consists of 4 groups of verses, the first in praise of 24 Ṭirṭhankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinas, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities. The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each agree to the letter in sound, but bear different meanings. Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it. Translated and edited by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XXXII. 509). On the com. see Buhler, *Sb. Akad. Wien*, (1882), 570-2. See *PR*, I. 69, *app*. 101, III. *app*. 22, iv. 121. Weber, *ISt*, II. 944. Śānṭisuri's Prabhāvakacariṭa, xvii, 314.

3. On Dhanapāla genereally, see *PR*, III. Ap. 91, 138; IV, lxi; Weber, *ISt*, II, 1117. Buhler, *Sb*. (1882), 568-72; Hall's Int. to Daśārupa (Col. Un. series, xxiv-v; Bhāvaḍaṭṭa's Int. to Ṭilakamanjari,

4. Dhanapāla, the author of Bhavisayaṭṭakaha is different from this author. He was a member of the Dhakkada Bomia family of Dhanasiri. See Int. to Bhavisayaṭṭakaha (*Ed. GOS*, Baroda, by C.D. Dalal and P.D. Gune).

M. Duff (*Chronology*) says he was a protige of kings Munja and Bhoja. See also *IA*, II. 166 and IV. 59, and Paiyalacchi, 277. Meruṭunga in Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi. (Ed. Calcutta), 52-62, mentions Dhanapāla and Śobhana as at the court of king Bhojai Buhler calls this wrong (*Rep*. IV. 73-75).

5. Author of Kavirahasya.

6. Author of Kaṭhāraṭnakośa, see *PR*, III. App. 91.

7. Ed. Bombay.

was incomplete the king fell out and ordered the manuscripts to be burnt away. Ḍhanapāla was inconsolable, but his young daughter Ṭilakamanjarī had without his knowledge committed to memory every line of the story and she accosted him with a smile and could transcribe the work by her recitation: and the beloved father gave her name to his work.[1]

Ṭilakamanjarī is an elaborate tale. It describes the love and union of Ṭilakamanjarī and Samaraketụ, and is a regular image of Kāḍambari and every occasion of note in Kāḍambari finds a parallel here. Easy in expression and full of imajination, Ḍhanapâla was a successful follower of Bāṇa. The prefatory verses are laudatory of great poets[2] and the Paramāra kings, and among these are Bâna, Bhavabhūṭī, Rājaśekhara, Ruḍra, Mahenḍra, Karḍamarâja. There is a fine epitome of it by R. V. Kṛṣṇamâcārya.[3]

His other works are in Prakrit. Ṛṣabhapancāśikā,[4] a collection of 50 verses in honour of Ṛṣabha, the first prophet of the Jains, Paiya-lacchi Nāmamāla,[5] which was completed in Samvat 1029 (A.D. 972-3), a Prakrit vocabulary and Pancamīkahâ.

478. Soddhala was the son of Soora, grandson of Sollapeya and great-grandson of Canḍrapaṭi. He belonged to Valabha branch of the Kāyasṭha Kṣaṭriya caste, of which Kâlâḍiṭya, brother of Śīlāḍiṭya, was the founder. He lost his father when yet a child and was brought up by his maternal uncle Gangāḍhara. He studied under Canḍra, and

1. See Meruṭunga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi, *PR*, IV. lxii,
2. The following reverses are interesting.

प्रसन्नगम्भीरपथा रथाङ्गमिथुनाश्रया । पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा ॥
केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् बाणः करोति विमदान् कवीन् । किं पुनः क्लृप्तसंधानपुलिन्दकृतसंनिधिः ॥
निरोद्धुं पार्यते केन समरादित्यजन्मनः । प्रशमस्य वशीभूतं समरादित्यजन्मनः ॥
भद्रकीर्तेर्भ्रमत्याशाः कीर्तिस्तारागणाध्वनः । प्रभा ताराधिपस्येव श्वेताम्बरशिरोमणेः ॥
सूरिर्महेन्द्र एवैकः वैबुधाराधितक्रमः । यस्यामर्त्योचितप्रौढिकविविस्मयकृद्वचः ॥
समबान्धकविध्वंसी रुद्रः कैर्नाभिनन्ध्यते । सुश्लिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी ॥
सन्तु कर्दमराजस्य कथं हृद्या न सूक्तयः । कविस्त्रैलोक्यसुन्दर्याः यस्य प्रज्ञानिधिः पिता ॥

These last two verses show that Karḍamarāja was the son of Ruḍra who wrote the romance Ṭrailokyasunḍari.

3. *Sah.* XIII.
4. Ed. by Klatt (*ZDMG*, XXXIII. 445); *PR*, I. Ap. 85, 92, III. Ap. 28.
5. Ed. by Buhler (*BB*. IV. 70-166). It was written as Dhanapāla says to please his sister Sunḍari 'who was walking in the blameless way.'

then went to the Court of Sṭāṇaka (Thana), the capital of Konkhaṇa. He was patronised by three royal brothers Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuni Rāja who succeeded each other on the throne. Chitta and his brother lived in the 11th century A. D.[1] He was also honoured at the Court of Vaṭsarāja, the Calukya King of Lāta. His Uḍayasundarī-Kaṭhā was probably composed between 1026 and 1080 A.D. during the reign of Vaṭsarāja.[2] It seems that Vaṭsarāja once taunted Soddhala that the composition of stray verses was of no merit and the real joy was in the making of a poem, 'a garland of precious pearls.'[3] Soddhala took the hint and in a few days composed his Kaṭhā. He glories in his Kṣaṭriya descent and calls himself equal to Bāṇa and Vālmīki. His ideas, fancies and expressions, all admirable, rank him foremost among the writers of romances in Sanskrit literature.[4]

UDAYASUNDARIKATHA is a tale in 8 Uchvasas and describes the events that led to the marriage of Uḍayasunḍarī, daughter of Śikhanḍaṭila, king of the Nāgaloka and Malayavāhana, king of Praṭisṭhāna. In the first chapter the poet describes his own geneology and the greatness of his race, and the occasion for his composition; and the story begins in the second chapter.

479. Vadibhasimha was an ascetic of the Ḍigambara Jaina sect, pupil of the Sage Puṣpasena. His real name was Odeyaḍeva. "He puts down his interlocutory antagonists as the lion does the elephant and so was he Vadibhasimha." His tutor is the sole object of worship to him, "whose greatness transforms fools into geniuses." He lived in the southern Districts of the Madras Presidency, where some of the Tinnevelly sects have such appellations.

In his GADYACINTAMANI, a narrative in 11 lambhas he describes the life of King Saṭyaḍhara and his son Jivanḍhara, culminating in the latter seeking peace in asceticism. Based on the Guṇabhadra's Uṭṭarapurāṇa the plot runs in easy language, in close imitation of the situations and descriptions of Kāḍambarī. The ethical import is all-supreme, that "vice ever faileth." His Kṣṭracudāmaṇi is a poem in

1. See for their inscriptions dated 1026 A.D. and 1060 A.D.; *IA*, V. 277 and *JBBAS*, XII. 329. See also *IA*, IX. 33.

2. Vaṭsarāja propably died before 1050 A.D. because his son Ṭrilocanapāla made a gift in 1050 A D. as king (*IA*. XII. 196).

3. एकैकशः प्रकीर्णैः मुक्तामणिभिः किमेभिरेभिस्तु ।
यस्सृजति हन्त हारं तस्यान्यः कोऽपि परिभोगः ॥

4. Ed. *GOS*. Baroda, with a valuable introduction.

11 chapters on the life of Jīvandhara and is in most places a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil work Jīvakacintāmaṇi.[1]

The similarity of thought and expression between two sets of general advice addressed to the royal princes in Gadyacintāmaṇi and Kādambari and the close resemblances in the construction of their narratives furnish a test for the date of Vādībhasimha. On hearing the false news of Bhoja's death, Kālidasā is traditionally known to have exclaimed अद्य धारा निराधारा निरालम्बा सरस्वती ; these words were repeated in the talk of the mob, on the untimely demise of the king Saṭyandhara caused by the treacherous policy of minister Kāṣṭhāṅgāra. King Bhoja flourished in the 11th century A. D. and Vadībhasimha who must have therefore come after him may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.[2]

480. Vidyacakravartin's Gadyakarnamrita "deals with the 90 days' battle of Śrīrangam between Narasimha II. son of Tribhuvanamalla Vīraballāla of the Hoysāla dynasty and the combined armies of the Pāndyas, the Magadhas and the Kādavas (Pallavas) about a few years before Vīrasomeśvara's marriage and accession to the throne in 1234 A.D. Kailāsa the abode of Śiva is the scene of the narration and Vyāsa reads the work before Śiva and his followers in Kailāsa." True to its name, it is an ambrosial solace to the hearers.[3]

"The poet traces the cause of the war between the Pandya and the Hoysala kings to a mythical feud between Parasurama, Siva's disciple, and Skanda, Siva's son, who, owing to their mutual curse to be born as human beings, were born on the earth, one as the Pandya King and the other as Hoysala Narasimha II and entered into a terrible war with each other. The real cause of the war seems to be the rivalry between the Pandya King and Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajarajadevachola in alliance with Narasimha II of the Hoysalas. Just when Narasimha was about to celebrate the marriage of Somesvara, his son by his first wife Kalavati, who died about three years after his birth, Rajarajachola's territory was invaded by the combined army of the Pandyas, the Magadhas, and the Kadavas. Before Narasimha could send his army to help Rajaraja against the combined army, Rajaraja was taken prisoner by the Kadava King and imprisoned in the fortress of Jayantamangala. On hearing the news, Narasimha made

1. Ed. Madras; *TC*, II. 1642.
2. Ed. Madras by T S. Kuppusami Sastri with an introduction.
3. *Mys.* 261.

a hurried march to Jayantamangala and defeating and slaying the Kadava king (called Nijahu ?) released Rajaraja. Then marching with his army to Srirangam, he engaged the combined army in battle for 90 days at Srirangam, and routed it out. Thenceforward the Pandyas became tributary vassals to the Kuntalesvaras, i.e. the Hoysalas.

The portion of the manuscript in which the genealogy of the bride is given is wanting in the Library copy. All that can be made out from what is contained in the manuscript is that Nandideva and Kshemaraja, sons of Vallabha king of Guzrat, were driven out of their kingdom on account of their wickedness, that while Nandi married a princess of Paramara dynasty, Kshemaraja married Surapala's daughter and that both lived under his protection. When on the death of Surapala Guzrat fell into the hands of enemies, Nandideva migrated to Kanchi and lived there. The manuscript abruptly ends here. It may, however, be safely conjectured that the bride selected for Somadeva was a descendant of the family of Nandideva of Guzrat. The information thus supplied by the manuscript regarding the fall of the Pandyas and the revival of the Cholas corroborates that recorded in the inscriptions of the Hoysalas. No inscription of the Hoysalas fails to mention the part played by the kings of this line in putting down the Pandyas and rendering the power of the Cholas firm."[1]

481. Agastya's Krsnacarita relates the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as narrated in Bhāgavaṭa. Agasṭya's identity with Viḍyānāṭha has been noticed along with his other works. Agasṭya's prose is not less enchanting than his poetry. So it is said at the end of a manuscript:[2]

अनादृत्य श्लाघ्यान् भुवि कविनिबन्धानिव ततिं
कृतौ वैयासिक्यां रचयितुरगस्त्यस्य विदुषः ।
वसन्ती वाग्देवी कृतिनिरसनाभ्रे वितनुते
निपर्यङ्कं पङ्केरुहि महति शङ्के विहरणम् ॥

Agasṭya lived in the court of king Prabāparuḍraḍeva of Warangal who ruled in 1294-1325 A.D.[3]

482. Vamana's ambition was to emulate Bāṇa of Kāḍambarī fame in the field of romance and, as he says, his resolve was to remove the deep-rooted ill fame that after Bāṇa there was no poet capable

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1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1934), 13. On the author, see para 100 supra and the Journal *Tirupati Sri Venkatesvara*, I.
2. *Tanj*, VII. 2994.
3. See para 126 *supra*.

of fine writing in prose.[1] Bāṇa was of the Vatsagoṭra and in that same goṭra, Vāmana was born. He thought he had a quasi-hereditary claim to gain a name in the same field, he was Bāṇa incarnate and called himself Abhinava Bāṇa. Bāṇa glorified his patron Harṣa and this suggested to Vāmana the theme, that is, the life of his patron, Vemabhūpāla, known also as Vīranārāyaṇa. Thus came VIRANARAYANACARITA or VEMABHUPALACARITA.[2]

Vemabhupala or Vīranārāyaṇa was the Reddi King of Addanki. He ruled in 1403-1420 A.D. at Kondavidu. From the progenitor of the dynasty the descent is traced and the genealogy begins from King Prolla. The adventures of this King led to his romantic marriage with princess Ananṭa, daughter of King Vikramasimha in Ḍakṣiṇāpaṭha. Among five sons born of this union was Māca. Māca had three sons of whom Pedakomatīndra was the eldest. By the grace of the gods, he had a son Vemabhūpa and he is the hero of this romance. Then follow the expeditions of Vema in all quarters with descriptions of situations full of poetic effusions in language at once melodious and expressive.[3]

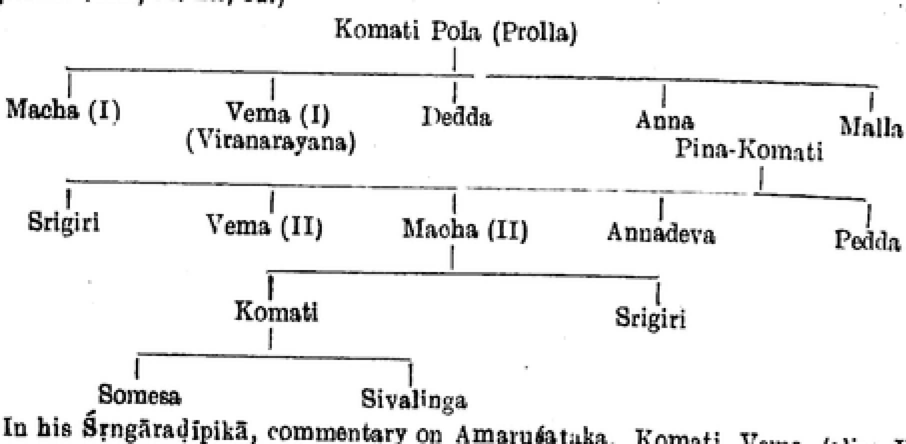
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1. बाणकवीन्द्रादन्ये काणाः खलु सरसगद्यसरणीषु ।
इति जगति रूढयशसो वत्सकुलो वामनोऽधुना मार्ष्टि ॥

2. See para 128 *supra*.

3. Ed. Srirangam. *DC*, XXI. 8334. For an epitome in Sanskrit by R. V. Kṛṣṇamāchārya, see *Sahridaya*, XVII; for a critique by Rāmalingasarma, see *Ibid*, XIX. 170.

The genealogy given by Vāmana differs slightly from that given by Śivalingabhupāla, a scion of this house, in his commentary on Haradaṭṭacārya's Giriśastuṭisukṭimāla (*HR*, II. xii, 91.)



In his Śṛngāradīpikā, commentary on Amaruśaṭaka, Komati Vema (alias Vīranārāyaṇa) says King Vema, built steps to Śrīśaila temple and his eldest brother Māca (I) had three sons Reddipola, Komatīndra and Nāga (*HR*, X. 68, 84-5). *SR*, II. 198-4. On Vema's (Annavema's) inscription, see *EI*, III. No. 10 and No. 39.

सर्वोत्कर्षेण वर्तमानः साक्षाल्लक्ष्मीसमुच्चारितजयशब्दः विश्वविश्वम्भरापालमौळिमालामकरन्दसुरभितचरणारविन्दो जयति विश्वाधिकविभवो वेमभूपालः ॥

To one who has studied Kādambarī or Harṣacarita, it may seem that Vāmana's performance is not original. That is not Vamana's fault, for in the province of prose Bāṇa had probably exhausted all feats of poetic art and expression. There is much that is exquisite and appreciable in Vāmana's work and if it was imitation, it was an imitation by one who was great enough to do it.

483. **Devavijayagani** was pupil of Rājavijayasūri of Tapāgaccha. His RAMACARITA in prose was written at Śrīmālapura in Marusthalī or Marved in the year 1652 Samvat (1596 A.D.) in the reign of Akbar. In the composition of his work he followed Hemacandra's Rāmāyaṇa and "he wrote it in prose, though there was a Ramacaritra in verse in the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit, to divert himself and also to put an end to his karman."

484. **Srisaila Diksita or Tirumalacarya** was the son of Bhāṣyakāra-ācārya and Ṭiruvengadamma. He was born in May 1809 at Chinnampattu in Chingleput District. He belonged to the Saptagotra sect of Sri Vaiṣṇava brahmins of Ṭirumaliśai and their home is traced to Tirukandiyur in Tanjore District. His father died when he was a few months old and his mother's father brought him up as his child. He studied at Triplicane and became proficient in literature and philosophy. His exposition of Śribhāṣya earned for him the appellation Śribhāṣyam Ṭirumalācārya. In his 24th year was born his only son Bhāṣyakārācārya. He was tutor to the Kola brothers of Madras, Kṛṣṇama Naidu and Vijayarangam Naidu, and along with them he settled at Bangalore. There he started a Canarese Journal, Karnātakāprakāśika under the patronage of Maharaja Krsnaraja Wodeyar. He flourished admidst a throng of admiring friends and passed away on 23rd February 1877. He was a great musician and set to lyre the verses of Amaruśaṭaka. He was an admirer of Bāṇa and his ardent devotion to literary prose brought him the name Kāḍambarī-Ṭirumalācārya. He was also good at poetry and among his minor poems are Hanumannakṣatramālā, Vīrānjaneyāṣṭaka and Gopālāryā. Among his minor prose works are Bhrāṭivilāsa, an adaptation of Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, and Kāverīgadya, a description of his pilgrimage to Ṭalakāverī in Coorg.

By far the monument of his glory is ŚRIKRSNABHYUDAYA.[1] In exquisite prose, he narrates in two parts the whole story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, of whom he was a devotee, and his inimitable manner of expression, rendered resplendent by the solemnity of the theme, can scarcely be surpassed in literature. Like many poets who as votaries of Kṛṣṇa wrote about him, his prose seems inspired and by its merit will make up for the scantity of the volume of Sanskrit prose literature.

485. Timmakavi was the son of Jaggakavi of Kucimanci family and of Kaundinyagoṭra and lived at Candrampālayam near Pittāpur. His son Venkatrāyudu died about 60 years ago. He attained his skill in composition by the grace of Kukkuteśwara (near Pitapur) and was profiicient in all the Sastras. His SUJANAMANAH-KUMUDACANDRIKA is a Sanskrit rendering of a Telugu work Rasika-janamanobhirāma written by his great-grand-father Timmakavi. The story is related by Inḍra to Mahābhāga of Kerala in which Karālavakṭra, a king of Kerala, falls in love with a girl in the course of a hunting expedition and marries her, while attempting to pursue a parrot, which she liked to have, into a Siva's temple, he fell down and died muttering the name of Śankara and thereby obtained salvation.[2]

486. Ahobila Nrisimha was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇāḍhwarin and grandson of Nāyanasūri of Kāśyapagoṭra a brahmin of Telugu Veginati Sect. His was a family of poets patronised for seven generations by the kings of Mysore. He was in the Court of King Kṛṣṇarāja Odeyar III (born 1795 A.D.) of Mysore. Taunted by one Nārāyaṇa-pandiṭa with ignorance of Sanskrit poetry, he vowed to produce a work equal to Kāḍambarī which Nārāyaṇa happened at the moment to be teaching his pupils and wrote his Abhinava-Kāḍambarī or Ṭrimūrṭi-kalyāṇa. In two parts it relates the adventures of his patron Kṛṣṇa Rāja and is interspersed with verses. The name Abhinava-Kaḍambari has no meaning except that the poet expected to vie with Bāṇa in his composition.[3]

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1. The Purvabhāga has been editted in *Sahṛḍaya*, XIII and XIX with an introduction where his letters are also printed. The manuscript of the second part is with Mr. B. Ramacarya, 45, Hospital Road, Bangalore to whom the reader is referred for more details on the author's life.

2. *TC.* II. 2274. In Veeresalingam's Telugu Poets there is a confusion between the two Timma Kavis. B. Ramasomayajulu (*Bharati* II. 17, 25) places him in the beginning of 17th Century A.D.

3. *Mys.* 263. See para 287 supra.

487. **Appasastrin** was born at Rasivade in Kolhapur in a family of learned Brahmins. Early in his life he completed his studies. His first writings were contributions to the Sanskrit Journal Sanskṛta-candrikā of which he later become the editor. Along with it he conducted the paper Sūnṛtavādin on general topics, in which he demonstrated the capacity of Sanskrit being a general Vernacular. He bore the titles Vidyāvācaspati and Vidyālankāra. He passed away in his 40th year in 1913 A.D. He wrote easy commentaries on some plays.[1]

His LAVANYAMAYI is a Sanskrit adaptation of Bankim Chandras' Bengali romance of that name.[2]

488. **Krsnamacarya R.** (M.A.) was the son of Paravastu Rangācārya of Śrīvatsagotra. He lived in 1869-1924. He was superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Madras. His critiques on Kālidasa's poems are unique and well-known. His Sanskrit prose is enchanting and his writings abound in his Sanskrit Journal, Sahṛdayā. Among his minor prose pieces are Pātivratya, Pāṇigrahaṇa and Varuruci. His *Susīlā* is a romance inculcating social morals on the standards of Hindu ethics.

489. **Anantacharya** is a lineal descendant of Mudambi Nambi, one of the seven spiritual successors of Rāmānuja. He was born in 1874 in the house of Prativadibhayankara of Kāncī. He is learned in all the Sastras and his disciples are all over India; for their ministration he tours round India, lecturing on Vaiṣṇava philosophy ann theology on which he has written a number of works. He is the editor of a series of works on Nyāya and Vedānta and a literary journal, Manjubhāṣiṇī.[3] His Valmīkibhāvadīpa[4] is an exposition in verse of the real spiritual meaning of Rāmāyaṇa with a gloss of his own added to it. His SAMSARACAKRA is a Sanskrit rendering in easy prose of a Hindi novel of Jagannāthaprasāda.[5]

490. **Krsnamacarya (R. V.)** is the son of Venkateśa of Śrīvatsagotra. He was born about 1874 and is was the chief Sanskrit Pandit in the Government College, Kumbakonam. At a very early age, he became proficient in all the śāstras and Vyākaraṇa is his special

1. For a short account of his life see *Sahridaya*, XVIII. 274.
2. Ed. Bombay and Madras.
3. He lived in 1362-1454 A.D.
4. For further information about him, see his of tours is not from time to time from Kanchi.
5. Ed. Conjeevaram. See page *supra*.

study. His discourses in Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam have been highly appreciated and in one of the assemblies of Cochin he was awarded the Maharaja's medal and a title Paṇḍitarāja. Above all the agility of his prose is unique and by appliying it to critical and historical essays, he has demonstrated that the Sanskrit language is capable of expressing modern ideas with as much ease, as did the glossators in their controversial philosophical literature. Trained in an atmosphere of inquiry and research, he has enriched literary history by his tracts on the authorship of Pārvatīpariṇaya, and Priyadarśikā, on Vāmana's Kavyālankārasūtravṛtti, on Vāsavadattā and on Meghasandeśa, prefixed as introduction to the Vani Vilas editions of these works. His abridgments of Kādambarī, Harṣacarita, and Vemabhūpālacarita have made these romances accessible to the indolent adult and the unlearned youth. Besides several works on grammar and logic he prepared anthologīes Mahākavisubhāṣita, Subhāsitaśataka, Bhartṛhari-subhāsita-sangraha, and composed the rhetorical works, Prastutānkuravimarśa and Triluptakautuka and glosses on Vṛttivārtika and Citramīmāmsa and the minor poems, Vāṇīvilāpa, Anyapadeśa, Kalāpivilāpa, Vāya-savaisasa, Śrī-Deśika-trimsat, Dharmarājavimśati, and Bhāratagīta (ode to India) and Cakravarticatvārimśat (India's coronation song). He wrote commentaries on Vāsavadattā, Priyadarsikā, Acyutaroyābhyudaya, Vemabhūpālacarita, Kirātārjunīya, and Gadyatraya. Of these, his commentary on Vāsavadatta has evoked much praise and it was described as "an earnest attempt to bring out what Subandhu might have really meant and to minimise the necessity for resorting to forced interpretation." Sāhityaratnamanjūṣa is a treasury of chosen quotations from various writers on the lines of Bartlett's 'Familiar quotations from English Writers.'

491. **Rajagopala** Cakravartin (of Ketāndipatti) was born in 1882. His father Cakravarti Gītācārya[1] was a professor of Mimāmsa in Sanskrit College, Mysore. Rājagopāla inherited the poetic instinct and early in life he visited the courts of several Indian States and was honoured by them with titles and presents.[2] In 1922 he became the head of the Department of Sanskrit Literature in the Central College, Bangalore, the chief institution of the Mysore University. By the romances of SAIVALINI[3] and KUMUDINI, semi-original in plot,

1. Among his works are Kṛṣṇrājodayacampu.

2. Among his titles are Saralakavisuri, Kāvyaviśārada, Vidyābhuṣaṇa, Vidyāvācaspati, Mahāvidvān, Gnāṇaguṇākara.

3. Printed, Mysore.

partly based on vernacular tales, h:s name is well-known. These are also his works in prose, Vilāsakumārī and Sangara, and in verse Tripod (on the Oracle of Delphi), Paḍyaharṣacarita, Gangāṭaranga, Maḍhukaraḍūta and Viyogivilāpa; and Tirṭhātanam is a poem in 4 chapter's describing his pilgrimage through India. His Kavikāvya-vicāra is an original work combining literary history and poetic criticism and incorporates the results of latest historical research. He passed away in October 1934.

492. **Kalyanarama Sastri** (P.K.) is the son of Subbalakṣmī and Parithiyur Kṛṣṇa Sastri, the famous scholiast of Rāmāyaṇa of South India. He is a retired officer the Registratiou department in Madras, and now lives at Tanjore. He inherited his father's talents and among his works a romance KANAKALATA,[1] an adaptation of Shakes-peare's Lucrece, is a specimen of simple but eloquent expression.

Parithiyur Kṛṣṇa Śāsṭrin, his father, was the second son of Rāma-svāmi Śāsṭrin. He was born in 1842 at Kadagambadi, Tanjore District. His father and grandfather held high offices in the Tanjore State and were well known for their piety and learning. He studied under Vyḍyānāṭha Ḍīksiṭa of Sengalipuram. Learned in all the sastras, he was particularly good in poetic literature. His exposition of Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas was exquisite and he was accorded the highest appreci-ation. He passed away in 1911. His Rasaniṣyanḍinī, a commentary on select passages of Rāmāyaṇa, has preserved for us a glimpse of his exposition. His KAUMUDISOMAM, a play[2] themed on love, reflects Rāmāyaṇa in its grandeur. His Mīnakṣīśaṭaka Mālinīśaṭaka, Hanumaṭ-śaṭaka and Lakṣminṛsimhaśaṭaka are poems of devotion and Kalivilāsa-maṇiḍarpaṇa is satirical.

493. **Kapisthalam Krsnamacarya (B. A)** was the son of Rangācārya of Kauśikagoṭra of Tirupati. His father's brother Kapis-thalam Deśika Acārya is an authority on dialetics and philosophy. Kṛṣṇamācārya was born in 1883 and among in 1934 poetic instricts manifested themselves at a very early age. Besides critical essays on various topics of Sanskrit Literature, which have been noticed in rele-vent contexts, he wrote the poem Vilāpaṭarangiṇī and a bhāṇa Rasarnāvaṭarangiṇī. His romance MANDARAVATI is a loveable com-position. Modelled on the design of the well-known romances, it has

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1. Printed partly in Sahṛḍaya and partly in Tanjore.
2. Printed, Madras.

an originality of narration and description and a graceful blend of classical and modern imagery. He passed away in 1933.

His father Rangācārya was a great rhetorician. He lived 1856-1918. His Alankārasangraha is a lucid exposition of the principles of poetics, and among his poems are Subhāsitaśataka, Sṛngāranayikātilaka and Pādukāsahasrāvatārakathāsangrakha. On Godā he wrote a Cūrṇikā and like Bhajagovinda, his Rahasyatrayasārāratnāvali and Sanmatikalpalatā is philosophical.[1]

494. Jaggu Alwar Aiyangar known otherwise as Kavivara Jaggu Sri Vakulabhūṣaṇa belongs to the family of "Bala Dhanvi" (Komandur Elayavalli) of Melkote, Mysore. He is the son of Tirumārāyana. Alwar is a living poet of high order. His JAYANTIKA is a romance like Kādambarī of exquisite beauty written when he was 20. Of his two dramas as Syamantaka and Adbhutāmśuka, the latter is almost an introduction to Veṇīsambāra. Among his minor poems are Karuṇārasatarangiṇī and Hayagrīvastuti.

His brother **Singraiyengar** wrote Śrikrṣṇarājacampū, Yaduśailacampū, Kṛṣṇakathārahasya, Citrākūtodanta (Yamaka). His uncle Venkatācārya born in 1873 wrote poems Granthijvaracarita, Rāmānujamatābhasavilāsa, Kaverīmahimādarsā or Śrīkṛṣṇarājasetubandhana (on Kannambadi dam), Yādavagirimāhātmyasangraha, Vyāghratatākabhūvivaravarṇana (on Hulikeri Tunnel works), Kākānyoktimālā, Campakānyoktimālā, Kastūrikānyoktimālā and some stotras. His Divyasūrivaibhava is in prose. His grandfather Śingrācārya lived in 1831-1885 and wrote Sampatkumārastotra, Kalyāṇīpancaka and Vṛttamuktasāravalī.

495. Rajamma was born at Bangalore in 1877. She is fifth in descent from Pradhāni Gopālayya, minister of Tippu Sultan of Mysore. Her parents were Gangādharayya and Rāmālakṣmī. She married A. Sambasiva Ayyar, a lawyer of Mysore. She is the Sanskrit Pandit in Lady Willingdon Training College, Madras. Her CANDRAMAULI is a novel on modern lines depicting social life and evils.[2]

496. Narayana Sastri Khiste, Sāhityācārya, is the son of Bhairavanāyaka. He is the librarian of Saraswati-Bhavan at Kasi. He wrote the lives of five great scholars, VIDVATCARITAPANCAKA in simple and elegant prose, interspersed with verses which make a

1. He wrote an exposition on इयं सीता verse of Rāmāyaṇa
1. Printed, Madras.

pleasant reading of imaginative poetry[1] These pieces were composed about 1928.

(i) **Manavalli Gangadhara Sastri C. I. E.** was an Andhra Brahmin and son of Nrisimha Sastri. He was born at Yasaragatta near Bangalore in 1854. Nrisimha settled at Kasi and wrote Kavyatmasamsodhana. Among the learned men under whom Gangadhara studied were Rajarama Sastri and Bala Sastri whose lives he wrote in exquisite verse. He became a professor of Sanskrit in the College at Kasi in 1879. In a great assembly convened to see his Satavadhana, he was asked to complete a *Samasya* :

बभौ मयूरो लघशेषसिंहः

He framed the verse at once, displaying the regular series of Sanskrit consonants and thus illustrated the ductility and pliability of the Sanskrit language.

अनेकवर्णक्रमरीतियुक्तः कखागघाङ्च्छजझा ञटौ ठः ।
अडण्ढणस्थोऽथ दधौ न पम्फुल् बभौ मयूरो लवशेषसिंहः ॥

Here is the commentary.

सपरिकरस्य शिवस्य वाहनेषु कतमो वर्षासु मोदते इत्येवं पृष्टः कोऽप्युत्तरति, अनेकेति ।

अथ निदाघोत्तरम्, अनेकवर्णानां क्रमरीत्या युक्तः पीतनीलादिविविधवर्णविशिष्टः. कखागघाङा कखेन हासेन अनायासेनेति यावत्, अगां कुटिलगामिनां सर्पाणां अघं, भक्षणरूपमञ्चति, पूजयत्याद्रियत इति तादृशः, अच्छं शोभनं जातो यो भूषणरूपः यस्य सोऽच्छजझः, ञानां विराविणां, टं ध्वनिं स्वरत्वमाधुर्येण ठति प्रतिहन्ती तिरस्करोति यस्तथाभूतः, अडण्ढणेऽचपलः लवौ न्यूनौ नानावर्णवत्त्वादिगुणैः शेषसिंहौ यस्मात्तादृक् मयूरोऽपरपक्षिहंसादिवत्, तः क्षीणतां खेदमिति यावत् । नदधौ, प्रत्युत पंफुलसन् प्रमोदातिशयं भजमानौ बभौ ॥

This composition must enchant any reader, as it did that assembly. Later he wrote works on Grammar and a gloss on Rasagangadhara. He became Mahamahopadhyaya in 1887 at Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, and a C. I. E. at King Edward's Coronation. He passed away in 1914.

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1. Sar. Bhar. Series (No. 27), Benares.
For instance :

विद्वत्कुलप्रसवभूमिरितिप्रसिद्धा कैलासतः प्रियतरा शिवराजधानी ।
यस्याः पदाब्जनिकटे विलुठत्यजस्रं मन्दाकिनी शिवशिरोवरवैजयन्ती ॥
राकाशशाङ्कहिमकुन्दमृणाळनाळकैलासकाशसदृशी जनिताऽन्यकीर्तिः ।
व्याप्याखिलामपि धरामनवाप्तपारां वाग्देवताश्रवणपूरपदं जगाहे ॥

(ii) **Damodara Sastri** was born in the village Ārohaṇa near Kāśī in 1848 A.D. He was the son of Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstri of Bhāradvājagotra In 1879 he became professor of Vyākaraṇa in Benares Sanskrit College and a Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1899. He passed away in 1909.

(iii) **Kailasacandra** was born in 1830 in Rāḍhīya family of Bhāradvājagotra in the village of Ḍhāṭrī in Bengal. He was the son of Ghanaśyāma and Ādaramaṇi. He became professor of Nyāya in Benares Sanskrit College in 1869 and became Mahāmahopādhyāya. He was known generally as Mahāśaya. He passed away in 1908.

(iv) **Sivakumara Sastri** was born at Undi near Kāśī in 1848 A.D. He was the son of Rāmasevakamiśra and Maṭirāṇī. Lakṣmīśvaradeva, the Chief of Ḍvāravanga was his patron. The story of the House of Lakṣmīśvara from the days of its founder Maheśa Ṭakkura was described by Śivakumāra in his poem Lakṣmisvarapratāpa. So was the life of the great Yogin Bhāskarānanda in his poem Yatīndrajīvanacarita. He bore many titles, such as Vidyāmārtānda Panditarāja. He passed away in 1919.

(v) **Ramakrishna Sastri,** known as Ṭāṭya Śāstri, was born in 1846 A.D. at Naghur. He was the son of Mahādeva of Pattavardhana. He lost his parents when yet very young and he was brought up by his uncle Nageswara Bhatta and educated at Kāśī. He was for some time in the Sanskrit College of Lakṣmīśvaradeva and latterly professor in Benares Sanskrit College. He became Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1909. He wrote works on Grammar and passed away in 1916.

497. Sesasayee was a Sanskrit Pandit of Trivadi College and Madura College and died in 1932 at Kumbakonam. He wrote the story Aṣṭāvakrīyam in prose.[1]

498. Srisaila Tatacarya or Ṭirumalai Ṭāṭācārya, son of Venkatavarada, lived at Kāñcī 63 years and died in 1925-6. His genius was versatile. Besides the plays of Yugalāngulīya and Vedāntadesikacarita, he wrote Ḍurgeśanandinī and Kṣatriyaramaṇī, translations of Bengali novels.[2]

There is Sanskrit rendering of Indranātha's Bengali story Gauracandra.[3]

1. Printed, Kumbakonam.
2. Printed, *Sah, Vet seq*, XIII.
3. *Jl. of Sam. Sah. Par.*, XV. 380.

499. Haricarana Bhattacarya, Vidyāratna, Kāvya-Vyākaraṇā-tīrtha, was born in March 1879, of a learned Brahmin family of Kanurgaon, Vikrampore in East Bengal. He is Professor of Sanskrit, Metupolitan College Calcutta. His father, Pandit Durgācaraṇa Smṛit-tīrtha, settled in Calcutta in 1910 and has since been residing there with his family. His KAPALAKUNDALA composed in 1918 is a Sanskrit translation of the famous Bengali novel of Bankimcandra. Besides his poems Karṇadhārā and Rūpasunirjhara his rendering of Fitzerald's version of 'Omar-Khaiyam' in Sanskrit verse in 75 stanzas in the Śārdulabikriḍita metre is superb. Haricarana has been graciously serving in the Metropolitan Institution founded by the illustrious Pandit Iswarachandra Vidyasagar.[1]

500. Narasimha (acārya) is son of Mahābala of Kotīśvara in South Canara, a Brahmin of dvaita persuation. He was born in Śubhakṛt (1902-3) and having lost his father in childhood he was bred up and educated by his uncles. He is a Śahityaśiromaṇi of the Madras University and professor in Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore. His novel SAUDAMINI in 8 chapters describes the secret marriage of king Śūrasena of Magadha with Śaudāminī, daughter of king Kāṇapāla of Vidarbha, the loss of his kingdom at the hands of a rival suitor Vijayavarman, the wanderings of the married couple in distress, the unswerving loyalty of the princess to her lover in his woes, and the reconquest and restoration to fortune and pleasure. Among other works of this author, are Bhāratakathā and a Vyāyoga Pratijnā-Bhārgava and an epitome of Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi.[2]

501. Sarvabhauma's Arthasangraha describes the story of Rāmāyaṇa, but the peculiarity of its composition is that the narration is in the form of qualifying adjectives with instrumental endings in relation to Rāma.[3] Mahābhārata-Kathānaka is a prose summary of the story.[4]

Virincīnāthacarita is a long work by Virincināṭha of the Dindima family relating the greatness of the Deity of that name at Virincipuram.[5]

Ravivarmastuti[6] is a eulogy in prose of Mṛtyunjayaswāmi of Tirunāva in Malabar and Ravivarman was probably the well-known

1. Printed Calcutta.
2. Printed, Bangalore.
3. *BTC*, No. 1014.
4. *CC*, III. 95.
5. See *CC*, I. 578.
6. *OML*.

king, who patronised Vāsudeva, the poet. He also wrote a poem Damayantīpariṇaya.

In SAMYOGITASWAYAMWARA in 6 pairs Paraśurāma, surnamed Vaidya, describes the marriage of Samyogitā, daughter of Jayacandra, a Rastraudha King.[1] He also wrote a small prose piece Parihāsācaryā. Varadakānta Vidyāratna wrote Gadyādarsā.[2]

Vijayapurakathā, a brief history of the Muhammadan kings of Bijapur[3] and Vellapurīśagadya, an account of Vellore and its ruler Keśavarāja[4] are in prose. So is Maheśa Thakur's Sarvadeśavṛttāntanta-sangraha, which contains a history of Akbar's reign.[5]

Among short pieces published in Sahṛdayā must be mentioned the story of Othello,[6] Madālaśācarita,[7] Avikrītacarita and Svārociṣacarita,[8] Amśumālīcarita (story of Hamlet),[9] Anuhlādacarita,[10] Moghapādacarita and Pracyutacarita,[11] Śrīkṛṣṇalīlāyita,[12] Atirūpacarita,[13] Rativilāpa,[14] Udayanakathā[15] by Venkatarāmaśarman, Udayanacarita by Anantācārya,[16] and Pṛthvīrājacarita by K. V. Subramanya Sastrin,[17] Vidhivilāsa by Sānkara-Subrahmaṇya Śāstrin,[18] Vijayinī of Paraśuramāśarman[19] Manmathonmathana by Muddu Vittalācārya,[20] and Rajanī by Reṇu Devi.[21]

1. *Sah.*, XIII.
2. Printed Calcutta.
3. *IO*, VII. 1573.
4. *Taylor*, I. 22.
5. *CC*. I. 701 ; *IO*, VII. 1573.
6. III. 55.
7. IV. 35.
8. IV. 110, 148.
9. VI. 37.
10. VI. 67.
11. VII.
12. XIV & XV, by Pandita Śatāvadhāni Śrīnivāsācārya.
13. XIV & XV, by Gopālaśāstrin.
14. XVI. 105, 172.
15. XXII. 326.
16. XXIII, 97.
17. XXIII. 116, XXIV.
18. XXIII, 249.
19. XXIII, XVI. 25.
20. XXII.
21. *Jl. Sam. Sah. Par.* XI.

Menakā by D. T. Ṭāṭācaryasiromaṇi,[1] Paraśurāmacaritra by D. Venkateśvaraśāstrulu[2] are appearing as serials in Udyānapatrikā, Trivadi, Tanjore District.

On the lines of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare, Mahāliṅgaśāstrin has written summaries of Bhāsa's plays and Medepalli Venkataramanacarya, of Shakespeare's plays.[3]

V. P. Tatake's Manoramāmādhavam,[4] Śrīkanthasāstrin's Yāminīvinodakathā,[5] Brahmavidyādhvarin's Pramathacaritra and Tārakabrahmakathā,[6] and Venkāmātya's Śudhājharī[7] are in prose.

The following Jain stories in prose are printed: Kāmaghaṭakathā, Cauryāsīprabandha, Rūpasenacaritra, Bhāvacandrasūri's Amaradattamitrānandacarita and Dhanadattacarita, Devarājagaṇi's Gadyapāndavacarita, Indrahamsagaṇī's Pratyekabuddhacaritra, Hamsagaṇī's Bhuvanabhānucaritra, Jayakīrtisūri's Śrīpālacaritra, Hirālāla's Prādeśinṛpacaritra.

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1. He is Mimamsa professor in Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi.
2. He is Sanskrit Lecturer, High School, Parvatipur.
3. Printed, Madras. On the author, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama *post.*
4. Printed Bombay.
5. He is the brother of Rāmaśāstrin, who wrote Sītārāvaṇasamvādajhari See 1. of Mys. Sanskrit College, II. 244.
6. *Mys.* 638.
7. *Mys.* 263. On the author, see chapter of Sanskrit Drama *post*

CHAPTER XX.

Gadyakavya—(*contd.*)

502. Curnaka etc. Among minor styles of gaḍya or prose are Mukṭaka, Vṛṭṭaganḍhi, Uṭkalikāprāya and Cūrṇakā or Curṇikā. There are defined and illustrated by Viśvanāṭha.

Chanḍomanjarī divides Gaḍya into three classes (i) Vṛṭṭaka (ii) Uṭkalikāprāya and (tii) Vṛṭṭaganḍhi and defines them thus :

अकठोराक्षरं स्वल्पसमासं वृत्तकं मतम् ।
तत्तु वैदर्भरीतिस्थं गद्यं हृद्यतरं भवेत् ॥
भवेदुत्कलिकाप्रायं समासाढ्यं दृढाक्षरम् ।
वृत्तैकदेशसम्बन्धाद्वृत्तगन्धि पुनस्स्मृतम् ॥

and gives the following instances :

(i) स हि त्रयाणामेव जगतां गतिः परमपुरुषोत्तमो दृप्तदानवभरेण भंगुराङ्गीमवनिमवलोक्य करुणार्द्रहृदयस्तस्या भारमवतारयितुं रामकृष्णस्वरूपेणांशतो यदुवंशेऽवततार, यस्तु प्रसङ्गेऽपि स्मृतोऽभ्यर्चितो वा गृहीतनामा पुंसां संसारसागरपारमवलोकयति ।

(ii) प्रणिपातप्रवणसप्रधानाशेषसुरादिवृन्दसौन्दर्यप्रकटाकिरीटकोटिनिविष्टस्पष्टमणिमयूखच्छटाच्छुरितचरणनखचक्रविक्रमोद्दामवामपादाङ्गुष्ठनखशिखरखण्डितब्रह्माण्डविवरनिस्सरच्छरदमृतकरप्रकरभासुरसुरवाहिनीप्रवाहपवित्रीकृतविष्टपत्रितयकैटभारे क्रूरतरसंसारसागरनानाप्रकारावर्तमानविग्रहं मामनुगृहाण ॥

(iii) जय जय जय जनार्दन सुकृतिमनस्तडागविकस्वरचरणपद्म पद्मपत्रनयन पद्मापद्मिनीविनोदराजहंस भास्वरयशःपटलपरिपूरितभुवनकुहर हरकमलासनादिवृन्दारकवृन्दवन्दनीयपादारविन्दद्वन्द्व निर्मुक्तयोगीन्द्रहृदयमन्दिराविष्कृतनिरञ्जनज्योतिःस्वरूप नीरदरूप विश्वरूप अनाथनाथ जगन्नाथ मामनवधिभवदुःखव्याकुलं रक्ष रक्ष रक्ष ॥

503. Dandakas are abnormal poetic compositions beyond the ken of ordinary versification. They read like prose, but the arrangement of the words follow a melodious setting. Vṛṭṭaraṭnākara defines them thus :

यदिह नयुगळं ततः सप्त रेफास्तदा चण्डवृष्टिप्रपातो भवेद्दण्डकः ॥
प्रतिचरणविवृद्धरेफाः स्युरर्णार्णवव्यालजीमूतलीलाकरोद्दामसङ्ख्यादयः ।
प्रचितकसमभिधो धीरधीभिः स्मृतो दण्डको मद्वयादुत्तरैः सप्तभिर्यैः ॥

Nārāyaṇa in his commentany mentions other classes thus :

(i) नयुगलगुरुयुगेवंयकाराः कवीच्छानुरोधात्तदा यत्र वश्यन्त एषोऽपरोदण्डकः पण्डितैरीरितः सिह्मविक्रान्तनामा ॥

(ii) यत्र रेफान् कविस्स्वेच्छया पाठसौभाग्यसापेक्षयारोपयत्येष धीरैस्स्मृतो दण्डको मत्तमातङ्गलीलाकरः ॥

(iii) लघुर्गुरुः क्रमेण यत्र यत्र बध्यते सुधीभिरिच्छया सदण्डकस्त्वनंगशेखरस्स्मृतः ॥

(iv) स्वेच्छया रजौ क्रमेण सन्निवेशयत्युदारधीः कविः सदण्डकस्स्मृतो जयत्यशोकमञ्जरी ॥

(v) सगणः सकलः खलु यत्र भवेत्तमिह प्रवदन्ति बुधाः कुसुमस्तबकम् ॥

(vi) यकारैः कवीच्छानुरोधान्निबद्धैः प्रसिद्धो विशुद्धोऽपरो दण्डकः सिह्मविक्रन्तनामा ॥

एवं मेघमालाकुसुमास्तरणोत्तरकामबाणादयो दण्डकाः षड्विंशत्यक्षराधिकाक्षरपदाः कविप्रयोगानुसारेण ज्ञेयाः ॥

504. Syamala-dandakam is a proso-poetic piece in praise of Sarasvaṭi. Like many works of that species, ḍandakam, the recital of it is melodious. The authorship is attributed to Kālidāsa, but *in* a manuscript of the work discovered by T. S. Kuppusami Sastri of Tanjore PURANTAKA is distinctly named as the author. Purānṭaka was the son of Māḍhava. He was the worshipper in the temple of Mahākāli. When King Bhoja of Ḍhār vanquished the mlecchas who were plundering the treasures of the Śankara Math at Ḍwāraka, he saw this work of Purānṭaka and granted him a hundred agrahārams on the banks of the Narmaḍā and this was in Śāka 923 (1101 A.D.)[1]

1. See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1917-8) 224.

धाराधीशो धराधीशो धारायां धनदोपमः ।
बभार राज्यं भोजाख्यो दानमानैश्च पण्डितान् ॥
म्लेच्छानमोचयद्वीरो द्वारकायां विराजितम् ।
शंकरार्यगुरूणां स्वमोषिणो मतदूषिणः ॥
लोकाक्षिरससंख्याक (९२३) शकाब्दे पूर्णिमातिथौ ।
श्रावणे मासि विप्रेभ्यः कविभ्यो व्यतरन्मुदा ॥

ग्रामान्सोमोद्भवातीरे शतं यो गिरिशप्रियः । सरस्वतीकण्ठभूषां सरसालंकृतिं कृतिं ॥
प्राणयत्कीर्तिकायस्य प्रायच्छत्स्वस्य नित्यतां । जीयतांतद्यशो नित्यमाचन्द्रार्कंभुभूषणं ॥
महादेवद्विजश्शैवो महाकालस्य पूजकः । पुरान्तकस्तस्य पुत्रः पुरारेः कृपयाभवत् ॥
श्यामलायाः प्रसादाद्यः श्यामलादण्डकं व्यधात् । वाग्देवी यस्य वश्याभूद्वाचो वाचस्पतेरिव ॥
तस्मै ग्रामान् शतमदात् * * * * * * ॥

माणिक्यवीणामुपलालयन्तीं मदालसां मञ्जुलवाग्विलासाम् ।
माहेन्द्रनीलोत्पलकोमलाङ्गीं मातङ्गकन्यां मनसा स्मरामि ॥
जय मातङ्गतनये जय नीलोत्पलद्युते ।
जय सङ्गीतरसिके जय लीलाशुकप्रिये ॥

जय जननि सुधासमुद्रान्तरुद्यन्मणिद्वीपसंरूढबिल्वावलीवद्धकल्पद्रुमाकल्पकादम्बकान्तारवासप्रिये कृत्तिवासप्रिये ।

* * * * *

वपुः श्यामलं कोमलं चारुचन्द्रावचूडान्वितं तावकं ध्यायतस्तस्य लीलासरो वारिधिस्तस्य केलीवनं नन्दनं तस्य भद्रासनं भूतलं तस्य गीर्देवता किङ्करी तस्य चाज्ञाकरी श्रीः स्वयं सर्वमन्त्रात्मिके सर्वयन्त्रात्मिके सर्वतन्त्रात्मिके सर्वशक्त्यात्मिके सर्वविद्यात्मिके सर्वपीठात्मिके सर्वगे सर्वरूपजगन्मातृके पाहि मां पाहि मां पाहि देवि तुभ्यं नमो देवि तुभ्यं नमः ॥

An imitation of this work is Komalāḍandakam by Varaḍa Kṛṣṇamācārya of Valattur, Tanjore District. He died 50 years ago. He also wrote Kacaśaṭakam and Viḍhavāśaṭakam.

505. There are Ḍandakas relating to Rāma (*DC*, XVIII. 7125); Nṛsimha (*Ibid.* 6707, 7034); Ranganāṭha (*Ibid.* 6840, 7105); Śrīranga (*Ibid.* 7106); Lakṣmī (*Ibid.* 6872); Komalā (*Ibid* 6866); Arbujavallī (*Ibid.* 6862); Karigiri (*Ibid.* 6707); Hayagrīva (*Ibid.* 6844, 7208, *TC*, IV. 4642); Gopāla (*Ibid.* 6969); Garuda (*Ibid.* 6705, 6893); Hanūmaṭ (*Ibid.* 6695, *TC*, III. 4129); Ṭyāgarāja (*DC*, XIX, 7447); Acārya (*Ibid*, 7265, XVIII. 6707, 6862); Akhilāndaṇāyakī (*TC*, IV. 5820); Veḍānṭaḍeśika (*DC*, XIX. 7266); Varaḍaḍeśika (*Ibid*, 7262); Varavaramuṇi (*Ibid.* 7272, *TC*, IV. 4737); Candī (*TC*, III. 4063); Sūrya (*TC*, IV. 5813); Śiva (*Ibid.* 5451).[1]

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1. A composition in the Daṇḍaka metre in praise of the goddess Lakṣmī.

जयतु जयतु शेषशैलाधिपामन्दलीलामहानन्दवेलातिगाम्भोधिडोलायमानोर्मिजालामितोल्लासनालापमालासुधालालनीयोरुबालामृतांशूपमासक्तफाला मदोद्यन्मरालाङ्गनाचारुहेलाप्रचारा मदालानमाद्यद्घटालाभदापाङ्गजालाभिरामा प्रवालायिताङ्घ्रिर्विनीलालका क्षोणिनीलासपत्नी द्रुसालावलीकुञ्जशालाचरद्गोपबालावलम्बा मदम्बा श्रियै कल्पताम् ।

* * * * *

जय जय जगदम्ब दासोऽस्म्यहं ते रमावासकान्ते त्वमेवाखिलस्य प्रपञ्चस्य मातेति वाण्या पुराण्या महत्यापि सत्यापितं सोऽहमेवं भवत्याः किशोरोऽस्मि भृत्योऽस्मि दासोऽस्मि तस्मात्कृपाङ्गैरपाङ्गैः प्रसन्नं शिशुं मां कुर्वेहं चानवद्यात्मभक्तोऽस्मि संद्योतसे त्वं परं ज्योतिरित्यम्ब मह्यं दयेथाः सुधाराशिकन्ये रमे पद्महस्ते प्रसीद प्रसीद प्रसीदाम्ब मे ॥

506. Gadyas. Among Gaḍyas are those relating to Siva (*DC*, XIX. 7567); Mahāḍeva (*Ibid.* 7507); Namaśśivāya (*Ibid.* 7502); Mallikeśvara (*Ibid.* 7592); Lakṣmī (Ed. Bombay),[1] and Gaḍyaṣatkam on Pūrṇasṭhiṭeśa, Rughuvīra, Āḍināṭha, Śathagopa, Kurukāvallī and Śrīvīreśa (*DC*, XIX, 7272; *TC*, IV. 4631); Canḍraprabhā (*DC*, XVIII, 6735); Mahāvīra (*Ibid*, 7101); Śrīnivāsa (*Ibid*, 7168)[2]; Pancaprakāśa (*Ibid*, 6792, 7667); Ṭīrṭhankara (*Ibid*, 7648); Basava (*Ibid*, 7439, 7687; *DC*, XVIII. 6792, 793, called also Uḍāharaṇagaḍya); Veḍānṭaḍeśika (*Ibid*, 7272, *DC*, XVIII, 6873); Varaḍaḍeśika (*Ibid*, 7261); Akṣaramāla (*Ibid*, 6799); Ācārya (*Ibid*, 6862).

507. Curnika (चूर्णिका). There are Cūrṇikas on Ḍevī (*DC*, XVIII, 6815); Śrīnivāsa (*DC*, XIX, 7385); Venkateśa (*Mys.* 262 probably by King Ṭirumalarāya of Vijianagar); Nigamānṭācārya (*DC*, XIX, 7272, 7281); Śveṭāraṇya (*DC*, XXVI, 9771, XIX, 7637); and Anugrahacūrṇikā (*DC*, XVIII, 6844, 6815).[3]

508. Tunaka (तूणक)

पङ्कजासनार्चितं शशाङ्कशोभिताननं कङ्कणादिदिव्यभूषणाङ्कितं वरप्रदम् ।
कुङ्कुमाङ्कितोरसं सशङ्खचक्रनन्दकं वेङ्कटेशमिन्दिरापदाङ्कनं भजामहे ॥

DC, XVIII. 7169.

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1. The author of this piece Purisai Śrīrangāoārya of Tirupati was a great scholar, an authority in dialectics and phylosophy. He died about 1927. His Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil lyric Ṭiruppāvai is classical, like which there is another work (*DC*, XVIII, 7232).

2. अयं किल सकलचराचरदिगन्तसन्ताननिरन्तरान्तर्बहिर्व्यापिश्रेष्ठाखण्डब्रह्माण्डप्रपञ्चं पञ्चशरप्रपञ्चकोटिसुषुमाविलासवशीकृतत्रिविष्टपत्रिविष्टपेशकिन्नरकिंपुरुषसिद्धविद्याधराप्सरोयक्षरक्षोगन्धर्वगरुडपन्नगविलासिनीगणम् ।

*   *   *   *   *

लोकेश्वरसाध्याधिकारवरदावनरक्षणपरं परादपि परं श्रीमद्वेङ्कटाद्रिनिकेतनं हरिं भजे ॥

DC, XVIII. 7168.

3. श्रीमत्प्रालेयशैलराजकुमारि, कौमारि, क्षीरपारावारकन्यामणिमनोहरगम्भीरदक्षिणावर्तनाभिविवरकंजातसंजातपुरन्दरबृन्दारकसंदोहमस्तकन्यस्तविपुलतटघटितचित्रामूल्यनवरत्नकिरणदीपिकासमुच्चयनीराजिततरुणप्रवाललतानितान्तारुणप्रभापटल[न]विधूतमृदुलकोमलपदारविन्दयुगले ।

निजभक्तजनानुग्रहकारणश्रीदेशिकस्वरूपिणि श्रीमहात्रिपुरसुन्दरि पाहि मां पाहि मां नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते नमः ॥

509. Bhujanga (भुजङ्ग). There are poems in Bhujanga form relating to Rāvaṇa *DC*, XIX, 7535); Vighneśvara (*Ibid.* 7559); Vīrabhadra (*Ibid.* 7545, : Śiva (*DC*, XVIII. 7212 *TC*, IV. 5932); Viṣṇu (*Ibid.* 7159, 7233); Bhavānī (*Ibid.* 6823); Ḍevī (*Ibid.* 6815); Gayaṭrī (*Ibid.* 6718, *TC*, II. 1195); Hanūmaṭ (*Ibid.* 6696); Nṛsimha (*Ibid.* 6862, 7033); Rāma (*Ibid.* 7120);[1] Śārngapāṇi (*TC*, II. 2043).

510. Khadgas (खड्ग) are on Pārvaṭī (*DC*, XIX. 7252, 7666) and Ḍraupaḍī (*DC*, XXI. 5323).

511. In the Sanskrit Texts available in Bali,[2] there are some sṭavas in prose, which may probably have also a mystical value. For instance:

विष्णुस्तवः

नमोऽस्तु पुरुषोत्तमाय परमारिपुपरपुरहरणपराक्रमाय परमबलभटोलटोललोलितगलितमहाबलाय च जाग्रत्सुप्ततूर्यचतुर्भुजाय नारायणाण नरसिंहवामनाय नारायणार्दनाय नरगदायुद्धदानवान्तकरिपुमर्दनपाञ्चजन्यसुदर्शनायुधाय दैत्यदानवयक्षराक्षसपिशाचभूतगणधरधरणीधरधीरदराय च गन्धर्वमधुरगीतसुरविद्याधरऋषिप्रभृतिसेविताय च परमरिपुरावणार्जुकधेनुकप्रलम्बकेशराविष्टकालनेमिगजबलतुरगामिससृगालादिनिधनाय च पुरुषोऽनन्तसमुद्राश्रयः खरवरवरेन्द्रः श्रीप्रियो धनदप्रियो वैश्रवणाङ्कोऽस्मान् रक्षतु अस्मन् गोपयतु स्वाहा ॥

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1. प्रभो पारिजातस्य मूले पवित्रे विचित्रे सुचित्रे शुभे हैमहर्म्यै ।
लसद्रत्नपीठे कृतावाससीतासमेतोऽज्वलाकल्प राम प्रसीद ॥
चण्डकरान्वयमण्डन रक्षोमण्डलखण्डनपण्डितबाहो ।
कुण्डलमण्डितगण्डतलं ते नाथ नमामि नमामि नमामि ॥

2. Bālidvīpagranṭha (*GOS*. 67).

CHAPTER XXI

Campu

512. Campu. A species of composition with mixed prose and poetry came into vogue about the beginning of the Christian era. We have passages in the Purāṇas, where prose comes amidst verse, but there is no instance of classical poetry of this recognised class known earlier. A narrative in mixed prose and verse has been called CAMPU.[1] This variety of composition enlarges the scope and ease of the poet's expression and entertains the reader by the presentation of combinative of varying melodies.[2] Bāṇa mentions HARICANDRA as a writer in prose,[3] but it is doubtful if the work Bāṇa had in mind is Jīvandhara-campū. The earliest works of this class are not now known, but after the 10th century A.D. Campūs became very popular and they were largely composed in South India.

513. Trivikrama or Simhaditya[4] was the son of Nemāditya (Devāditya) and grandson of Śrīdhara of Śāndilyagotra. He was a

1. Bhoja thus praises Campu style of composition :

गद्यानुबन्धरसमिश्रितपद्यसूक्तिः हृद्यापि वाद्यकलया कलितेव गीतिः ।
तस्माद्दधातु कविमार्गजुषां सुखाय चम्पूप्रबन्धरचनां रसना मदीया ॥

Viśvanātha, in Sāhityadarpaṇa instances Deśarājacarita and defines Campu thus :

गद्यपद्यमयं काव्यं चम्पूरित्यभिधीयते ॥

2. "Outside of India the commingling of prose and poetry in the same composition is found in the Chinese romance *P'ing Chan Ling Yen* (Tr. Julien), *P'ing-Chan-Ling-Yen*, (Les Loux Feunes Filles lettrees, 2 Vols., Paris, 1660), In Sa'di's *Gulistan*, in *The Thousand Nights and One Night*, in the Old Picard *Aueassin et Nicelette*, in Morse Sagas and in Middle Irish tales and histories (cf. Wiudischon, Irische Texte, 3, 447-449, Leipzig, 1891-1897) ; and in Beccaccio's L'Amete, as well as in the Saturae Menippae of Marro. (cf. MacCulloon, *Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, pp. 480-481."

3. See para 47 *supra*.

पदबन्धोज्ज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थितिः ।
भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो विभाव्यते ॥

4. M. Duff (*Chronology*) conjectures that he was probably the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhāskara of the court of Bhoja. but this seems to be wrong. Trivikrama composed the inscription in Nausari grant (*JBRAS*, XVIII, 257).

Trivikrama, author of Kuvalayāśvavilāsacampu (printed Granthratnamāla), Trivikrama, author of Vyajoktiśataka (*CC*, II. 147), Trivikrama, author of Rāma-kīrti-Kumudāvalī, (*PR*, III, ap. 395), Bhāvaṭa Trivikrama (*Subh*), Trivikrama, the lexicographer, Trivikrama of Punyagrāma, author of Pancāyudhaprapancabhāṇa (*Opp*, 9050) and Trivikrama, author of Śataślokī (*PR*, I. 119 ; III. 398) are different persons.

poet of the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III (914-916 A.D.)[1] who captured Kanauj and gave the final blow to the Pratihāra dynasty then under King Mahīpāla. He mentions Bāṇa in the introductory verses of his Damayantīkaṭhā and is himself quoted by Bhoja in the Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa. Once during his father's absence from court, an adversary challenged competition. The king sent for Trivikrama and ordered him to answer. Contemplated with devotion, Sarasvatī blessed Trivikrama with the poetic instinct until his father arrived and with this gift he overcame his adversary by composing Nala's story ex tempore. The father returned while yet the story was incomplete and in that unfinished state, in 7 chapters, the work has come to us and that is DAMAYANTIKATHA OR NALACAMPU.[2]

His language is avowedly involved and ordinary expression was in his view not appreciable poetry.[3] His object was in part to illustrate the merit and potency of verbal forms in Sanskrit and in this respect he approved of Subandhu. For the beauty of a particular fancy, he has been known as Yamunā-Trivikrama.[4]

There are commentaries by Candapāla,[5] Gaṇavinayagaṇi,[6] Dāmodarabhatta,[7] Nāgadeva,[8] and one anonymous.[9]

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1. *EI*, I. 340 ; VII. 30, 36, 43 ; IX. 18 : *Mys, Arch. Rep.* (1924) 62 ; V. Smith, *EH*, 429, 437.

2. There is a Damayantīpariṇayakāvya anonymous (*CC*, I. 58).

3. किं कवेस्तस्य काव्येन किं काण्डेन धनुष्मतः ।
परस्य हृदये लग्नं न घूर्णयति यच्छिरः ॥
अप्रगल्भाः पदन्यासे जननीरागहेतवः ।
सन्त्येके बहुलालापाः कवयो बालका इव ॥—*Nalacampu*, I. 5, 8.

4. उदयगिरिगतायां प्राक्प्रभापाण्डुतायां-
मनुसरिति निशीथे शृङ्गमस्ताचलस्य ।
जयति किमपि तेजः सांप्रतं व्योममध्ये
सलिलमिव विभिन्नं जाह्नवं यामुनं च ॥—*Ibid.* VI. 1.

See Candapāla's commentary thereon, *IA*, XII. 224.

5. He was the son of Yaśorāja, *PR*, IV. 36, VI. 334 ; *SKC*, 68 ; *IOC*, 1520. Ed. Bombay. He probably lived about 1230 A.D. See *Weber's Cat*, II. 1205.

6. It was composed in 1590 A.D. He is the same as the author of the commentary on Raghuvamśa and Hanumat Kavi's Khandapraśastikāvya (*Mys* 344). He was the pupil of Jayasenasūri, who composed his Vicāraratnasangraha in *Sam*, 1569 (See *PR*, IV. xxv, *IOC*, 1924, *Tanj*. VII. 3056).

7. Mentioned in preface to Bombay Edn.

8. *BTC*, 159.

Opp, 211.

Maḍālasācampū is also attributed to him.[1]

Besides works noted in paras 78-85 Lakṣmiḍhara's Nalavarṇana-kavya,[2] Śrīnivāsa Ḍīkṣiṭa's Naiṣaḍhānanḍa, the plays Viḍhivilasiṭa and Nalavikrama[3] embrance the story of Nala.[4]

"The earliest reference to PRAGVATA dynasty of kings is found at the close of Chandapala's commentary on Trivikramabhatta's NALACHAMPU. Speaking of himself the commentator styles himself as the brother of Chandasimha, the eldest son of Yasoraja of the Pragvata dynasty. The Guruganaratnakara furnishes some more interesting details about the history of the Pragvata line of kings. Their capital is said to be Samadhika in Guzrat. The Guruganaratnakara begins the line with Chaitrasimha, the elder brother of the father of the famous Somasundaragani. Their genealogy is stated to be as follows: (1) Chaitrasimha (2) Indrajit or Ilabutada, son of (1), (3) Kala, son of (2), (4) Kala had six sons called (i) Nada, (ii) Veda, (iii) Saḍagangude, (iv) Samala, (v) Dhira and (iv) Vira. Samala had four sons called (i) Sajjana, (ii) Nimba, (iii) Mana, and (iv) Lampaka. (5) Sajjana is said to have migrated to Malava with the family of Nimba when kings chased and driven out by enemies to hills and caves perished in numbers and when Sajjana was the only protector of the Aryas against the Mahammadan invaders and thieves. He resided at Parna Viḥara. His wife was called Purnadevi. (6) Karma, son of (5) married Somi in A.D. 1446. He became the head of the Jaina Sangha and changed his capital to Agara. He had three sons, called (i) Ratna, (ii) Sujesa and (iii) Megha and also three daughters named Khambhi, Maniki, and Charuhiru. Of these Ratna married Revum and had a son called Karma and a daughter named Rahi. Sajesa married Hyaman and had a son called Jiva, while Megha had two daughters Dapu and Ranji. Karma is said to have been a more generous king than Vastupala and others. He is said to have been honoured even by Khans, Khojas, Mirs, and Ummars and to have been ever ready to relieve the distress of the poor by establishing feeding houses. When

1. Ed. Bombay, See *Weber's Cat.*, II. 1205. *CC*, I. 426. Maḍālasa a poetess is quoted by Śārngaḍhara. On the story of Maḍālasa, there are also the plays, Maḍālasāpariṇaya (anonymous) and Maḍālasānātaka by Rāmabhatta (*CC*, I. 426) and Maḍālasā, a romance by Bhavadeva (Printed Bombay.) For Maḍālasollāpana, see Mārkandayapurāṇa (*Fl.* 430).

2. *CC*, I. 280.

3. See Index for other works.

4. Mentioned in *ND*.

there was a drought in Malava, Megha is said to have showered his gold among the poor and is also said to have received the title of Mafer Malik from the Sultan. Ratna, Megha, and others are said to have obtained a Farman (order) from the Sultan and made a pilgrimage to Ratnamala, Iladurga, the capital of Bhanu, Jerikapalli, Arbudachala, Sirohika, and other sacred places of the Jainas." (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, p. 14).

514. **Somadeva**[5] traces his spiritual discent through Nemiḍeva to Yasoḍeva[6] and was a Jain. He was patronised by the eldest son of Prince Arikesari of the Calukya race, a feudatory of the Rāṣtrakūta monarch Kṛṣṇarājaḍeva.[7] He wrote his YASASTILAKACAMPU in Saka 881 (951 A.D.)[8] In seven āśvāsas this book relates the story of King Yaśoḍhara, Lord of Avantī, with his capital Ujjain, the machinations of his wife, his conversion to Jaina faith, his assassination and rebirth. The last three chapters form a popular hand book of devotion supplementary to, and explanatory of, the sacred texts of Jainism.[9]

As a landmark in the history of poetic literature, it is particularly valuable. Somaḍeva names several authors[10] who adored the religion

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5. Somaḍeva, the author of Kaṭhasariṭsāgara and Somaḍeva, the author of Rasendracudamaṇi, *PR*, I. 81; IV. cxxxv and Somaḍeva, the author of Abhilaṣiṭarṭhacinṭāmani are different persons.

6. See *PR*, II. 33-49, 156 IV. cxxxv.

7. Arikesari was the patron of the Canarese Jain poet Pampa. Bhandarakar (*EHD*. 56; *PR*, II. 47-49) gives the dates 867, 873 and 875 Sāka for this monarch.

8. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Śruṭasāragaṇi.

9. The colophon says:

शकनृपतिकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वेकाशीत्याधिकेषु गतेष्वङ्कतः (८८१) सिद्धार्थसंवत्सरांतर्गतचैत्रमासमदनत्रयोदश्यां ... ...पांड्यसिंहलचोलचेरप्रभृतीन् महीपतीन् प्रसाध्याममलयाटवीप्रवर्धमानराज्यप्रभावे श्रीकृष्णराजदेवे सति तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतेश्चलुक्यकुलजन्मनः सामंतचूडामणेः श्रीमदरिकेसरिणः प्रथमपुत्रस्य श्रीमत् वाचराज्यप्रवृद्धमानवसुंधरायां विनिर्मापितमिदम् ।

For a complete account of the poem, see *PR*, IX. 33-49.

10. *PR*, IV. ii. 119 Aṭsava, Bhāravi, Bhavabhuṭi, Bharṭṛhari, Mentha, Kantha, Guṇādhya, Bhāsa, Kāliḍāsa, Bāna, Mayura, Nārāyaṇa, Kumāra (Kumāradāsa?), Māgha and Rājaśekhara and to a Chapter on Kavyam by Bharaṭa भरतप्रणीतकाव्याध्याये See also Introduction to Kāvyamīmāṃsa, *G.O.S.* No. 1, xv.

of Jina and as an incident of the narrative mentions some ancient poets,[1] whose names we have yet to hear elsewhere.

The colophon to his Nītivākyāmṛta mentions another work of his, Mahendramātalisanjalpa. Nītivākyāmṛta follows Cāṇakya's Arthaśāstra.[2]

515. Bhoja was the celebrated king of the Paramāra dynasty.[3] His capital was Dhāra.[4] He ascended the throne in A.D. 1018 and had a glorious reign till 1063 A.D. He was the son of Sindhula. His father died when young and on account of his minority, his uncle Munja[5] ascended the throne. The young prince became very popular and learned in all arts and sciences. Aggrieved by the prediction of an astrologer that Bhoja would reign for 55 years[6] Munja conceived the idea of murdering him and ordered his tributary Vatsarāja to carry out the design in the jungle. The latter, unwilling though he was, could not disobey. He took the boy to his house, and concealed him there. So when he presented to the king a sword besmeared with the blood of some animal in proof of his act, the king asked him if the prince said anything before his execution and he gave a green leaf in which was written a verse in the prince's hand, portraying the hollowness of

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1. *PR*, III. तरुणीलीताविलास, कविकैमुदीचंद्र, विदग्धमुग्ध, नीतिसेन, मानधनंजय, कविकोविद, अभिमानमहधिर, अव्याधिदुर्बल, कुसुमायुध, सुजनजीवित, मुग्धांगनाकेलिकुतूहल, विलासिनीलोचनकज्जल, सरस्वतीकर्तवकौतुक, प्रौढप्रियापांगनवोत्पल.

These names seem to be appellations.

2. *Cat. C.P.* xxxi.

3. Bhoja was contemporary of King Anauta of Kashmir (1028–1089 A.D.) See *Raj*, VII, 190-193, 259. On Bhoja's time, see inscription (*IA*, VI. 53) dated Sam. 1078 (1021 A.D.) and Keilhorn's calculations, *IA*, XIX. 361; also *EI*, I. 232; *IA*. (1907), 170; *ibid*. (1912), 201. On Bhoja generally, see Seshagiri Sastri, *IA*, I. 340; Lassen, *Zeitsch fur die, Kundedes Morg*, VII 294; *IAlt.*, III. 848; *JA*, (1844), 250; 354; *ibid*. (1854). 281 Reinaud, *Mem surl' Inde*, 261. For copper plate grants of rulers of Malwa, see *Transactions of Royal Asiatic society*, I. 230-239; *JAOS*, VII; *IA*, XIX 345; *Colebrooke's Mis. Essays*, II. 297-314, 462.

4. Abdul Fazl in his Aini Akbari says that Bhoja removed his capital from Ujjain to Dhāra. See Seshagiri Sastri's account, *IA*, I. 319.

5. On king Munja, see para 395 *supra*.

6. The prediction ran thus:

पञ्चाशत्पञ्चवर्षाणि ससमासा दिनत्रयम् । भोजराजेन भोक्तव्यः सगौडा दक्षिणापथः ॥

temporal fortunes.[1] The king read the verse and fell down struck with grief and when the secret was disclosed, Bhoja was brought to him he was all repentent. He installed the prince on his throne and entered the forest as an ascetic.[2]

Like his uncle Munja, he cultivated the arts of peace and war. Although his fights with neighbouring powers, including the armies of Muhammad of Ghazni, are now forgotten, his fame as a patron of learning and man of letters remains undenied and he has been regarded as a model king according to the Hindu standards. Works[3] on astronomy, philosophy, architecture, grammar, medicine, trade secrets, law and general literature, are attributed to him. A mosque at Ḍhāra now occupies the site of the king's Sanskrit college, in a temple dedicated appropriately to Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning.[4] "The great Bhojpur lake[5] a beautiful sheet of water to the southeast of Bhopal, covering an area of 350 sq. miles formed by masonic embankments closing the outlet in a circle of hills, was his noblest monument and continued to testify to the skill of his engineers until the 15th century when the dam was cut by order of a Mahammadan king and the water drained off. The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Indian Midland Railway."

The literary merits and patronage of king Bhoja have been well described by Ballāla (Vallabha[6]) in his Bhojaprabanḍha. An amusing piece of proso-poetic composition, it purports to commemorate the liberal patronage of Bhoja and introduces a number of celebrities like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūṭi, Ḍandin and, Māgha as interlocutors in short dialogues, in which they display their readiness of wit, brilliancy of imagination and beauty of expression. It consists of two parts; the

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1.

मान्धाता च महीपतिः कृतयुगालङ्कारभूतो गतः
सेतुर्येन महोदधौ विरचितः क्वासौ दशास्यान्तकः ।
अन्ये चापि युधिष्ठिरप्रभृतयो याता दिवं भूपते
नैकेनापि समं गता वसुमती नूनं त्वया यास्यति ॥

2. The story is dramatised in the Bhojarājānka a piece in one Act by Sundara Vīrarāghava, *TC*, II. 3413.

3. For a complete list of his works, see *CC*., I. 41, II. 95. See also *ZDMG*, XXVII, 67; *BR*. (1897), XXXVII; *SKC*. 376. For all quotations from Bhoja's works in the anthologies, see F.W. Thomas, *Kav*., 63.

4. Arch. Sur. Rep. (1903-4), 238.

5. Malcolm, *Central India*, I. 25; Kinclaid, *IA*, XVII. 350.

6. V. Smith, *EH*. 395.

former describes the events showing how Bhoja succeeded to the throne of Malavas after his uncle Munja, and the latter has a series of anecdotes about Bhoja and his relations with the many poets and literary lights that thronged his Court.[1]

There are works by the name of Bhojaprabandha by Merutunga,[2] Rājavallabha,[3] Vatsarāja,[4] and Śubhaśila,[5] by Padmagupta,[6] and anonymous poem, Bhojaprabandhasāra.[7]

Besides are Bhojacaritra[8] and Bhojarājāsaccarita, a play in two acts by Vedāntavāgīsā Bhattācārya.[9]

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1. The author is callsd Vallabha-pandita in a Ms. (*DC*, XXI. 8166). Published with a French Translation and commentary by T. Pavie in *JA*, IV. 210 et. seq., and the composition is there assigned to 13th Century A.D. Ward (*History of Religion and Literature of the Hindus*, I. 516) calls it a work of Bhoja himself which is obviously wrong. See also Hall (Vasavadatta 7); Lassen, *IA*, III. 836, T. Pavie (*JA*, LXIV. 185-230, LXV. 385-431, LXVI. 76-105); L. Oster (*De Rezensionen des Bhojaprabandha, Darmstadt*), Seshagiri Sastri (*On some eminent characters in Sanskrit Literature, IA*, I. 340); Weber, *SL*. 215, 225 note); see also *PR*, IV. 28; V. 366; G.P. Quackenbos, (*Sanskrit poems of Mayura*, Col. Un. Series, New York, 42) assigns it to 16th century following Aufrecht (*C. Bodl.* 151).

"In his Bhojaprabandha, Merutunga states that in samvat 1078 when Bhoja ruled over the Malava circle, Bhima, the paramount sovereign of the Chalukya race, governed Guzarat. This cannot be the date of Bhoja's accession. According both to Merutunga and Rajavallabha, Munja, the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja, crossed the Godavari against the counsel of his aged minister Rudraditya and invaded the dominions of Tailapa, the founder of the later Chalukya dynasty of the Dekkan. He was defeated and taken prisoner. At first he was well treated by his captor, but when secret intrigues for his release were discovered, Tailapa subjected him to indignities and put him to death. This last fact is mentioned in Tailapa's inscriptions also. Now Tailapa, we know, died in 920 Saka or after 919 years of the era had elapsed. This corresponds to 998 a.d., wherefore Munja must have been slain by Tailapa before that year. A Jaina author named Amitagati tells us at the end of his Subhashitaratnas amdoha, as was first pointed out by Colebrooke, that he wrote or compiled the work in Samvat 1050 or 994 a.d. while Munja was reigning at Dhara. Munja therefore must have been put to death by Tailapa between 994 and 998 a d., or about the year 996. Bhoja was crowned king after him, and since he is said to have reigned for fifty-five years, he must have died about 1051 a.d."

2. *CC*, I. 418.
3. *Oudh*, VIII. 8; *Taylor*, I. 63.
4. *CC*, I. 418.
5. *PR*, III. 405.
6. It is mentioned in the introduction to Yuktikalpataru (Bombay Edn).
7. *Opp*. 3667.
8. *CC*, III. 90.
9. *CC*, I. 418, *IO*, 584.

In Kavisamayavilāsa Revaṇa Ārāḍhya, the great Vīra Śaiva teacher, who lived about the 10th century A.D., relates humorous stories about poets in Bhoja's assembly.[1]

Among poetic works[2] said to have been composed by Bhoja, are an Ākhyāyikā Śṛngāramanjarī[3] and a poem Viḍyāvinoḍa, a stoṭra Śivaḍaṭṭa and a commentary on Śivaṭoṭra called Śivaṭaṭvaraṭnakalikā. Subhāṣiṭa is an anthology. Sangīṭaprakāsa and Śṛngāraprakāśa, treatises on music and rhetoric, will be noticed later on.

516. Bhoja's RAMAYANACAMPU[4] is a very popular work in poetic literature. It embraces the exquisite story of Rāmāyaṇa and the composition with the blended melody of prose and verse in it has the charm of royalty in it. It is now acknowledged generally that Bhoja's work extended only to the Kiṣkinḍhākānda[5] and that there it was left incomplete, unless the rest of it has been lost. The story of the Yuḍḍhakānda was made up by Lakṣmaṇakavi later on.[6]

Is this campū the work of king Bhoja of Ḍhāra? The colophons to manuscripts[7] call the author Viḍarbharāja and do not mention the name

1. *Mys*, 243.

2. These works are mentioned in the introductory portion of Yukṭikalpaṭaru.

3. The Ms. is preserved in the Jessalmeer Library. See para 451 *supra*.

4. *Ed*. Bombay and Madras.

5. There is no truth in the story that the work was composed jointly by Bhoja and Kāliḍāsa, unless it can be imagined that Paḍmaguptа alias Parimala Kāliḍāsa had any hand in it.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8207. So says Lakṣmaṇa himself at the end of his work. And Venkatāḍhvarin says in his Uṭṭaracampu

य: काण्डान्निबबन्ध चम्पुविधया पञ्चापि भोज: कवि: ।
यो वा षष्ठमचष्ट लक्ष्मणकविस्ताभ्यामुभाभ्यामपि ॥

and Venkatakṛṣṇakavi in his Uṭṭaracampu-Rāmāyaṇa,

श्रीभोजलक्ष्मणकवीन्द्रकृते प्रबन्धे
लग्नं वचोऽल्पमपि मे भविता रसाढ्यम् ॥

and likewise Nārāyaṇa in the commentary, Paḍayojanā

लक्ष्मणमहाकवि: श्रीमद्भोजराजप्रणीतचम्पुरामायणस्य परिपूर्तये अवशिष्टं युद्धकाण्डं प्रारिप्सु: ॥ (*DC*, XXI. 8315)

and Kāmeśvarasuri in his commentary on the Yuḍḍha-kānda (*TC*, II. 2372) says.

षष्ठं श्रीलक्ष्मणीयं विषमललितशब्दाभिरामं च काण्डम् ॥

7. *Tanj*, VII. 3120 et seq.

इति श्रीविदर्भराजविरचिते चम्पूरामायणे ।

Bhoja. In the manuscripts of Sarasvaṭikanthābharaṇa &c.[1] admittedly a work of king Bhoja of Ḍhāra, the name is so mentioned in the colophon. Ḍhāra is in Malwa and Viḍarbha is Berar. There is therefore the geographical difficulty against the identification. But tradition has associated it in the Bhoja of Malwa[2] and how, if at all, auy such confusion has come in, it is not now possible to answer.[3]

517. **Lakṣmaṇa**[4] was the son of Gangāḍhara and Gangāmbikā and lived in Sanagara village probably in the Circars. He wrote also the BHARATACAMPUTILAKA, on the story of the Māhābhārața.[5] It is said Ananṭabhaṭṭa criticised this work and himself wrote a Rāmāyaṇa-campū.

Lakṣmaṇa's father Gangāḍhara wrote a campū Maḍrakanyāpariṇaya[6] and Gangāḍhara's father Ḍaṭṭāṭreya wrote Ḍaṭṭāṭreyacampū.[7]

518. Besides Lakṣmaṇa, this work of supplementing the missing story of the Yuḍḍhakānda was done by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Ḍikṣita,[8] by Ghanaśyāma[9] and by Ekāmranāṭha.[10]

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1. इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे ।
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते श्रृङ्गारप्रकाशे ।

(*TC*, IV. 4673), *Tanj*, IX. 4099 ; also Ekamranāṭha (*TC*, IV. 4985) ; Rāmānuja (*ibid* 5130). Likewise see for other works of his, (*TC*, IV. 4881). Karuṇākara in his commentary (*TC*, IV. 5459) says that Bhoja wrote this campu to illustrate his views on grammar contained in his Sarasvaṭikanthābhārana (*TC*, IV. 4881). But as he couples the name of Bhoja and Kaliḍāsa, his ideas appear unreliable.

2. For instance, Ghanaśyāma (*Tanj*. VII. 3149) says

अथ विदर्भदेशाधिपतिः कविवदान्यः स्वयं कविः भोजराजः पञ्चकाण्डीं ॥ * +

3. On several Bhojas, see R. Mitra, *JASB*, XXXII. 93 ; Weber, *IL*, 201 note, *ISt*, I. 312 ; Lassen, *IAK*, III.

4. Lakṣmaṇakavi in his Kṛṣṇavilāsacampu describes the birth of God Vilāsakṛṣṇa in Gingee (S. Arcot Dist.) to confer wealth on Kṛṣṇarāja king of that place. He was the son of Rāmānuja (*DC*, XXI, 8191). There is another work of the same name by Narasimha, son of Ananṭanārāyaṇa of Āṭreyagoṭra in 16 cantos on the story of Bhāgavata with an anonymous commentary (*DC*, XXI. 8193).

5. *DC*, XXI. 8263.

6. *Mys*. 267, *DC*, XXI. 8265.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8625.

8. *Adyar*, II 22.

9. See *Int*. to Maṇiḍarpaṇa (*TSS*, Trivandrum). In his introduction to his Kāvyaḍarpaṇa, he says he composed it in a day (*DC*, XXII. 8615-16).

10. *HR*, III. No. 1681.

11. *DC*, XXI. No. 2256.

519. There are commentaries on Bhojacampū by Nārāyaṇa,[1] Rāmacandra,[2] Kāmeśvara,[3] Mānaveḍa,[4] Ghanaśyāma[5] and one anonymous.[6]

520. The sequel to this work embraces the Uttarakānda of the Rāmāyaṇa.[7]

There are other Uttaracampūs by Yatirāja,[8] by Sankarācārya,[9] Hariharānanda,[10] by Venkatādhvarin,[11] by Garaḷapuri Śastrin,[12] and by Rāghavācārya.[13] They narrate the story of the abandonment of Sītā, the birth of Kuśa and Lava, the reappearance of Sītā and the return of Rāma to his divine abode.

RAGHAVACARYA[14] was the son of Venkatārya and Śrīsāilāmbā of Śrīvatsagotra. He lived at Trivellore, Chenglepat District and was a follower of Rāmānuja.[15] He was probably also the author of the Bhadrācalacampū, composed at the instance of a local magnate Sundareśa.[16]

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1. *DC*, XXI. 8212. Nārāyaṇa was the son of Nageśvara and disciple of Gopālendrasarsavati. He was the tenth in descent from Mallinātha of Kolacala family and must have therefore lived about the end of the 15th century. He says in prefatory verses that Mallinātha was honored by King Vīrarudra of Warrangal and his grandson Peddabhatta (Commentator on Naishada etc.) was bathed in gold by King Sarvagna (Singa). At the invitation of King Praudhadevarāya of Vijianagar (1414-1446) A.D. Mallinātha wrote Vaiśyavamśasudhārṇava. *Mys, Arch, Rep.* (1927), 26. Peddabhatta's son Kumāraswāmin wrote a commentary on the Pratāparudrayaśobhuṣaṇa. See para 31 *supra*.

2. *DC*, XXI. 8216 and *TC*, II. 1395, 1454. Rāmacandra was the son of Kondapandita of Śandilyagotra. He has also commented on Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta (see para 293 *supra*).

3. *TC*, II. 2372; III. 3789. Kameśvara was the son of Gangādhara of Kodamarti family, and disciple of Viśveśvara, probably of the Circars.

4. *TC*, III. 4020. See para 176 *supra*.

5. *DC*, XXI. 8219.

6. *HR*, III, No. 2170.

7. Printed, Mysore. *DC*, XVI. 8180.

8. *NW*, 302.

9. *NW*, 292.

10. *NW*, 270.

11. Printed, Mysore.

12. Printed, Mysore. His son Kāvyatilaka Ayyāśāstrin is now living in Mysore.

13. *Rice*, 248.

14. *DC*, XXI. 8184.

15. Rāghava of Vinjimuri family, the author of Śṛngāradipakabhāṇa was a native of Conjeevaram and was a different person. See *DC*, XXI. 8534.

16. See *DC*, XXI. 8582. It describes the importance of Bhadrācala, the scene of the well-known story of Ramadas in the Andhra Country.

521. Abhinavakalidasa (of Vellala family, apparently of the Andhra country) has not left us his real name. His pupil Kavikunjara in his Rājaśekharacarita mentions him as a poet of the Court of a South Indian King Rājaśekhara whose capital Vidyānagara was on the Pinākiui (north Pennar). Rājaśekhara's queen was Bhavānī and his contemporaries were Rajendra Cola (1004-1016 or 1016-1064 A.D.) and Vijayavarma Pāndya. If Rajendra Cola flourished in the 11th century A.D. Rājaśekhara must have also lived about that time.[1] This Abhinavakālidāsa wrote Bhāgavatacampū,[2] Abhinavabhāratacampū,[3] Bhagavatpādasaptati[4] and Kalividambana.[5]

Thus he begins Bhāgavatacampū :

कल्याणं नः प्रभूतं कलयतु ललितालापशैलेशबाला-
लीलाजालानुकूला शिशिरकरकलाभानुमालाजटाला ।
एषा शेषाहिभूषा परिकलितसुधापूरधारानुकारा
भद्रा मुद्रा विनिद्रा पुरहरणविधौ कापि कारुण्यपूर्णा ॥
प्रालेयाचलभागधेयभवनं कल्याणजालास्पदं
जाटाटीरतपःफलं किलकिलह्लीलाशुकाह्लादितम् ।
बिभ्राणं परिमौलि कञ्चन सूधाधाराधरं सादरं
यन्मे भद्रमसुद्रमाकलयतामानन्दकन्दं महः ॥

It is doubtful whether the poet was identical with Kṛṣṇamūrṭi ,son of Sarvasāstrin of Vāsisthagoṭra who calls himself Abhinava-Kālidāsa. and wrote the poem Yakṣollāsa[6] and the bhāṇa Maḍanābhyuḍaya.[7]

522. Padmaraja was a Niyogi Brahmin of the Avasarāla family of which it is said he was the progenitor. He was the minister to Nilāḍri Rao, Chief of Pittāpuram (Godavari District) who ruled about 1800 A.D. He is also known as Ambhoja or Varṇāḍhika Bhoja.[8]

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1. See *JMy*, XI. 77.
2. Printed, Bombay. The commentator Akkayasuri of Mokṣgunda family calls the poet as of the Vellala family (*DC*, XXI. 8262.)
3. *Rice*, 246.
4. This is in praise of Śankarācārya.
5. Or. Ms. Library, Madras.
6. See para 319 *supra*. *TC*, II. 2066.
7. *TC*, II. 2073.
8. Avanchi Rāmaśāstri belonged to the famtly of Paḍmarāja and wrote commentaries on Bhāraṭacampu, Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛṭa and Bhojacariṭa. He died about 1900 A.D. Rāmakavi the commentator also wrote Rāmābhyuḍayacampu and Sāhiṭyasāra. His brother's grandson Subbaroyaśāstri died 12 years ago and wrote Rāvuvamśamukṭāval

His Bālabhāgavaṭa,[1] a campū in six cantos, is an exquisite piece of poetry, relieved by flowing lines of prose with a tendency to alliteration which makes the composition musical.

याः सलीलमपुरस्कृतजीमूताः सौदामिन्य इव कामिन्यः कमनीयतरकबरीभराः परिव्रजन्तः पुरगतमनवरतमखिलभुवनाधारनिजोदरं क्षीरोदधिप्रणयिनं घनमेनम् । याः सहेलमुपवनविहारिणीर्हरिणा सह हरिणीदृशो लतालूनानूनसूनोपकल्पिताकल्पाः क्रन्दन्तो द्रुतमनुययुरपह्रियमाणसर्वस्वा इव रोलम्बाः सकुटुम्बाः ॥

चिरमधिगतामृद्धिं लुम्पन् पलाशपतेर्भृशं
सपदि रचयन्नामोदाश्चञ्चित्रियं सुमनश्चयम् ।
प्रसवमहितां लक्ष्मीं चैत्रो लतास्विव तास्वलं
युवतिषु हरिस्तन्वन् प्रीत्या शशास जगच्चिरम् ॥

There are commentaries on it by Rāmasvāmi, son of Venkatakṛṣṇasūri and grandson of Rāmanāṭhasvāmi of Devulapalli family and of Kaundinyagoṭra[2] and by Rāghavācārya.[3]

Ḍharmasuḍhī mentions a work of his, as Bālabhāgavaṭam.[4]

523. There was an Abinavakāliḍāsa Gopālaśasṭrin in the Court of Yuvarāja, a king of Udayārpalayam, 6th ancestor to the present Zamindar. He wrote a Bhāgavaṭacampū. Once displeased by having been given a last rank in a levee he wrote this verse :

मार्जारा इव वंशतल्पमसकृत्तन्त्रीं प्ररां प्रामिति
प्रोद्घर्षन्त इमे किलात्र युवरङ्गेन्दोर्विलेख्याः पुरः ।
मन्दस्वन्दसमीरशाबकवलन्मल्लीमतल्लीवना-
भोगोद्दामपतत्प्रसूनततिवद्वर्षन् गिरं दूरतः ॥
अज्ञानामवनीभुजामहरहस्स्वर्णाभिषेकादपि
ज्ञातुश्श्रीयुवरङ्गभूवलरिपो श्लाघैव सम्मानना ।
सारासारविवेकशून्यतरुणीसम्भोगसाम्राज्यतः
सारङ्गेन्दुमुखीविलोकनसमुत्कण्ठैव यूनां मुदे ॥

Other poets bearing this name are, Nṛsimhakavi, author of Nanjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa, Māḍhava, author of Sankṣepa-Sānkaravijaya[5] and Kaliyugakāliḍāsa, author of Śṛngāraśekhārabhāṇa or Śṛngārakośabhāṇa

1. Printed Rajahmundry. *DC*, XXI. 2249.
2. *DC*, XXI, 8251.
3. *Ibid*, 8255.
4. See *TC*, III. 1100.
5. Printed *GOS*, Baroda.

of Kāśyapagoṭra.[1] Śrīkantha son of the latter wrote Kanḍarpaḍarpaṇa-bhāna. They lived at Kāncī and were devotees of Śrī Ekāmranāṭha there.[2]

524. Somasekhara or Rājaśekhara of Kollūri family lived at Perur, Godavari District and belonged to a family of phisicians. He was grandson of Nārāyaṇa great in Mīmāmsa. He was honoured by Peshwa Madhava Rao (1760-1772 A.D.). To vie with Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara of Ḍharmasuḍhī, he wrote his Sāhiṭyakalpaḍruma.[3] His Bhāgavatacampū relates the story of Kṛṣṇa.[4]

Bhāgavaṭacampū of Rājānāṭha[5] and of Ciḍambara[6] have been noticed elsewhere.

525. Kavikunjara, pupil of Abhinava-Kāliḍasa, wrote Rājaśekharacariṭa. It is a work like Bhojaprabanḍha. Generally inculcating morals it collects stories said to have been narrated by Rasikaśekhara, a pupil of Abhinava-Kāliḍāsa to his friend Subuḍḍhi quoting fine verses of Navīna-Kāliḍāsa and other poets of King Rajaśekhara's Court.[7]

अत्र खलु प्रशस्तमतिरभिनवकालिदासस्य सुकवेरन्तेवासी चिरतरतदीयसहवाससमुपचित-रसिकतोत्सेकः श्रीमान् रासकशेखरो नाम । तस्य खलु बालमित्रं सुबुद्धिर्नामान्वर्थनामा कदाचित् सुभाषितशुश्रूषया स्वमित्रं रसिकशेखरमवादीत् ।

सुभाषितामृतास्वादसादरोऽस्मि चिरादहम् ।
परिपूरय कामं मे सखे रसिकशेखर ॥

तदेतद्वयस्यवचनमाकर्ण्य रसिकशेखरः प्रत्यवादीत् । स्निग्ध सुबुद्धे यदि तव सुभाषित-शुश्रूषा, तर्हि ।

राजशेखरभूपस्य सभायां मधुरा गिरः ।
नवीनकालिदासादिगदिताः श्रोतुमर्हसि ॥

इदमाकर्ण्य सुबुद्धिरवादीत् ।

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1. *TC*, I. 989; III. 3891.
2. *HR*, III. No. 1683. *Tanj.*, VIII. 2875. He refers to his father as Kaliyuga Kāliḍāsa.
3. Ed. in part, Amalapur. *TC*, III. 3739. There is another anonymous work of that name, *Bik*, 237.
4. *TC*, III. 3145 Introduction gives author's genealogy.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8256. The name is differently given in different manuscripts Rāmabhaḍra and Raghunāṭha (see *Tanj*, VII. 3085-8).
6. *DC*, XXI, 8258; *Tanj*, VII. 3082.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8167; *JMy*, XI. 76-79.

स्कन्धे कृषीवल हलं कलयन् क यासि ?

माणव्यः—गच्छामि ते निकटमेव विभो

राजा— किमर्थम् ?

हा हन्त कर्षणपरास्तव वैरिभूपा
वृत्तिं हरन्ति न इति त्वरयाभिधातुम् ॥

राजा नितान्तसन्तुष्टस्तस्मै निजकर्णगते सकुण्डले प्रायच्छत् ।

Among the poets that appear in the course of the narrative are many: Ḍurjaya, Sūkṣmamaṭi (palmist), Sāranga, Ḍaivagnavallabha (astrologer), Soma, Kāmalīlā (poetess), Kāśīpaṭi, Sānanḍa Raṭnākara (of Śrīranga), Kutumbakavi (of Maḍhurā), Lokānanḍa, Sūkṭisāgara, Maḍhurāngī and Laliṭāngī (of Malva), Vimalāngī, Kanakavallī, Cāṭucakravarṭin Ṭippāvaḍhāni, Kavirāja, Kuppa and Lingabhatta (of Kancī), Sanṭāna of Kunṭala, Śuka, Vasanṭa, Līlākara, Kānṭisinḍhu, Sunanḍa, Lakṣmiḍhara, Bāḍhavya.

"Like the Bhojacharitra the Rajasekharacharitra also wholly consists of verses composed in various meters in praise of the king by local and foreign poets named above. Apart from these poetical flights describing the fame of the king's generosity and bravery there are no other incidents of the king's life noticed in this Charitra. There is, however, one interesting incident which deserves to be mentioned here, as narrated in this work :—

After his arrival at Vidyanagara, Durjaya, a poet of the Chola country, seems to have succeeded in winning the favour of Rajasekhara and becoming the leader of the poets at his court, so much so that no poet would find access to the court without Durjaya's introduction. When finding it hard to get access to Rajasekhara's court through Durjaya, Saranga, Somaka, and other foreign poets left the country for good, some poets headed by Navina Kalidasa formed a plot to bring disgrace to Durjaya and get him banished from the Court of Rajasekhara. They went in a body to Durjaya and requested him to introduce them to the king as poets worthy of hearing. When asked by Durjaya what they studied, Kalidasa said that they all studied three cantos of *Raghuvamsa* and four Sandhis in the *Prakriyakaumudi*. As to their poetical skill, Kalidasa sang the following verse :—

शुकवत् बकवच्चैव कुण्ठवत्कुक्कुटाण्डवत् ।
राजशेखर ते कीर्तिः पुनः काकपुरीषवत् ॥

" Like a white thing, like the bird, like white leprosy, like hen's egg, O! Rājaśekhara, thy fame is also like the fæces of a crow."

Then Śṛṅgāraśekhara sang :

मर्कटाननवच्चैव रक्ततित्तिरिचूर्णवत् ।
प्रतापतपनो भाति राजशेखर भूपते ॥

" Like the hip of a monkey and like the powder of a red tittiri thy valour shines, O king Rajasekhara."

Then pretending to be pleased with the poetical flight of the poets under disguise, Durjaya took them to the king and introduced them as types of poets that then generally laid claim to the gift of poetical talent. In reply to the question put by the king about their country and learning. Navina Kalidasa said :—

" We have been under the patronage of that famous king who is known by the name Punyakoti, devoted to the performance of Vedic rites, learned in the Mimamsa Sastra, a generous patron of learning and now under your protective care. Having heard of your generosity towards learned men and having taken the permission of our patron, we are come here. O king Rajasekhara to seek your protection. I am called Navina Kalidasa. The others are Sringarasekhara, Mandara. Lalitalapa, Srikama, Kamalakara, Gunakara, Rajahamsa, Sridhara and Kavisekhara. As to our learning, we are all capable of composing a drama or a poetical work of the type of the epics in a day, and are well versed in the two Mimamsasastras, the Sankhya of Kapila, the grammar of Patanjali and also Astronomy and Astrology."

Then pleased with the account of the poets the king asked Durjaya to read the verses of the poets in the paper which he held in his hand. Accordingly he read the verses 'suklavat', etc. mentioned above. When wondering at the difference in tone between what he heard and saw from Navina Kalidasa's poetical narration and the verses attributed to the poets as read by Durjaya the king turned his eyes towards Kalidasa. The latter said that but for those wretched verses they would have found no access to the king and Durjaya was so jealous of other poets that he had no scruples to misrepresent them to the king ; he misrepresented both Arinan and Saranga as poets whose verses would spell untold misery on their own patron and thus got them out of Rajasekhara's court ; and he succeeded in getting rid of Somaka also for the latter's guilt of association with prostitutes. Then

Rajasekhara was enraged at Durjaya's bad conduct and banished him from his court."[1]

526. Anantabhatta is according to tradition a rival of Abhinava Kālidāsa, who wrote Bhāgavaṭacampū.[2] To vie with his work, Ananta composed a Bhāgavaṭacampū himself and Bhāraṭacampū. The latter was quoted freely by Nārāyaṇa Bhattātri of Malabar in his Prabandhas and was commented on by Mānaveḍa. Narāyaṇa and Mānaveḍa flourished in the 16th and 17th century.[3] Ananta must have lived not later than the 15th century and if Abhinava Kālidāsa, lived in the 11th century Ananta must have also lived in the 11th century A.D.

Bhāraṭacampū[4] has been held on high esteem. Ananta is rightly proud of his poetry.

Thus he begins :

शरदिन्दुविकासमन्दहासां स्फुरदिन्दीवरलोचनाभिरामाम् ।
अरविन्दसमानसुन्दरास्यामरविन्दासनसुन्दरीमुपासे ॥
कल्याणं वो विधत्तां करटमदधुनीलोलकल्लोलमाला-
खेलल्लोलम्बकोलाहलमुखरितदिक्चक्रवालान्तरालम् ।
मूलं वेतण्डरत्नं सततपरिचलत्कर्णतालप्ररोह-
द्वाताङ्कूराजिहीर्षादरविवृतफणाश्रृङ्गभूषाभुजङ्गम् ॥

तुहिनकिरणवंशस्थूलमुक्ताफलानां विपुलभुजविराजद्वीरलक्ष्मीविभूम्नाम् ।
हसितसुरपुरश्रीरस्ति सा हस्तिनाख्या रिपुजनदुरवापा राजधानी कुरूणाम् ॥

and thus he ends :

राज्ञां मौलिपरम्परां चरणयोः पाणौ प्रदानश्रियं
बुद्धौ राजनयोदयं हृदि कृपां सत्यं रसज्ञाञ्चले ।
बाहौ सागरमेखलां वसुमतीं मस्ते किरीटं मुदा
कुर्वन् धर्मतनूभवश्चिरमसौ गोपायति स्म प्रजाः ॥

1. *CASB*, 62 ; There is a commentary by Nārāyaṇa.

2. See para 174-6 supra.

3. Ananta, author of Sāhityakalpavalli (*CC*, I. 13), Ananta, author of gloss on Candrāloka (1635 A.D. *CC*, I. 13), Ananta, author of Kamāsamuha (*IO*, 396, *PR*, III, 366) are different authors.

4. Printed Madras and Bombay. Here are verses in his praise :

i. उन्मीलदम्बुजकदम्बकसौरभीणामुन्मत्तदीशमुकुटीतटिनीसखीनाम् ।
आचान्तवैरियशसाममृतोर्मिळानां वाचामनन्तसुधियो वसुधैव मूल्यम् ॥

ii. दिगन्तरलसत्कीर्तिरनन्तकविकुंजरः ।
प्राणैस्तुल्यं सरस्वत्याः प्राणैषीच्चम्पुभारतम् ॥

There are commentaries[1] on Campū-Bhāraṭa by (i) Kuravi Rāmalinga,[2] son of Ṭirumalaroya of Āṭreyagoṭra[3] (ii) Mallādi Lakṣmaṇaswāmin, (iii) Nārāyaṇaswāmin, (iv) Kumāraṭaṭārya,[4] (v) Narasimhācārya[5] and (vi) one anonymous.[6]

There are other works on the same theme: Bhāraṭacampūṭilaka by Lakṣmaṇa,[7] Mānaveḍacampūbhāraṭa by Mānaveḍa,[8] Bharaṭacariṭa of Bhāgavaṭa Kṛṣṇaśarmā,[9] Abhinavabhāraṭa by Śrīkantha and Caṇḍrasēkhara.[10]

527. Cidambara was the son of Ananṭanārāyaṇa and grandson of Sūryanārāyaṇa. He was patronized by King Venkata I (1586-1614) of Vizianagar. His Pancakalyāṇacampū and Rāghavayāḍavapāndavīya (Kaṭhāṭrayī)[11] have been noticed elsewhere.[12] Bhāgavaṭacampū relates the story of Bhāgavaṭa by itself.[13] Śabḍārṭhacinṭāmaṇi narrates the story of Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāgavaṭa at a time.[14] Ciḍambaravilāsakāvya in 5 cantos describes the tales of Lord Natarāja of Cidambaram.[15] Śleṣacinṭāmaṇi, a small poem, displays his skill in paranomasia.[16]

His pupil Śrīkantha alias Nanjunda, son of Śāmayārya of Āṭreyagoṭra wrote Maḍanamahoṭsavabhāṇa, staged at the festival at Bālavyāghrapurī (Sirupuliyur).[17]

528. Mitramisra, the author of Vīramiṭroḍaya, wrote Ānanḍakanḍacampū, on the early life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He was a Sannāḍhya

1. *IO*, 1523.
2. He was a grantee under King Peda Venkata of Penugonda in *TC*, II. 1097; *DC*, XXI 8202. 1632 A.D.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8202.
4. *TC*, III. 3532, *DC*, XXI. 8204.
5. *Tanj*, VII. 3105-15; *TC*, I. 96; *DC*, XXI. 8203. He lived at Kumbakonam.
6. *Opp*, II. 5240.
7. *DC*, XXI. 36263. He is the same as the author of Yuḍḍhakānda sequel to Bhojacampu.
8. *TC*, II. 2586; *DC*, XXI. 8167. There is a commentary on it, *TC*, II. 2595. In *TC*, III. 3997 there is a Campusankṣepa, a summary in verse. See para 176 supra.
9. Printed, Madras.
10. *Mys*. 263.
11. For commentaries, see *DC*, XXI. 7908.
12. See para 92 supra.
13. *DC*, XXI. 8258.
14. *Tanj*. VI. 2840.
15. *Ibid*. VI. 2742.
16. *Ibid*. VI. 2848.
17. *DC*, XXI. 8442.

Brahmin and belonged to the Pancha Gauda class. His patron Rāja Vīrasimhaḍev of Orccha ruled in 1605-1627 A.D. and was probably identical with Bir Singh Deo, who is said to have killed Abul Fazal, the scholar of Emperor Akbar.[1]

529. Venkatadhvarin or Venkatācārya was the son of Raghunātha and Sītāmbā of the Ātreyagotra. His grand-father Śrīnivāsa[2] known as Appayaguru was the nephew of the great Tatacharya (Pancamatabhanjana Ṭāṭācārya)[3] of Conjeevaram, a contemporary of Appayadīkṣita. He was a descendant of Praṇaṭārṭihara, a desciple of Rāmānuja. The famous Vāḍihamsāmbuḍa, the teacher of Veḍānṭaḍeśika, was his ancestor too. Venkatāḍhvarin was born at Arasāṇipālai near Conjeevaram (Kāncī) and lived in Conjeevaram. He was a staunch follower Veḍānṭaḍeśika. His literary activity was coeval with that of Nīlakantha, who lived in the latter half of the 17th century. He was well-versed in all sciences and had a good intinct for poetry. He was for some time the chief Pandit at the Court of Pralayakāveri. His versatile learning is manifest from the various species of his compositions.

His famous work is VISVAGUNADARSANAM.[4] It is a proso-poetic composition. Two Ganḍharvas Viśvāvasu and Kṛśānu are supposed to take a birdseye view of countries in their aerial car, the former generous in appreciation of merits, the latter ever censorious. This work was intended to expose the faults of the manners and customs of his time.[5]

Thus it begins :

श्रीराजीवाक्षवक्षःस्थलनिलयरमाहस्तवास्तव्यलोल-
ह्लीलाब्जाभिष्पतन्ती मधुरमधुझरी नाभिपद्मे मुरारेः ।
अस्तोकं लोकमात्रा द्वियुगमुखशिशोराननेष्वर्प्यमाणं
शङ्खप्रान्तेषु दिव्यं पय इति विबुधैः शङ्क्यमाना पुनातु ॥

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1. Printed Sarasvaṭi Bhavan Series, Benares.
2. Śrīnivāsa's second son Varaḍa is the author of bhāna Anangajīvana and a poem Kṛṣṇābhyuḍaya (*DC*, XXI. 8342).
3. Ed. Bombay. Tr. in English in part, Sahrdaya.
4. See para 212 *supra*. This Ṭaṭaḍeśika lived in 1509-1591 A.D. He adopted his brother's son who is now familiarly known as Kotikanyakāḍānam Ṭātacārya. (1572—1632 A.D.)
5. In Saḍḍarśana-sudarśana (To. IV. 5437) the poet's criticisms on Thengalai Vaiṣṇava sect are vindicated.

विश्वावलोकस्पृहया कदाचिद्विमानमारुह्य समानरूपम् ।
कृशानुविश्वावसुनामधेयं गन्धर्वयुग्मं गगने चचार ॥
कृशानुरकृशासूयः पुरोभागिपदं गतः ।
विश्वावसुरभूद्विश्वगुणग्रहणकौतुकी ॥

and thus it ends:

प्रकाशदोषप्रचुरेऽप्यमुष्मिन् ग्रन्थे मदीये करुणानुबन्धात् ।
प्रसादवन्तो न कृशानवन्तु परं तु विश्वावसवन्तु सन्तः ॥

It is said that in consequence of such censure on the world around him, he lost his sight and his praises of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu in a thousand verses called Lakṣmisahasram[1] and Śrīnivāsasahasram[2] cured him. In these poems, the author has excelled in the display of verbal ingenuity and poetic imajery.

There are commentaries on Viśvaguṇādarṣa by Kuravi Rāma, a writer of the 19th century who was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar;[3] by Prabhākara, son of Lakṣmīdhara.[4]

Venkatādhvarin's works are many. Yādava-Rāghavīyam, which relates the story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, at a time, by reading the verses in their natural and reverse order.[5] Uttaracarita relates the tale of the banishment of Sīta and the birth of Kuśa and Lava and was meant to be sequel to the Rāmāyaṇacampū of Bhoja.[6] Varadābhyudaya or Hastigiricampū[7] describes the greatness and religious glory of the shrine of Devarāja at Kāncī. Ācāryapancāśat[8] at is a short panegyric of Vedāntadeśika. Śravaṇānanda is a collection of verses on various topics and displays much originality.[9] Subhāṣita-Kaustubha[10] is an anthology

1. Ed. in Telugu (Karvetnagar, 1890) with the commentary by Kauśika Gopālācārya of Śrīperumbudur. There is also a commentary called Surabhi by Vireśwarasamy, son of Venkatasamy of Devarakonda family. *TC*, III. 3013.

2. This work is not now traceable.

3. His descendant Challaya Sastri was living in 1895 at Inamenamellur in North Arcot District. He also commented on Campubhāraṭa, Daśarupa and Kuvalayānanda. He wrote other works in Telugu. See *HR*, I. (1895). xi.

4. *TC*, IV. 4626, The manuscript was completed in Śaka 1317.

5. See para 90 supra. *DC*, XX, 7956, with commentary on it. *DC*, XX. 7957.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8180. Printed in Telugu (Bangalore) with a commentary by Tirumalācārya, Pandit, Maharajah's College, Mysore.

7. *DC*, XXI, 8281, Ed. Mysore, 1908 with a commentary by Cakravarti Ayyangar of Nallāncakravarti family.

8. *DC*, XIX. 7267.

9. Printed, Jl. of Mysore Sans. College.

10. *DC*, XX. 8096.

in five chapters, describing the character of ignorance, vice, virtue etc. Praḍymnānanḍa[1] is a drama in six Acts and describes the marriage of Praḍyumna with Raṭi born as the daughter of the demon Śambara. Śṛingāradīpikā is a Bhana. Subhaḍrāpariṇaya is a play of which two acts only are found now at Araśāṇipalai.

530. The device of description planned in Viśvaguṇaḍarśam has been adopted in some later works. Ṭaṭvaguṇāḍarśam[2] describes the comparative merits of the tenets of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the form of a dialogue between Jaya and Vijaya. The author Annayārya was the son of Śrīnivāsa Ṭāṭārya of the Śrīśaila family. He was the brother of Śrīnivāsācārya, the author of Ṭaṭvamārtāṇda and Jijnāsāḍarpaṇa and Pandit of the Court of King Venkata, son of Rāghava of the Kosala race.

531. **Dattatreya** Sastri was son of Vāsuḍeva and Ambikā. His grandfather was the famous Janārḍana Nigudakara. He lived in the village of Pangrada in Konkana in 1863-1918. In 1891, he was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Rajpur. He bore the title Viḍyāraṭna. Besides a poem Raghuvamśasāra, and glosses on Janakīharaṇa, Buḍḍhacariṭa and Raṭnāvali and a play Rukminīharaṇa, he wrote a campū Gangāguṇāḍārśā. There on the plan of Viśvaguṇāḍarśa, demerits and merits of the Ganges are espoused in a dialogue by two Ganḍharvas, Hāhā and Hūhū and the greatness of Gangā finally asserted.[3]

532. RAGHAVACARYA was the son of Śrīnivāsācārya and grand-grandson of Venkatācārya of Śrīvaṭṣagoṭra. He was a desciple of Ranganāṭha, apparently a head of the Ahobilam Mutt. The poem teems with alliteration. In Vaikunthavijayacampu[4] the gives a description of the various shrines visited by Jaya and Vijaya in the course of a pilgrimage.

533. NILAKANTHA, was the son of Rāmabhatta of Kaundinya goṭra and a disciple of one who bore the title of Ḍanṭiḍyoṭiḍivāpraḍīpa.[5] In his Kaśikāṭilakam, two Ganḍharvas are sent out by

1. *DC*, XXI. 8422. This was composed in the year Prajoṭpaṭṭi which is likely equal to 1671 A.D.
2. *DC*, XXI. 8223. There is a commentary on it by the author himself (*Ibid.* 8225).
3. Printed Bombay.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8298.
5. *TC*, III. 2763.

Kubera in search of Śiva, who had, as Nāraḍa informed him, gone to Avimukṭapuram, and in the guise of mortals, they visit various sacred shrines, which they describe as they go.

534. SAMARPUNGAVA Ḍikṣiṭa who was the son of Venkateśa of Vaḍhūlagoṭra and brother of Suryanārāyaṇa and Ḍharma. He lived at Tiruvalangadu in North Arcot District, Madras, about the middle of the 17th century. His Ṭirṭhayāṭrāprabanḍham[1] describes the holiness of several sacred shrines and waters visited in the course of a pilgrimage.

535. VENKATAKAVI was the son of Vīrarāghava of Bālaśayana or Ilampalli family and lived at Ginjee in South Arcot District. He salutes Veḍānṭaḍeśika and was therefore of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava sect.[2] In Vibhuḍhānanḍaprabanḍham he describes various sacred shrines of India visited by two persons Bālapriya and Priyamvaḍa in the course of their journey to Baḍarikāśrama to attend the marriage there of Sīlāvaṭī and Makaranḍa son of Kanḍarpa, king of a place called Kamalinī. The story is a fiction and is narrated in a conversation between two parrots.

536. In Śruṭakīrṭivilāsacampū SURYANARAYANA of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra describes the several places visited by a Brahmin Śruṭakīrṭi a native of Virincīpūram near Nellore.[3]

537. RAMACANDRA was the son of Keśava and fifth in descent from Raṭnakheta Śrinivāsa[4] must have therefore lived the latter half of 17th century A.D. His Keralābharaṇam describes the merits and demerits of various countries and their usages in a dialogue of two spies Milinḍa and Makaranḍa who were sent out on a tour of inspection, in the course of a debate between Vasistha and Viśvāmiṭra in the Council of Inḍra.[5]

538. Sankara Diskita, son of Bālakṛṣṇa of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra, was a poet of the Court of King Sabhāsimha of Bundlekand. He died

1. *DC*, XXI, 8226.
2. *DC*, XXI. 8285.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8593.
4. *Tanj.* VII 8035. Raṭnakheta had three sons Keśava, Arḍhanārīśvara and Rājacuḍāmaṇi. Keśava's son was Paṭanjali, his son was Keśava, and Kesava's son was Rāmacanḍra.
5. On Rāṭnakheta, see para 151 *supra*.

in 1780 A.D. Besides the play Pradyumnavijaya,[1] he wrote Gangāvatāracampū on the story of the Ganges and Sānkaracetovilāsa, a campū on the life of Mahārāja Cetasimha (Cheytsingh) who was a magnate of Benares in 1770-1781 A.D. in the time of Governor-General Warren Hastings.[2]

539. Sonthi Bhadradri Ramasastry (1856-1915) was a Velanati Vaidiki Brahmin of Pithāpur in Codavary District, He was the son of Gangārāmayya of Gautamagotra. A great Sanskrit Scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Muktāvali a drama and Śrīrāmavijaya, a poem, his Sāmbarāsuravijaya, a Campū, is a favourite of pandits as a work of literary art.

540. In **Jayarama's** Rādhāmadhavavilāsacampū, the loves of Rāmā and Kṛṣṇa are depicted and in the latter the court life of Sahaji Bhosle.[3]

541. On Ramayana. Campūrāghava of Āsūri Anantācārya (*Printed*, Bezwada : composed, in 1868 A.D.) with the commentary of Āsūri Venkatanarasimhācārya ; Rāmayaṇacampū by Sundaravallī, daughter of N. Narasimha Aiyangar, Mysore (*Printed*, Bangalore : composed in 1916 A.D) ; Campūrāmāyaṇa of Āṇivivilla Sitārāmaśāstrin[4] of Kākaraparti, Kṛṣṇa District (*Printed*, Madras) ; Amogharāghava by Divākara, son of Viśveśvara (*TC*, V. 6365).[5]

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1. *CC*, I. 352 ; Wilson's *Theatre*, II. 402. Śankara, author of Śaradātilakabhāṇa (*CC*, I. 642 ; Wilson's *Theatre*, II, 384.) and Śankara, author of Gāuridigambara (play, *CC*, III. 37) are different authors.

2. See Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, II. 455.

3. Printed Bombay. There is an introductory essay on the rise of Maharata kingdoms. See also Puruṣottama's Śivakāvya on the subject of Maharata history. Ed. by J. B. Modak, Bombay.

4. He also wrote Sitāramadayālahari, printed there.

5. He was different from Divākara, son of Udbāhusundara who wrote the play Lakṣmīmānavedam (*TC*, V. 6351). Amogharāghava was composed in Śaka 1221 (1299 A.D.). There are fine verses in praise of Valmīki and Kālidāsa

वाणी वासमवाप यस्य वदनद्वारि प्रतीक्ष्येव ह-
त्पद्मस्थाम्बुजनाभनाभिनिवसल्लोकेशसेवाक्षणम् ।
वल्मीकप्रभवाय कल्मषमिदं तस्मै परस्मै नमो
रामोदात्तचरित्रवर्णनवचःप्रोद्योगिने योगिने ॥
रम्याश्लेषवती प्रसादमधुरा शृङ्गारसङ्गोज्ज्वला
चाटूक्तैरखिलप्रियैरह रहस्संमोहयन्ती मनः ।
लीलान्यस्तपदप्रचाररचना सद्वर्णसंशोभिता
माति श्रीमति कालिदासकविता कान्तेव तान्ते रता ॥

Raghunāṭhavijaya by Kṛṣṇa Kavi (*Printed*, Bombay); Rāmacaryāmṛṭa by Kṛṣṇayyangārya (*Printed*, Mysore); Kuśalavacampū by Venkaya Suḍhī (*Mys.* 264); Rāmākathāsuḍhoḍaya by Śrīnivāsa (*Ibid.* 269); Rāmābhiṣeka by Ḍevarājaḍeśika (*Ibid.* 269. *TC*, II. 21); Sīṭāvijaya by Ghantāvaṭāra (*Ibid.* 272); Rāmacanḍracampū (i) by Rāmacanḍra, son of Paṭanjali and great-grandson of Raṭnakheta (*HR*, II. vii.) and (ii) by Viśvanāṭha [*Mitra* 1870]; Rāmābhyuḍaya by Rāma, (*TC*, II. 1818) of Ḍevulapalli.

Kakusṭhavijaya by Vallīsahāya of Vāḍhūlagoṭra (*IO*, 1539); Sīṭācampū of Gundu Rāmaswāmi Śāsṭrin of Agasṭyagoṭra;[1] Māruṭivijaya of Raghunāṭha (*Tanj.* VII 3115); Hanūmaḍapaḍāna (*TC*, IV. 4397); Ānjaneyavijaya by Nṛsimha (*Mys.* 261) Lakṣmaṇābharaṇiya (*Opp.* II. 3361.)

Uṭṭarakānda of Rāghava of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1918); Rāmacampū of Bandlamūdi Rāmaswāmi (*Printed*, Madras); Uṭṭaracampū (i) of Brahmapanḍiṭa, (ii) of Rāghavabhatta, and (iii) of Bhāgavanṭa (*Tanj.* VII. 3031); Rāmābhiṣeka of Ḍevarāja, son of Paḍmanābha (*TC*, II. 2127; *Mys.* 269);[2] Abhinava-Rāmāyaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa Ḍānṭa composed in Śāka 1789 (*Bhandarkar's list*, 1893, Part I.), Rāmāyaṇa of Rāmānuja of Vāḍhūlagoṭra (*DC*, XXI. 8504).

542. On Bhagavata. Bhāgavaṭacampū of Rāmabhaḍra[3] (*Tanj.* VII. 308); Kṛṣṇacampū (i) of Śeṣasuḍhī,[4] and (ii) of Paraśurāma (*Gough*, 106); Ānanḍaḍāmoḍara of Bhuvaneśvara (*CASB*, 23); Vāsuḍevananḍinī of Gopalakṛṣṇa[5] (*CC*, I. 161); Praṇayimāḍhava by Māḍhavabhatta (*Bhandarkar's List* (1893), I. 110); Mukunḍacāriṭa by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys.* 268); Kṛṣṇānanḍakanḍa by Miṭramiśra (*CC*, I. 258); Ānanḍabṛnḍāvana (i) by Paramānanḍaḍāsa (*Printed*, Benares) (ii) by Kavikarṇapūra (See para 223, *Supra*); (iii) by Keśava (*NW*, X. 16) and (iv) by Māḍhavānanḍa (*Oudh*, XXI. 92); Bālakṛṣṇacampū by Jivanajiśarma (*Printed*, Bombay); Māḍhavacampū by Ciranjīva[6] and Manḍāramaranḍa by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Bombay); Śrīkṛṣṇācampū (*Mys.* 271); Gopālacampū (i) by Jīvarāja (*CC*, I. 161), (ii) by Kiśoravilāsa

1. He died at Velangi near Cocanada in 1918-19. He also wrote a play Uṣāpariṇaya.

2. He also wrote Kirāṭārjunīyacampu and Aryāmanjarī (*CASB*, 26.)

3. Completed in Durmaṭi year.

4. The manuscript is with P. V. Subramanya Sastri, Rajole, Godavari Dt.

5. Among his other works there noted are Ambāḍviśaṭī, Āryāvarṇanamālikā, Kumārakarṇāmṛta, Saubhāgāyalaharī, Pancadaśavarṇamālikā and other stavas.

6. He also wrote Viḍvanmoḍaṭarangiṇī (Printed, Calcutta).

(*CC*, III. 35), (iii) by Viśvanāṭhasimha [*Mitra* (1870)]; Kṛṣṇavilāsa (i) by Lakṣmaṇa (*DC*, XXI. 8191) and (ii) by Narasimhasūri, son of Ananṭārāya (*DC*, XXI. 8193); Yādavacampū (*Opp*, 5140); Kṛṣṇavijaya (i) by Vīreśvara (*TC*, II. 2260); (ii) by Kṛṣṇa Śāsṭrin (*Rice*, 248) Rukmiṇīcampū by Govarḍhana, son of Ghanaśyāma (*CC*, I. 527); Sanṭanagopālaprabanḍha (*DC*, XXI. 8307); Kālinḍīmukunḍa (*DC*, XXI. 8186, 8567);[1] Jayarāma Pande's Rāḍhāmāḍhavavilāsa (*Printed*, Bombay).

543. On Mahabharata. Bakavaḍha (*TC*, III. 0411); Kumārābhyuḍaya (*TC*, III. 3521); Subhaḍrāharaṇa (*TC*, III. 3422); Pancenḍrōpākhyāna (*TC*, III. 3420) on the marriage of Ḍraupaḍī; Kumāravijaya by Bhāskara, son of Śivasūrya (*TC*, IV. 5818); Kumāroḍaya (*TC*, IV. 5894); Nayaniḍarśana (*Trav*. 80).

544. On Puranas. Vallīpariṇaya of Yajnasubrahmaṇya (*Printed*, Madras); Paḍmāvaṭīpariṇaya of Śrīśaila (*Printed*, Karvetnagar); Maḍrakanyāpariṇaya of Gangāḍhara (*Mys*. 267; *DC*, XXI. 8265); Rukmiṇīpariṇaya by Ammal (*Mys*. 270) and by Venkatācārya of Praṭivāḍibhayankara family (*TC*, II. 3599); Parvaṭipariṇaya by Rāmeśvara of Kanḍukūri family (*TC*, III. 4138); Saṭrājiṭīpariṇaya by Kṛṣṇaḍāsa Gangaya, son of Rāmeśvara of Śaunakagoṭra[2] (*TC*, III. 2732).

Kalyāṇavallīkalyāṇa by Rāmānuja of Vāḍhūlagoṭra (see *DC*, XXI. 8275); Uṣāpariṇaya (*DC*, XXI. 8185); Kalyāṇacampū by Pāpayarāḍhya and Gaurīpariṇaya by Pinnavenkatasūri on Pārvaṭi's wedding (*TC*, V. 6575, III. 3081); Mīnākṣīpariṇaya by Āḍinārāyaṇa (*Mys*. 267); Rukmiṇīvallabhapariṇaya by Nṛsihmaṭāṭa (*Ibid*. 170); Pāncālīswayamvara (*DC*, XXI. 826); Mīnākṣīkalyāṇa by Kanḍukūri Nāganāṭha of Maḍura (*DC*, XXI. 8270); Paḍmāvaṭīpariṇaya by Śrīśaila (*Printed* Karvetnagar); Ḍamayanṭīpāriṇaya (*TC*, V. 6415); Goḍāpariṇaya by Veḍāḍhināṭha (*DC*, XXI. 8196).[3]

Ṭripuravijaya (i) by Aṭirāṭrayajvan[4] and (ii) by Nṛsimha[5] (*Tanj*, VII. 3044-6); Karṇānanḍa by Kṛṣṇaḍāsa (*Ulwar*, 1552); Kalākamuḍī by Cakrapāṇi (*CC*, I. 777); Kāvyakalāpa by Mahānanḍaḍhīra; Kumāra-

1. The author's great-grand-father wrote a commentary on Naiṣadha of which manuscript is dated 1834 A.D.

2. He was patronised by Amarenḍra Sobhanāḍri, Zamindar of Nuzvid.

3. About Āndāl of Śrīvilliputtur (Śrīḍhanvinavyapuri). For a play on the same theme, see *DC*, XXI. 8399.

4. See para 165 supra. For Ṭripuraḍahanacampu, see *Tanj*, VII. 3048.

5. See para 154 supra.

sambhava by Śarabhoji[1] (*Tanj.* VII. 3033); Śivavilāsa by Virūpākṣa (*Tanj,* VII. 3166); Śivacampū by Kavivādiśēkhara on the story of Mārkandeya (*DC,* XXI. 8305; *Tanj.* VII. 3163); Kiśoracarita (*CC,* I. 108); Vīracampū by Padmanānda (*PR,* I. 101)[2]; Gangāvilasa and Jagadambā by Gopāla, son of Mahādeva (*CC,* II. 32, 37); Bhārgavacampū by Rāmakṛṣṇa (*Printed,* Bombay).

Nṛsimhacampū by (i) Bhattakeśava, son of Ananta of Laugakṣi family of Puṇyastamba on the Godāvari (*Printed* Bombay, *Tanj,* VII, 3079; (ii) by Daivajna Sūrya (*Tanj,* VII. 3073; see para 96 supra); (iii) by Sankarṣaṇa (*Tanj,* VII. 3076); Śambarāsuravijaya by Bhadri Rāmaśāstrin of Gautamagotra; Candraśēkharacampū by Rāmanātha (*Printed,* Benares and Calcutta);[3] Dattātreyacampū by Dattātreya of Ātreyagotra, (*DC,* XXI. 830);[4] Bāṇayuddhacampū by Kochunni Tambiran;[5] Vikramasenacampū by Nārāyaṇa, son of Gangādhara (*Tanj,* VII. 3153).[6]

Aniruddhacarita (i) by Devarāja, son of Raghupati of Sāndilyagotra, (*IO,* 1740; *Oudh,* VIII. 8); (ii) by Sāmbasiva (*Mys.* 263; *Rice* 246); Bāṇāsuravijaya (*SR,* I. 77; *IC,* III. 78); by Surapuram Venkatācārya (*Ibid,* 266); Anjanēyavijaya (i) by Nṛismhakavi *Ibid*); Ānandakanda by Mitramiśra (*Ibid. CC,* I. 258); Bhāgīrathīcampū by Acyutarśarman (*Printed,* Bombay; composed 1814 A.D.); Lakṣmīśvaracampū by Anantasūri (*Printed,* Bombay); Rameśvaravijaya by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed,* Madras); Gājendracampū by Panta Vittala (*Printed*; composed, in 1864 A.D.);

1. This was probably composed by Cokkannakavi (Cokkanātha) see *BTC,* 157, *CC,* I. 111.

2. It is not known if Kārtavīryaprabandha mentioned] as Aśvini Mahārāja's in *Trav. Cat.* 182 is identical.

3. He died at Cocanada in 1915-16. He also wrote a play Muktāvali. The manuscripts are with his son Gangādhara Śāstri, City Press, Cocanada.

4. It gives the story of the incarnation of Mahādeva in the house of King Poṣya of Brahmāvarta.

5. See para 180 *supra.* He was Elayarāja of Cranganore and died about the year 1927. He is the brother of the present Elayarāja Kunjunni Tambiran, who is an authority on Nātyaśastra. He wrote also Kṛṣṇāvatāradandaka and completed Rāmavarman's Rāmacarita with Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa of which the manuscript is in the palace at Cranganore. On Rāmavarman, see para 177 *supra.* He lived in Kollam 975-1025 and wrote also Vallyudbhava (poem). Kunjunni Tambiran wrote commentary on Śitāpādādikeśastava and died 19 years ago. Kunhanrāja wrote commentary on Śrīpādasaptati and died 14 years ago. Rama Varma M.A. of Cranganore wrote a poem Kaumudī, which is an adaptation of Goldsmith's Hermit.

6. See para 164 *supra,* Nārāyaṇa was another son of Gangādhara son of Tryambaka.

Sūḍarśanacampū by Kṛṣṇananda (*Printsd*, Bombay); Śrīnivāsavilāsa (i) by Venkateśa (*Printed*, Bombay); (ii) by Śrīkṛṣna (*Printed*, Madras) [He was latter Parakālasvarāmi; see para 221 *supra*]; Jagaḍguruvijaya by Yalanḍur Śrīkantha Śāsṭri (*Printed*, Mysore); Inḍirābhyuḍaya by Raghunātha (*Mys*. 264); Kumārabhārgavīya by Bhānuḍaṭṭa, son of Gaṇapaṭi (*IO*, 1540.

Śankaracampū by Lakṣmīpaṭi (*Mys*. 271); Śankarānanḍa by Guru Swayambhūnāṭha (*Ibid*, 271); Vīrabhaḍravijaya by (i) Ekāmranāṭha and (ii) by Mallikārjuna (*Ibid*, 271, IC, IV 6113) Hayavaḍanavijaya by Venkatarāghava (*Ibid*, 272); Saṭyasanḍhacariṭa by Kalpavallikavi (*Ibid*, 271); Cinṭāmaṇivijaya by Śeṣakavi (*Ibid* 264); Jnānānkura by Lakṣmī-nṛsimha (*Ibid*, 265); Puruṣoṭṭamacampū by Narasimha (*Ibid*, 274); Yāḍavaśekharacampū by Bhāṣyakāra (*Ibid*, 269); Vijayavijaya by Vajra-kānṭa Lakṣmīnarasimha (*Ibid*. 270).

545. Local. Mārgasahāyacampū by Navanīṭa of Vāḍhūlagoṭra on the temple of Mārgasahāya at Virincīpuram (*DC*, XXI, 8265; *TC*, IV, 5828); Ḍivyacāpavijaya by Cakravarṭi Venkatācārya, on the myths of Ḍarbhaśayanam (*DC*, XXI. 8232); Vyāghrālayeśāṣtamīmahoṭsava (*Ibid*, 8301), on the shrine at Vykkom in Ṭravancore; Vajramukuṭīvilāsa (i) by Alasinga and (ii) by Yogānanḍa (*Mys*. 270); and Yaḍugiribhūṣana by Appalācārya (*Mys*. 270), and Sampaṭkumāravilāsa by Ranganāṭha of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra (*DC*, XXI. 8850) on the festivals of Melkote; Japyeśoṭsava by Venkatasubba (*Mys*. 264); Bhaḍrācalacampū by Rāghava of Śathamarṣaṇagoṭra[1] (*Sah*. V); Paḍmanābhacariṭa by Kṛsṇa on the shrine at Ṭrivandrum (*Trav*, 81); Venkateśacampū by Ḍharmarāja (*Tanj*. VII. 3160), and Śrīnivāsacampū by Śrīnivāsa,[2] son of Venkateśa of Kauśikagoṭra (*Tanj*. VII, 3168) on the shrine at Ṭirupati;[3] Aśvaṭṭhakṣeṭrayāga (*Trav*. 79).

546. Biographical. Puraḍevacampū of Arhaṭḍāsa (*DC*, XXI. 8247; *Mys*. 266) on the life of Jain saint Puruḍeva; Jainacāryavijaya (*DC*, XXVI. 9746) on the lives of Mallisena and other Jain saints: Ānanḍaranga by Śrīnivāsa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra on the life of Ānanḍaranga,

1. On the same shrine, there are poems Venkaṭagirimāhāṭmya by Devaḍāsa (*CC*, I. 600) and Śrīnivasakāvya by Ṭryambaka, son of Paḍmanābha (*CC*, II. 160).

2. There are poems Bhaḍrācalapuravarṇā and Bhaḍrācalanakṣaṭramālā by Veḍānṭam Śrīrāmaśāsṭrin (*Printed*, Cocanada and Bezwada).

3. He wrote also Sumanoranjana, a poem on Kṛṣṇa. Another Śrīnivāsa wrote a poem Ṭarakāvalī in 27 verses to which the epithet Sapṭaṭāra is prefixed "because each verse is composed in such a manner as at first sight it deceives the reader regarding its real meaning." (*HR*, II. viii).

Dubash of Dupleix (*DC*, XXI. 8313);[1] Mṛgayācampū by Kavirāja on the hunts of King Viciṭravikrama of Kalati of Ganjam (*TC*, IV. 3218); Śrīṇivāsacampū by Venkata in praise of a king Śrīnivāsa (*Printed*, Granthamālā); Samarāḍiṭyakaṭhā (*Printed*, Calcutta); Raṭnaśekhara-cariṭra by Ḍayāvarḍhanagaṇi (*Printed*, Bombay).

Nārāyaṇa's Vikramasenacampū describes the adventures of King Vikramasena of Praṭisthāna.[2] He was the son of Gangāḍhāra and grandson of Ṭriyambākā who was the minister to King Shahji (1687-1711 A.D.) of Ṭanjore.[3] In Ānanḍakanḍacampū, Samarapungava Dīksiṭa treats of the legends of Śaiva saints, male and female, their austerities and rewards.[4] Bāṇeśvara composed Ciṭracampū in 1744 A.D. for his patron Ciṭrasena of Varḍhamāna. He was son of Rāmaḍasā and was called Viḍyālankāra Bhattācārya.[5]

Kṛṣṇabhūṣaṇa gives the life of a merchant Kṛṣṇa of Narkedimalli family (*DC*, XXI. 8189).

Maiṭreya Rāmānūjācārya's Nāṭhamunivijaya (*DC*, XXI, 8241) Ahobilasūri's Yaṭirājavijaya (*DC*, XXI. 8271) and Rāmānujaḍāsa's Rāmānujacampū[1] (*DC*, XXI. 8278) are on the life of Rāmānuja and Govinḍadāsa and Śrīnivāsarāmānuja wrote Śrīnivāsamuniyāṭrāvilāsa on Śrīnivāsamuni of the Muniṭraya line of Vaiṣṇava teachers. (*TC*, III. 2885, 2892.)

Viśākhaṭulāprabanḍha of A.R. Rāja Rāja Varma,[6] Viśākhaseṭuyā-ṭrāvarṇana of Gaṇapaṭiśastrin[7] and Viśākhakīrṭivilāsa of Rāmaswāmi Sāsṭrin[8] relate to the life of Viśākha Mahārāja of Travancore.

On the history and royalty of Mysore there are the following: Mahīsūrabhivṛḍḍhi by K. Venkatarāma Śāsṭrin, Mahīśūraḍeśābhuyu-ḍaya by Sīṭārāmakavi, Śarāvaṭījalapāṭavarṇanam (Jog falls) and Śrīkṛṣṇanṛpoḍayaprabanḍha by Kukke Subrahmaṇyaśarmā, Kṛṣṇa-rājenḍrayaśovilāsa by S. Narasimhācāriar, Śrīkṛṣṇarājābhyuḍaya by

1. This work gives the history of dynasties of Vijianagar and the branches of Candragiri etc.

2. *TC*, II. 2641; *Tanj*, VII. 3154.

3. See para 164 *supra*.

4. *IO*, 1538.

5. *IO*, VII 1543, (analysed). This is characterised by a long dream and by an unmistakeable inculcation of Vaishnavite Vadantism.

6. *Trav*, 184; see para 180 *supra*.

7. *Trav*, 184; see para 247 *supra*.

8. *Trav*, 81,

Giṭācārya[1] (*Printed* in Mys. Sanskrit College Journal, I-IV). Bhāgavaṭa Kṛṣṇaśāsṭrin wrote the poem Kṛṣṇarājābhyuḍaya. Yaḍugiri Ananṭācarya wrote Kṛṣṇarājākaloḍaya.

547. Philosophical: Jnānānkura by Lakṣmīnṛsimha, Ṭaṭṭvaguṇāḍarśa by Aṇṇayārya, Ṭaṭṭvārṭhaḍarpaṇa by Appayaḍīkṣiṭa (*Mys.* 2652).[2]

SECTION 3.

548. Udaharana is a species of quasi-musical proso-poetic composition. It appears to have been in vogue in very early ages. Kāliḍaśa mentions it in Vikramorvaśī and Raghuvamśa:

पत्रे निवेशितमुदाहरणं प्रियायाः ।
जयोदाहरणं बाह्वोर्गापयामास किन्नरान् ।

Viḍyānāṭha defines it thus:

येन केनापि तालेन गद्यपद्यसमन्वितम् ।
जयेत्युपक्रमं मालिन्यादिप्रासविचित्रितम् ।
तदुदाहरणं नाम विभक्त्यष्टांगसंयुतम् ॥

Bharaṭa thus alludes to this mode of composition:

गुर्वादिरथ लघ्वादिर्युग्मः सर्वलघुः स्मृतः ।
चतुर्मात्रागणा ज्ञेयाः पूर्वच्छंदोविकल्पनाः ।
पातोऽर्धकळिकान् पातान् कुर्याल्लघ्वक्षरेषु च ।
गुर्वक्षरे तालगीतपातास्तु कळिकाः स्मृताः ॥

It is said in the Purāṇas that when Ḍakṣa composed sṭuṭis called Sapṭagīṭa the Gods improved on that composition by the introduction of sṭobha-akṣaras and used them to eulogise Maheśvara after his Ṭānḍava in the form of songs of varying ṭālas. In this class of composition, we have only a piece extant Basavoḍāharaṇa of Somanāṭha (Pālkuriki).

कळिका—अपि च पुरातननूतनशिवगणपादोदकपरिलसदभिषेकः ।
क्षपितविपल्लवजंगमलिंगसमर्चननिचितविवेकः ॥
सततविकस्वरभास्वरनिजमुखमंडलखंडितरजनीनाथः ।
कृतयुगवर्तनकीर्तननिरसनानिपुणपवित्रचरित्रसनाथः ॥

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1. He is the father of Rājagopala Cakravarṭin about whom, see previous chapter.
2. *DC*, XXI. 8278. He was son of Bhavanācārya of Vāḍhulagoṭra, His paternal uncle Rāmānuja wrote Kalyāṇavalli-Kalyāṇa, Veḍapādarāmāyaṇa etc. He probably lived at Trivellore, Chingleput District.

प्रकटितदर्पकदर्पकरेणुप्रमथननिशितकरांकुशहेलः ।
शुकमुखमानसकमलाकरविहरणचणराजमराळः ॥
स्वानुभवांचितकूडलिसंगमसंततदेवध्यानाभिज्ञः ।
सूनृतभाषणभूषणवाणीसिंहासनगंभीररसज्ञः ॥

उत्कलिका—श्रुतिमुखरखरसरससमेतः स्मृतिनिकुरुंबरसायनगीतः ।
प्रमुदितहृद्वर्तनशितिकंठः शमदमलालनगुणितोत्कंठः ॥

Somanāṭha was son of Gurulinga (Basaveśa ?) of Bhṛngirītagoṭra and lived about 1180 A.D. during the days of King Praṭāparuḍraḍeva I, (1140-1196 A.D.) He is praised by the Canarese poet Somarāju (about 1222 A.D.) in his Uḍbhatakāvya thus :

समुदञ्चद्वृषभस्तवामरमहीजारामनं सोमनम् ।

Somanāṭha also wrote the poem Pandiṭārāḍhyacariṭa.[1]

1. See Veeresalingam's *Telugu Poets*, Part I, 220. Para 218 *supra*.

BOOK V

DRSYAKAVYA

CHAPTER XXII

Drsyakavya

(Drama)

SECTION 1

549. "**Manu, Svayambhu,** the emperor of the human world, in days of yore, beseached his father the Sun to suggest to him some deversion of relief from the cares of sovereignty. Then the Sun related to him a tale :—The Creator, soon after creation, approached Mahavishnu with a similar request and at Vishnu's direction the creator went to Siva. Siva commanded Nandi, who has already learnt the Gandharva art from him to teach the creator the principles. The creator came and when he thought of an actor, a muni appeared before him with five desciples. Then in the presence of Sarasvati, Brahma told them to adopt Natya Veda. They studied Natyaveda in its various applications and delighted Brahma with performances replete with songs and sentiments. Brahma pleased with their interest and devotion, conferred on them the boon that they would thereupon be known to the three worlds at Bharatas and that Natyaveda would also be known after their names, that is, Bharatam. Thus informed by the Sun, Manu resorted to Brahma and made his entreaty, Brahma ordered Bhratas to go with Manu to Bharatavarsha and at Ayodhya, they put on boards the various stories relating to Devarshis, as enacted in the theatres of the Gods. The art of the stage was introduced into the various countries of India by the pupils of these Bharatas. Then it was that at the request of Manu that Bharatas embodied a summary of Natyaveda in two works Devadasasāhasri and Satsahasri, and this summary has come to be known, after their names, as Bharatam." This is the account given by Śāradāṭanaya of the advent of music into this world.

In the Śatsāhasrī itself, that is the extant Nātyasāsṭra, there is this version of the origin of Nātyaveḍa : "Soon after creation Indra asked Brahma to create a fifth Veda, available for all the castes, because the four Vedas could not be studied by Sudras. Brahma drew upon the vedas for expression, music, gesticulation and sentiment respectively and made up the Natyaveda. He then called upon Bharata and his hundred desciples to put it into practice and the first play was then

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1. The verb भरत is 2nd person plural of the root भृ

staged, with the plot, the destruction of the Danavas by the Devas. So the art progressed in the divine world. When Nahusha occupied the throne of Indra, it was his desire that the art should be imported into his terrestrial dominions and as an obligation, the sons of Bharata were sent down to this world, when they mixed up with the population and created a progeny well versed in the theatrical art. It was then that Kohala, Sandilya and other Bharatas, composed 'this Sastra' for the education of men."[1]

"The dramatic representations first invented consisted of three kinds: *Natya*, *Nritya*, and *Nritta*; and these were exhibited before the gods by the *Gandharvas* and *Apsarasas*, the spirits and Nymphs of *Indra's* heaven, who were trained by Bharata to the exhibition. Siva added to these two other styles of performance, the *Tandava* and *Lasya*. Of these different modes of representation, only one, the *Natya*, is properly the dramatic, being defined to be gesticulation with language. The *Nritya* is gesticulation without language, or pantomime; and the *Nritta* is simple dancing. The *Tandava* and *Lasya*, which appear to be grafts upon the original system, are merely styles of dancing; the former so named from *Tandu*, one of Siva's attendants, whom the god instructed in it; whilst the *Lasya*, it is said, was taught by Parvati to the princess Usha, who instructed the *Gopis* of Dwaraka, the residence of her husband, in the art; by them it was communicated to the women of Surashtra, and from them it passed to the females of various regions."

"Music, dialogue, gesticulation and imitation were the precursors of Sanskrit drama.[2] Music in its theoretical and practical aspects may be traced in India to the Vedic age. Besides, the dull incantations of Hotrs or the monotonous recitations of Adhvaryus, there was something to charm the people, in the chants of Udgatrs of the Saman of humns borrowed from Rig Veda and adapted to singing. Dialogue was often employed in the Vedas and the Epics. In Rig Veda we occasionally find conversations between supernatural beings and Ṛṣis, for instance, the dialogue between Yama and Yamī and of Indra, Agastya and Maruts.[3] The epics often contain dialogues, the whole of

1. *Nāṭyaśāṭra*, I. 1-25.

2. See Yamī-Yama-samvāḍa (*Rg*. X. 10); Pāṇi-sarama-samvāḍa (*Rg*. X. 108); Urvasi Pururavas-samvāḍa (*Rg*. X. 85.)

3. "In all likelihood, the germ of the dramatic representations of the Hindus as of the Greeks is to be sought for in public exhibitions of dancing, which consisted at first of simple movements of the body executed in harmony with singing and music.

Mahabharata being composed in the form of a dialogue between Suṭa and his disciples. Upaniṣads contain many dialogues of which the pathetic conversation between Yājnavalkya and his wife Maiṭreyī on the occasion of their mutual separation, is an instance. In the Mahāvraṭa rite there is "a struggle between a Vaisya, whose color is to be white, and a Sudra black in color, over a round white skin, which ultimately falls to the victorious Vaisya."[1] "It is impossible" says Keith "without ignoring the obvious nature of this rite, not to see in it a mimic contest to gain the sun, the power of lights the Aryan, striving against the darkness, the sudra."[2] Hillebrandt[3] and Konow[4] asserted that these are indeed ritual dramas, but that they are borrowed by the ritual from the popular mime of the time, which accordingly must have known dialogue, abusive conversation and blows, but of which the chief parts were dance, song and music.

550. **Gesticulation** or **abhinaya** is a natural and primary instinct of the human race. Acting embraces the use of gestures, and laws of gesticulation deduce from observation what is appropriate for the expression of particular sentiments of the human mind. Aristotle in his *Poetics* says :

"Epic poetry and Tragedy, Comedy also and Dithyrambic poetry and the music of the flute and of the lyre in most of their forms, are all in their general conception modes of imitation. They differ, however, from one another in three respects, the

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Very soon dancing was extended to include pantomimic gesticulations accompanied with more elaborate musical performances, and these gesticulations were aided by occasional exclamations between the intervals of singing. Finally natural language took the place of music and singing, while gesticulation became merely subservient to emphasis in dramatic dialogue." (*Monier Williams.*)

1. See Kaṭhaka Saṃbiṭa, XXXIV, 5; Pancaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, V, 5, 14 Āpasṭamba ; Śrauṭasuṭra, XXI, 19, 9-12.

"At the great Mahavrata ceremony, one of the most interesting features of the ritual is the fight of a Sudra and an Arya on a round, white skin which represents the Sun (vide Kathaka Samhita, XXXIV, 5 and Dr. Keith's Samkhyana Aranyaka p. 78). Now the Kathaka Samhita, which narrates the struggle of the Aryan and the Sudra, expressly says (XI. 6) that the colour of the Vaisya is white and it is recognised that the colour of the Sudra is black, so that it is almost certain that we have here again another form of the strife of winter and summer: in this case, summer or spring represented by the white Aryan prevails over the winter represented by the dark Sudra. The Mahavrata rite is one which continued late in the Sutra ritual and was clearly performed throughout the Vedic Age, being in essence a popular not merely a priestly rite (see Aitareya Aranyaka, I and V; Srauta Sutra, XVII and XVIII)."

2. *SD*, 24.
3. *AID*, 22.
4. *ID*, 42.

medium, the objects, the manner or mode of imitation, being in each case distinct. For as there are persons who, by conscious art or mere habit, imitate and represent various objects through the medium of color and form, or again by the voice; so in the arts above mentioned, taken as a whole, the imitation is produced by rhythm, language, or 'harmony', either singly or combined. Thus in the music of the flute and of the lyre, 'harmony' and rhythm alone are employed; also in other acts, such as that of the shepherd's pipe, which are essentially similar to these. In dancing, rhythm alone is used without 'harmony'; for even dancing imitates character, emotion, and action, by rhythmical movement."

"Poetry in general seems to have sprung from two causes, each of them lying deep in our nature. First, the instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons; and no less universal is the pleasure felt in things imitated. We have evidence of this in the facts of experience. Objects which in themselves we view with pain, we delight to contemplate when reproduced with minute fidelity: such as the forms of the most ignoble animals and of dead bodies. The cause of this again is, that to learn gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general; whose capacity, however, of learning is more limited. Thus the reason why men enjoy seeing a likeness is, that in contemplating it they find themselves learning or inferring, and saying perhaps, 'Ah, that is he.' For if you happen not to have seen the original; the pleasure will be due not to the imitation as such, but to the execution, the colouring, or some such other cause.

Imitation, then, is one instinct of our nature. Next, there is the instinct for 'harmony' and rhythm, metres being manifestly sections of rhythm. Persons, therefore, starting with this natural gift developed by degrees their special aptitudes, till their rude improvisations gave birth to Poetry."

Pischel advanced the theory that the Sanskrit drama had its origin in the Puppet play[1] and Luders pointed to the shadow as an essential element in the development of the Sanskrit drama[2] and thought[3] that Saubhikas mentioned by Paṭanjali spoke in explanation of the moving pictures. But it will be seen that a class of plays, called Chāyānātakam, has come to us without being classified by rhetoricians.

551. The Greek connection.[4] Weber started a theory that the Sanskrit Drama had its beginnings 'in the influence of the Greeks wielded on the Hindus.'[5] E. Brandes, the Danish Scholar accepted

1. R Pischel, *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Halle; *Home of the Puppet play*, Translated by M.C. Tawney, London.

2. *SBAW*, (1916), 698; see Hillebrandt, to the contrary *ZDMG*, LXXII, 230. For Ridgway's objections, see his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European races.*

3 *Ibid.* Winternitz, *ZDMG*, LXXIV. 120

4. See Keith, *SD*, 57.

5. *IL*, 210 n. *Ist.* XIV. 194 note. Zubaty, *On the development of the Indian drama and its relation to the Greek drama* (in Bohemian). In Listy filologike of Prague XIV. 1-7; 98-108; 193-205. (Chiefly on the hetairai of the Hindu and the Greek drama.)

this hypothesis and undertook to prove the reality of the internal connection between the ancient plays and the new Attic comedy of the school of Menandar as chiefly preserved in the Roman adaptation of Plautus and Terence.[1] After Pischel's repudiation of this theory,[2] in his paper before the Congress of Orientalists held in Berlin in 1882,[3] Windisch elaborated this view of Brandes and collected various texts that attest Greek representation in the Orient after the conquest of Alexander and concluded that the Indian Drama was first developed in the city as a direct result of the intercourse with Alexandria.[4]

Weber laid stress on the use of the words Yavanī and Yavanikā, as indicative of the Greek influence.[5] This is well answered by A. B. Keith.[6] ' More value attaches to the argument from the use of Yavanika,[7] or its Prakrit form Javanika, for the name of the curtain which covered the tiring room and formed the background of the stage. The word primarily is an adjective meaning Ionian, the Greeks with whom India first came into contact. But is was not confined to to what was Greek in the strict sense of the word; it applied to anything connected with the Hellenized Persian Empire, Egypt, Syria, Bactria, and it therefore cannot be righly limited to what is Greek. As applied to the curtain it is an adjective, and describes doubtless the material of the curtain (pati, apati) as foreign, possibly as Levi suggests, Persian tapestry brought to India by Greek ships and merchants. The word Yavanika has no special application to the curtain of the theatre, as would be the case, if it were borrowed as a detail of stage arrangement from Greece. Nor in fact was there any curtain in the case of Greek drama, so far as is known, from which it could be borrowed; Windisch's contention merely was that the curtain was called Greek because it took the place of a painted scenery at the back of the Greek stage.

As little can any conclusion of Greek borrowing be drawn from the Yavanis,[8] Greek maidens, who are represented as among the body-

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1. Lergoven, (1870), III; V. Smith, *JASB*, LVIII. I. 184.
2. On the differences between Greek and Hindu Dramas, see Gauranganath Benerjee's Hellenism in Ancient India. Keith, *SD*, 57.
3. *Die Recensionender Sakuntala*, (1870). III. See also *SBAW*, (1906), 502.
4. *Samskrit Phil*, 398.
5. *ZDMG*, XIV. 269; *ISt*, XIII. 492.
6. *SD*, 61.
7. P. Konow, *TD*, 5 note; Levi, I. 348.
8. Levi. *Quid de Gracies etc*.

guard of the king; for this the Greek drama offers no parallel; it represents the fondness of the princes of India for the fascinating hetaerae of Greece, and the readiness of Greek traders to make the high profits to be derived from shipping these youthful cargoes."

Levi did not accept the Greek influence[1] and Wilson agrees and has a long examination :[2]

" The Hindu theatre belongs to that division of dramatic composition which modern critics have agreed to term *romantic*, in opposition to what some schools have been pleased to call *classical*. This has not escaped the observation of one of the first dramatic critics of any age, and Schlegel observes, " The Drama of *Sakuntala* presents, through its oriental brilliancy of colouring, so striking a resemblance, upon the whole, to our romantic drama, that it might be suspected the love of Shakespeare had influenced the translator, if other orientalists had not borne testimony to the fidelity of his translation." Besides being an entertainment appropriated to the leading or learned members of society, the dramatic entertainments of the Hindus essentially differed from those of modern Europe in the unfrequency of their representation. They seem to have been acted only on solemn or public occasions. In this respect they resembled the dramatic performances of the Athenians, which took place at distant intervals, and especially at the spring and autumnal festivals of Bacchus, the last being usually preferred, as the city was then filled with strangers, its tributaries and allies. According to Hindu authorities, the occassions suitable for dramatic representations are the lunary holidays, a royal coronation, assemblages of people at fairs and religious festivals, marriages, the meeting of friends, taking first possession of a house or a town, and the birth of a son. The most ordinary occasion, however, of a performance was, as will be seen, the season peculiarly sacred to some divinity.

" Like the Greek tragedy, however, the *Nataka* is to represent worthy or exalted personages only, and the hero must be a monarch, as Dushyanta; a demigod, as Rama; or a divinity, as Krishna. The action, or more properly the passion, should be but one, as love or heroism. The plot should be simple, the incidents consistent; the business should spring direct from the story as a plant from its seed, and should be free from episodical and prolix interruptions. The time should not be protracted, and the duration of an act, according to the

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1. *TI*, I. 345. II. 60.
2. *Theatre*, I. xi *et*. se

authority, should not exceed one day; but the *Sahitya-Darpana* extends it to a few days, or even to one year. When the action cannot be comprised within these limits, the less important events may be thrown into narrative or may be communicated to the audience by one of the actors, who holds the character of an interpreter, and explains to the persons of the assembly whatever they may require to know, or what is not conveyed to them by the representation; a rather awkward contrivance to supply the deficiences of the piece, but one that would sometimes be useful to insinuate the plot into the audiences of more polished communities. The diction of a *Nataka* should be perspicuous and polished. The piece should consist of not fewer than five acts, and more than ten.

"In many of its charactistics, the *Nataka* presents an obvious analogy to the tragedy of the Greeks which was, "the imitation of a solemn and perfect action, of adequate importance, told in pleasing language, exhibiting the several elements of dramatic composition in its different parts represented through the instrumentality of agents, not by narration, and purifying the affections of human nature by the influence of pity and terror." In the expansion of this definition in the "poetics," there are money points of affinity, and particularly in the selection of persons and subjects; but there are also differences, some of which merit to be noticed.

"With regard to the Unities, we have that of action fully recognised and a simplicity of business is enjoined quite in the spirit of the Greek drama. The unity of place is not noticed, as might have been expected from the probable absence of all scenic embellishment. It was impossible to transport the substantial decorations of the Grecian stage from place to place, and therefore the scene was the same throughout; but where everything was left to the imagination, one site was as easily conceivable as another, and the scene might be fancied, one while a garden and another while a palace, as well as it could be imagined to be either. The unity of time is curiously modified, conformably to a principle which may satisfy the most fastidious; and "the time required for the fable elapses invariably between the acts." In practice there is generally less latitude than the rule indicates, and the duration of an act is very commonly that of the representation, or at most "one course of the sun," the night elapsing in the interval. In once piece, the *Uttara-Rama-Charitra*, indeed, we have a more extensive period, and twelve years are supposed to pass between the first and second acts. This was the unavoidable consequence of the

subject of the play, and affords and analogy to the license of the romantic drama.[1]

"Another important difference from the classical drama, and from that of most countries, is the total absence of the distinction between Tragedy and Comedy. The Hindu plays confine themselves neither to the "crimes nor to the absurdities of mankind;" neither "to the momentous changes, nor lighter vicissitudes of life;" neither "to the terrors of distress nor the gaieties of prosperity." In this respect they may be classed with much of the Spanish and English drama to which, as Schlegel observes, "the terms Tragedy and Comedy wholly inapplicable, in the sense in which they were employed by the ancients." They are invariably of a mingled web, and blend "seriousness and sorrow with levity and laughter." They never offer, however, a calamitous conclusion, which, as Johnson remarks, was enough to constitute a Tragedy in Shakespeare's days; and although they propose ta excite all the emotions of the human breast, terror and pity included, they never effect this object leaving a painful impression upon the mind of the spectator. The Hindus, in fact, have no Tragedy; a defect that subverts the theory that Tragedy necessarily preceded Comedy, because in the infancy of society the stronger passions predominated, and it was not till social intercourse was complicated and refined, that the follies and frivolities of mankind afforded material for satire. The theory is evidently more ingenious than just, for a considerable advance in refinement must have been made before plays were written at all and the days of Æschylus were not those of the fierce and fiery emotions he delineates. In truth, however, the individual and social organisation of the native of India is unfavourable to the development of towering passion; and whatever poets or philosophers may have insinuated to the contrary, there is no doubt that the regions of physical equability have ever been, and still are, those of moral extremes.

"The absence of tragic catastrophe in the Hindu dramas is not merely an unconscious omission; such catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule, and the death of either the hero or the heroine is never to be announced. With that regard, indeed, for decorum, which even Voltaire thought might be sometimes dispensed with, it is not allowed in any manner "*ensanglanter la scene*," and death must invariably be inflicted out of the view of the spectators. Attention to *bienseance*

1. A. V. W. Jackson, Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays: 1. The Dramas of Kalidasa; 2. The Dramas of Harsha: *JAOS*, XX. 341-359; XXI. 88-108.

is carried even of a serious nature are, hostile defiance, solemn imprecations. exile, degradations, and national calamity; whilst those of a less grave, or comic character, are biting, scratching, kissing, eating, sleeping, the bath, inunction, and the marriage ceremony. Dramatic writers, especially those of a modern date, have sometimes, violated these precepts; but in general the conduct of what may be termed the classical drama of the Hindus is exemplary and dignified. Nor is its moral purport neglected; and one of their writers declares, in an illustration familiar to ancient and modern poetry, that the chief end of the theatre is to disguise, by the insidious sweet, the unpalatable but salutary bitter, of the cup.

"The extent of the Hindu plays is another peculiarity in which they differ from the dramatic writings of other nations; and even the *Robbers, or Don Carlos,* will suffer in the comparison of length. The *Mrichchhakati* would make at least three of the plays of Æschylus. In actual representation, however, a Hindu play constituted a less unreasonable demand upon the patience of an audience than an Athenian performance, consisting at one sitting of three Tragedies and a Farce. If the Hindu stage exhibited a long play, it exhibited that alone."

SECTION 2

Besides defining and classifying dramas, Bharaṭamuni composed plays in illustration. They were Jāmaḍagnayajaya (Vyāyoga), Kusumaśekharavijaya Īhāmṛga) and Śarmiṣṭhāyayāṭi (Anka.) The last of these was enacted before Nahuṣa while he was holding the position of Mahenḍra among Ḍevas.

To Piṭāmaha himself are attributed Samuḍramaṭhana (Samavakara) enacted at Inḍraḍhvajamahoṭsava and Ṭripuradāha (dima) enacted before Parameśvara on the nothern slopes of Hymālayas. Sarasvatī wrote Lakṣmīsvayamvara (nāṭaka) and had it performed in Inḍra's theatre by Apsarasas trained by Bharaṭamuni himself.

There were other writers on dancing that followed Bharaṭa who are quasi-divine and quotations from their works are plenty in later rhetorical writings. Their age is anterior to the Christian era, and according to Indian tradition, some of them are far earlier than the kali age.[1] Vāṭsyāyana mentions earlier writers of remote ages whose works are lost, save in stray quotations. In describing the recreations of a nāgaraka, the cityman, he says:

1. See chapter on BHARATA, post.

पीठमर्दविटविदूषकायत्ता व्यापाराः । प्रदोषे च सङ्गीतकानि । पक्षस्य मासस्य वा प्रज्ञातेऽहनि सरस्वत्या भवने नियुक्तानां नित्यं समाजः । कुशीलवाश्चागंतवः प्रेक्षकमेषां दद्युः । द्वितीयेऽहनि तेभ्यः पूजा नियतं लभेरन् । ततो यथाश्रद्धमेषां दर्शनमुत्सर्गो वा ॥

Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhāraṭa refer to naṭa, narṭaka, nāṭaka and sūṭradhāra and dances and theatricals in cities and palaces.[2]

552. Harivamsa (8672-4), makes "direct mention of a dramatic treatment (*nāṭakībṛṭam*) of the Ramayanam mahakavyam, without indeed connecting therewith the name of Valmiki, but with statements so definite as clearly to show that so far as regards its main elements, our present text of the Ramayana existed even at that time, and already in its Vaishnava form. We are informed, namely, that the renowned actor, to the eulogising of whom the passage in question is devoted, represents in a drama "the birth of the immeasurable Vishnu for the purpose of fulfilling his wish to put to death the prince of the Rakshasas. Lomapada (and) Dasaratha (in the drama) caused the great muni Rishyasringa to be fetched, by means of Santa and the courtesans. Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata and Sathrughna, Rishyasringa and Santa were personated by actors characteristically dressed."

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1. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Srirangam Edn)

i रसैश्शृङ्गारकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकैः ।
वीरादिभीरसैर्युक्तं काव्यमेतदगायताम् ॥ I. 4-9.
नाराजके जनपदे प्रहृष्टनटनर्तकाः । II. 67-15.

ii श्रैष्ठ्यं शास्त्रसमूहेषु प्राप्तो व्यामिश्रकेषु च । II. 1-17.

iii वादयन्ति तथा शान्तिं लासयन्त्यपि चापरे ।
नाटकान्यपरे प्राहुर्हास्यानि विविधानि च ॥ II. 69-4.

iv शैलूषाश्च तथा स्त्रीभिर्यान्ति । II. 83-15.

See also Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, 55 ; Hildebrandt, *ZDMG*, LXXII. 229, n. 1 ; Hugh Nevill, *The Ramayana as a play*, (*Tabrobanian*, II. 150, 170.)

2. See M. Winternitz, *The Mahabharata and the Drama*, *JRAS*, 1903, 571 Mahābhāraṭa (Kumbakonam Edn.)

i इत्यब्रवीत्सूत्रधारस्सूतः पौराणिकस्तथा । I. 51-15.

ii ननृतुर्नर्तकाश्चैव जगुर्गेयानि गायकाः । I. 219-4.

iii पश्यन्तो नटनर्तकान् । I. 218-10, II. 33-49.

iv नाटका विविधाः काव्याः कथाख्यायिककारकाः । II. 12-36.

v आनर्ताश्च तथा सर्वे नटनर्तकगायकाः । III. 15-13.

See also XII. 69-60 ; XII. 295-5 ; IV. 22. 3, 16, IV. 16-43, I. 134-10, III. 20-27, III. 33-12 (as refed. to by Hopkins.)

553. During the time of Gautama Buddha, Saugandhikāharaṇa, a rūpaka was enacted at Rājagṛha by his desciples Upatiṣya and Maudgalyāyana.[1] Paṇini refers to Natasūtras (IV. iii. 110-1) composed by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva.[2]

554. To Pāṇini are ascribed the plays Kamsavadha and Balibandha. Śyāmilaka mentions Vararuci as a writer on dramaturgy. Paṭanjali,[3] wrote (*Mahābhāṣya, BSS*, II. 36)

इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति ; चिरहते कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ । अत्रापि युक्ता । कथम् ? येतावेदेते शोभनिका(सौभिका)नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति, प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति । चित्रेषु कथम् ? चित्रेष्वपि उद्‌घूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य च कृष्णस्य च । ग्रान्थिकेषु कथम् ? यत्र शब्दग्रन्थनमणुमात्रंलक्ष्यते तेऽपीहि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रभृत्या । विनाशाद्वृद्धिर्व्याचक्षाणस्सतो बुद्धिविषयान् प्रकाशयन्ति । अतश्च सतः व्यामिश्रा हि दृश्यन्ते, केचित् कंसभक्ता भवन्ति, केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः । वर्णान्यत्वं खलु पुष्यन्ति । केचिद्रक्तमुखा भवन्ति, केचित्कालमुखाः ॥

555. This passage has been the theme of controversy among some European scholars, a controversy that often expressed itself in unseemly personal attacks. While according to Keith the drama there represented is essentially religious in origin, Hillebrandt,[4] Grosse,[5] Gray,[6] and Ridgeway[7] say that "the imitation of the happenings of life may have given rise to comedy, a fact, which explains the failure of India to rise to tragedy, the play remaining on its original popular line." So that according to them the Indian drama had its origin not in religion, but

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1. S. F. Oldenburg, Ukazaniye na predstavleniye buddiskoi dramy. In Zapiski Vostocnago Otdeleniya Imp. Russkago Arkheologiceskago Obscestva, (IV. 393-394) [Mention of a representation of a Buddhist Drama. Text from the Avadānaśataka 75]; Levi, *TI*, I. 319, Winternitz, *VOJ*, XXVII. 38 ; Schiefner, *IST*, III. 483, Keith, *SD*, 42. E. Schlaginbweit, *JASB*, (1865), 71 ; *Buddhism in Tibet*, 233 ; Lalitavistara, XII. 178 ; Divyāvadāna, 357, 360. Avadānaśataka, II. 24. For Jain references, see Keith, *SD*, 44; Ayārānga Sutta, II. xi. 14 ; Rājapraśiniya, *ISt*, XVI. 385 ; Hultzsch, *ZDMG*, LXXV. 59.

2. (i) पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ।

(ii) कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥

3. See R. G. Subrahmanya, *Patanjali* and *Kavya Literature* (Pr. Or. Confer. 1924); Swami Saradananda, *Poetry* and *Drama in ancient times* (Brahmavadin, III, 846-55).

4. *Uber die anfan ge dds indischen drama.*

5. *Anfange der Kunst*, 214.

6. *ERE*, IV. 868.

7. *The origin of tragedy with special reference to Greek tragedians*, Cambridge.

on the privitive mime of the Indian popular strolling actors and their wives.

556. Ridgeway propounds the theory that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead and that all drama is born from such reverence, but Keith does not agree and he answers Ridgway's criticism of his views.[1] The following extracts from an article by A. B. Keith in *JRAS*, (1916), 335 et seq with enlighten the reader:—

" But though the theory of Professor Ridgeway must remain a mere hypothesis, which has no probability, it is important to examine his criticism of the rival theory that the Indian drama is an offshoot from the religious practices of early India. The criticism of this theory as already set out in this Journal [*JRAS*, 1911, 1001] by me is contained in the following passage (pp. 140-2):—

" The slaying of Kansa by Krishna, as we shall soon see, was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded for us in Hindu literature. According to the *Mahabhasya*, which cannot be later than the first ceutury after Christ, in this performance the *Granthikas* divided themselves into two parties; those representing the followers of Kansa had their faces blackened, those of Krishna had their faces red, and 'they expressed the feelings of both sides throughout the struggle from Krishna's birth to the death of Kansa. On this story alone Dr. A. B. Keith rests his belief in the theory of the origin of tragedy still held by Sir James Frazer and Dr. Farnell, and with which I have dealt at length on earlier pages (pp. 18-21). 'The mention of the colour of the two parties,' he writes, 'is most significant; red man slays black man: the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter. The parallel is too striking to be mistaken; we are entitled to say that in India, as in Greece, this dramatic ritual, the slaying of winter, is the source whence drama is derived.' This too is the only reason that he gives for his opinion expressed in the same place. 'Ridgeway's theory of the origin of drama from the festivals in honour of the dead .....seems to be still improbable, as an explanation of the origin of tragedy.' But Dr. Keith forgets that the red men who slay black men are themselves led by Krishna 'the black', and thus red men led by black man slay black men, which on his own principle can only mean that winter aided by summer slays winter. Plainly, then, winter is divided against himself and commits suicide. The judicially minded reader will opine that in the slaying of the

1. *JRAS*, (1911), 1008; *JRAS*, (1912), 421.

negro doctor by Punçh without the aid of another gentleman of colour we have really more cogent evidence for *Punch and Judy* being a drama of summer slaying winter than that on which Dr. Keith bases his theory of the origin of the Hindu drama. Moreover, when we recall the fact admittted by Dr. Keith himself of the conquest by the fair-complexioned Aryans of the dark aborigines of Hindustan, and their admixture as time went on, and when we are further told that Krishna the Black was quite different in colour from the rest of his race, it is but natural that the Yadavas should be represented with ruddy faces, and the followers of Kansa as dark-skinned aborigines. Dr. Keith might just as reasonably see a combat between winter and summer in any of the many battles between British troops and native armies in the long struggle which eventuated in the conquest of India······Krishna, who eventually was made the eighth Avatar of Vishnu, a god regarded by Dr. Keith as the sun, must also be held by that scholar to be the sun-god, or at least the spirit of light and spring. But as all traditions agree in making Krishna black, Dr. Keith thus represents the sun-god himself as a black man, which may be regarded as the wildest of all the many vagaries of his school."

The judicially minded reader will probably opine that this is excellent fooling, but very bad logic. In Professor Ridgeway's own view we have in the slaying of Kaṁsa merely a representation of doubtless a real episode in the life of the hero Kṛṣṇa. But how on this hypothesis is the difference of colour to be understood? The account given above by Professor Ridgeway is plainly ludicrous. Kṛṣṇa is quite different in colour from the rest of his race, therefore the Yādavas are made red; Kaṁsa and his supporters black. But Kaṁsa was the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, who was a Yādava on both sides; his supporters and he are here represented as of the colour of Kṛṣṇa; but the rest of Kṛṣṇa's race is, Professor Ridgeway argues, quite different from Kṛṣṇa, whence it follows that Kaṁsa should be red. Accordingly the absurdities of my view are even on Professor Ridgeway's own showing at least no greater than those of his own view. That he should be guilty of such a bad piece of argument is undoubtedly due to his forgetting that Kaṁsa is the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, and that therefore he cannot be treated as belonging to a different section of the population. The forgetfulness is the more amazing in that Professor Ridgeway has himself given the traditional account of the origin of Kṛṣṇa, an account which he does not and obviously cannot criticize. But there is a more amazing blunder still to chronicle: at p. 21

Professor Ridgeway asserts that "Dr. A. B. Keith·········finds the origin of the Hindu drama in the slaying of the dark Koravas by the fair Pandavas······But Dr. Keith omits the important point that in the Hindu story the fair Pandavas were led to victory over the dark Koravas by Krishna, 'the Black,' a fact in itself fatal to his theory." This remarkable assertion, which of course is wholly untrue, is due not to any deliberate desire to mislead his readers on the part of Professor Ridgeway, but to a confusion betweem Kaṁsa and the Koravas—a spelling strangely adopted by the author for Kauravas—and between Kṛṣṇa exploits *per se* and his connexion with the Pāṇḍavas, who are not, it may be added, pale at all, but descendants of a man called Pāṇḍu.

The extraordinary confusion of mind of Professor Ridgeway explains his criticism of my theory; he has overlooked the fact that, so far from not appreciating the question of Kṛṣṇa's name, I was the first[1] to point out the error into which Levi[2] fell in ascribing to the followers of Kṛṣṇa the colour black, and that I expressly on more than one occasion have refuted the theory that Kṛṣṇa was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa is an Avatar of Viṣṇu no more proves that he was originally a sun-god than the fact that the Buddha is also an Avatar of Viṣṇu proves that he was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa's company is mentioned as red is of the utmost importance as a piece of evidence of the real character of the ritual; had it not been traditional, the effect of the name Kṛṣṇa would undoubtedly have carried with it the dark colour of his company, for we cannot suppose that at the time when the *Mahābhāṣya* relates to us the dramatic performance of the Kaṁsavadha there was any longer an understanding of the legend in its primitive sense. It was a human drama to the actors, understood in purely historic sense, the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle, and I have laid stress[3] on the fact that the existence of this drama is the earliest clear proof we have of the stories of the infancy of Kṛṣṇa, a fact which establishes their anteriority to the Christ-child legend. But whereas if we take the story as a mere piece of history we are landed in hopeless difficulties in the explanation of the colours assigned, of which Professor Ridgeway's account affords a perfect specimen, a very clear sense and meaning are obtained if we accept the natural conclusion that in India, as in Greece, we find at the source of drama

1. *JRAS.* (1908), p. 172, n. 4.
2. *Theatre indien*, p. 315.
3. *JRAS*, (1908), pp. 169 seq., a view now accepted by Garbe.

the old ritual of the slaying of the vegetation spirit in winter as in India or in summer as in Greece, the differing choice of aspect being the cause of the existence in India of no real tragedy, while in Greece tragedy is predominent.

Professor Ridgeway argues[1] that if Kṛṣṇa is a sun-god, then his birthday should fall at the winter solstice, but in point of fact he is born according to tradition in July or August. The argument seems singularly without force. Apart from the late date of the tradition of the time of Kṛṣṇa's birth, it seems inexplicable why a sun-god must be born at the winter's solstice. Professor Ridgeway accepts my proof that the Mahāvrata was celebrated at the winter solstice, but I have not suggested at any time that this festival represents the birth of the sun ; it is a period when the strengthening of the sun for its tasks is required, and is provided by sympathetic magic in the ritual by which a light takes place for a symbol of the sur which is eventually taken away from the Sudra. But this ritual, though it is interesting and though it is rightly mentioned in any account of the beginnings of drama as one of the ultimate sources from which drama developed—not of course as in itself drama since the element of mimesis[2] is absent—is not a Kṛṣṇa ritual at all, a fact which Professor Ridgeway should have remembered, as he cites[3] with approval my express statement that the Mahāvrata has no vegetation spirit in its ritual and that the prominence of such a spirit may have been due to the influence of the aboriginal tribes, even assuming that it was also Aryan in character. In the case of Kṛṣṇa we have a real vegetation spirit ritual, the killing of a representative of the spirit of vegetation But we see more than this ; we see a conflict in the process of the killing, and curiously enough Professor Ridgeway, who credits[4] me with following Dr. Frazer in my views of the vegetation spirit, is ignorant still, it seems, as he was in 1910, of the contents of the paper of Usener, on which, as I have expressly stated, my views of the origin of Indian drama which were first formulated by me in 1908 are based[5] The paper of Usener cites instances in which there occurs a mimic fight intended clearly to secure sunlight and to prosper vegetation. In the case of the Mahāvrata we have this fight in a solar form, in the

1. p. 144.
2. On this point Professors Ridgeway agrees with me; see pp. 154, 156.
3. p. 145. Cf. *JRAS*, (1909), pp. 203, 204.
4. p. 142.
5. *JRAS*, (1908), p. 172, n, 5.

case of Kamsa in a vegetation form, but the fight is an essential feature of both,[1] and It is an essential feature of the drama which is an agon, a contest. Therefore the essence of drama is revealed to us in the very drama of which we have the first distinct record in India, and it is idle sophistry to wave aside this most striking piece of evidence."

557. Elsewhere A. B. Keith says [*JRAS,* (1912), 411].

"The clear evidence of the MAHABHASYA proves the connection of the earliest Indian literary form which was clearly dramatic with the contest of the two figures Kamsa and Kṛṣṇa, and the actors coloured their faces, the followers of Kṛṣṇa being RAKTAMUKHA, those of Kamsa KALAMUKHA. It is true that Indian tradition tells us that Kamsa was Kṛṣṇa's uncle, and that we can, if we like, insist that time is a piece of history but such euhemerism is, if at present again fashionable, hardly likely to remain long in vogue. That Kṛṣṇa was divine is, of course asserted by the earliest texts which refer to him, and the MAHABHASYA parallel is of singular importance in that it shows the drama dealing with a subject which reveals itself clearly as one side of the widespread belief in the slaying of the vegetation spirit, which is certainly found also in India.

On its merits, therefore, and apart from the evidence of the MAHABHASYA, Aristotle's account of tragedy seems to demand full adherence. The evidence of that text adds to the theoretical probability of the Aristotelian version, the unexpected parallel of an actual stage in development, which is not directly recorded in Greek literature. The only way to minimise the value of the evidence is to declare that the MAHABHASYA which dates probably about 145 B.C., perhaps later, is recording a state of affairs introduced from Greece, and it is as well to point out how many improbabilities are involved in such an assumption. The text recognizes the expression of a dramatic theme the death of Kamsa at the hands of the Kṛṣṇa by two parties of "actors", who do not use action proper, *i.e.*, who are in effect performing a dithyramb, it recognizes also the full action, and it knows of actors who are to sing; and on the other hand we have no reliable evidence of any performance of Greek plays, or still less of dithyrambs, in India.

In the MAHABHASYA the two parties of GRANTHIKAS, "reciters," who represent the feelings of either side, do so by words alone

1. I have never rested my case on the Kamsavadha alone. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 172; 1911, p. 1008; 1912, p. 423; *ZDMG*, lxiv. 584 seqq.

(SABDAGRANTHANAMATRAM), that is to say, they do not act as do the SAUBHIKAS. Surely we have here in perfect form the dithyramb on its way to complete drama, as it has reguarly been conceived in reconstructing the probable history of drama as sketched by Aristotle. No doubt the drama already existed at the time of the MAHABHASYA, but the dithyrambic form has not disappeared as a species of art."

558. Viewed impartially, Paṭanjali's expressions do not admit of any confusion and obscurity. Saubhikas were teachers of the actors and they managed the stage and directed the theatrical operations which included music and dancing and dialogue. It was not a matter only for the eyes but for the ears too. Elsewhere Paṭanjali (*MB*, II. 253)[1] says

यदारम्भका रङ्गं गच्छन्ति नटस्य, श्रोष्यामः ।

In Paḍamanjarī, Haraḍaṭṭa speaks of Grānthikas:

येऽपि ग्रन्थं वाचयन्तः कंसवधमाचक्षते काथिका नाम तेऽप्युत्पत्तिप्रभृत्याविनाशात् कंसादीन् वर्णयन्ति, तेऽपि वर्ण्यमानाः स्तोतृणां बुद्धिस्थाः प्रत्यक्षवद्भवन्ति, चित्तमपि तेषां तादात्म्यमिव भवति, अत एव व्याश्रिताश्च भवन्ति, नानापक्षसमाश्रयो व्याश्रयः ।

In his Vākyapaḍiya, (II. p. 177 Benares Edn.) Bhaṛṭṛari says

शब्दोपहितरूपांश्च बुद्धेर्विषयतां गतान् ।
प्रत्यक्षमिव कंसादीन् साधनत्वेन मन्यते ॥ (II. 177, Benares Edn)

and Helarāja's gloss is

एवं कृतानुकरणेनार्थेऽपि कंसत्रासुदेवानुकारेणसादृश्यात्तद्रूपत्वोपपत्तिः ॥

"It is the faces of the hearers that change color at hearing the incidents of the story so vividly pictured before them by the reciters, and it is the hearers that feel pity and pleasure during the narration of the incidents."

559. Beyond the ingenuity displayed in attempting to prop up theories assumed a priori and the unity among them all the same in denying its deserved antiquity to the Sanskrit stage, the controversy is futile and to a scholar with an open mind, the only view possible is that long before the days of Pāṇini, Sanskrit drama had become perfected and a science of dramaturgy evolved by rhetoricians for future compositions.

Of the progress of the art of histrionics, for earlier than the dawn of the Christian era, we have instances in the devices used by poets

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1. Also नटस्य शृणोति, ग्रान्थिकस्य शृणोति (I. iv. 29); अगासीन्नटः (II. iv. 77). नटस्य भुक्तम् II iii. 67; नटमप्नाना: (III. ii 127). See also IV. i 3 and VI. iii. 43.

such as dream (swapna), magic (indrajāla), portrait-painting (citra-lekhana), inter-drama (antarnātika) and the like. In Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkathā which has furnished the theme for many later plays and romances, these devices were used in the progress of the tales.[1]

SECTION 3.

The Dramatic Arrangement.

560. Every drama opens with a prelude or introduction, in which the audience are made acquainted with the author, his work, the actors, and such part of the prior events as is necessary for the spectators to know. The actors of the prelude were never more than two, the manager and one of his company, either an actor or actress, and they led immediately into the business of the drama. The first part of this introduction is termed the *Purva-Ranga* and opens with a prayer invoking in a benedictory formula the protection of some deity in favour of the audience. This is termed the *Nandi*, or that which is the cause of gratification to men and gods. There is a difference of opinion as to who recites the *Nandi*, and the commentator on the *Mudra-Rakshasa* observes, "that it is equally correct to supply the ellipse after *Nandyante* by either *Pathati* (reads) or *Pravicati* (enters); in the former case the Sutradhara reciting the *Nandi*, and then continuing the induction; in the latter, benediction being pronounced by a different individual. Sutradhara, according to the techical description of him, "was to be well-versed in light literature, as narrative, plays and poetry; he should be familiar with various people, experienced in dramatic details and conversant with different mechanical arts." The prayer is usually often followed by some account of the author of the piece, in which most of the authors "give a long description of their

1. See V. Saunders, *Magic in Sanskrit Drama*; *Portrait painting as a dramatic device* (*JAOS*, XXXIX, Dec.) A. V. W. Jackson, *Disguising as a dramatic device*, (*Pro.* of Am. Phil. Assn. XXIX. 18): *Children on the stage in Hindu Drama* (The Looker-on, New York, June 1897 pp. 509-16, abstracted in *Pro.* of Am. Phil. Assn, XXVII. v, vi). K. Krishnamacharya; *Child-heroes of Early Sanskrit stage*, *and Heroines in Early Sanskrit stage*. (Collegian, 1915, Feb. to May).

On Sanskrit Drama generally, see Das Indische Theatre, *Globus*, XLIX. 380, Th. Bloch, *ZDMG*, LVIII. 455; R. Bohme, *Vohsische Deitung* (1903) No. 37; J. Hertel, *WZKM*. XVIII. 59, 139; J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des Eramas*, III. 1-373; S. Levi, *Le Theatre Indian*, Paris: F. Nee, *Museon*, I. 523; Ig. Sladomel, *Vlast'* XIII. 835; S. M. Tagore, *The Hindu Drama*, Calcutta; P. N. Patankar, *Indian Dramaturgy*; S. Konow, *Indian Drama*; Hillebrandt, *Beginnings of Indian Drama*; Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dance*; *Tales from Sanskrit Dramatists*, Madras. For translations and other works of criticism, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 16-23.

genealogies and of their own attainments, while it is a characteristic of Kalidasa's writings that they all begin with a charmingly modest introduction, marked by great diffidence;" and in some places, the mention of the author is little more than the particularisation of his name. "The notice of the author is in general followed by a complimentary appeal to the favour of the audience, and the manager occasionally gives a dramatic representation of himself and his concerns in a dialogue between himself and one of his company, either an actor or an actress, who is termed the *Pariparswika* or associate. The conclusion of the prelude, termed the *Prastavana*, prepares the audience for the entrance of one of the dramatic personages, who is adroitly introduced by some abrupt exclamation of the manager, either by simply naming him as in the *Sakuntala* and *Malavikagnimitra*, or by uttering something he is supposed to overhear, and to which he advances to reply, as in the *Mritchakati* and *Mudra-Rakshasa*. The play being thus opened, is carried forward in scenes and acts, each scene being marked by the entrance of one character, and the exit of another; for in general the stage is never left empty in the course of the act, nor does total change of place often occur. Contrivances have been resorted to, to fill up the seeming chasm which such an interruption as a total change of scene requires, and to avoid such solecism which the entrance of a character, whose approach is unannounced, is considered to be."[1]

SECTION 4.

561. "Bharata mentioned ten types of Rūpaka and 14 types of Uparūpaka.[2] Ḍhananjaya accordingly named his work Ḍaśarūpaka. Kohala named twenty, Śāradaṭanaya, the usual ten and another twenty, Viśvanāṭha, twenty-eight, and Vema, twenty; Agni Purāṇa gives twenty-seven. The ten Rūpakas are Rasāsrāya or Vākyārṭhabninaya and the others Bhāvāśraya or Paḍārthābhinaya. Bharaṭa brings under the former the ten Rūpakas, Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Dima, Prahasana, Samavakāra, Vyāyoga, Ihāmṛga, Vīṭhī, Uṭsṛṣṭikānka and Bhāna as also Nāṭikā and Sattaka.

Kohala classifies plays into mārga and deśī based on the principle whether song and dance predominate in each of them. Among mārga

1. On *Vidusaka*, see J. Huizinga, *De Vidusaka N. het indisch Tonneel*, (Groningen, 1897, 155) and P. E. Pavolini's review of it, in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, II. 86; M. Schuyler, *Origin of Vidusaka* (*JAOS*, XX. 338); P. V. Ramanujaswami, *Vidushaka in Sanskrit plays*, (*Pr. Or. confce*, 1924).

2. See V. Raghavan, *On the name Dasarupaka*, *JOR*, VII. 278.

kinds the names of the well-known ten with nāṭikā, prakaraṇikā, bhāṇikā, hāsikā, viyoginī, dimikā, kalotsāhavatī, chitrā, jugupsitā, citratāla are cited. None of these twenty allow song or dance in them. Under deśī plays he gives again dombikā, bhanaka prasthāna, shidgaka, bhaṇika, preraṇa, ramakrīḍa, ragakāvya, hallīsa, rāsaka. Among these the last six are fascinating only as rapturous dances of delicate or wild type (*sukumāra* or *uddhata*).

मार्गो देशीति नाट्यस्य भेदद्वयमुदाहृतम् । ब्रह्मणा यत्तपस्तप्त्वा मार्गितं शिवयोः पुरा ॥
मार्गनाट्यं ततः प्राहुस्तच्च विंशतिधोच्यते । नाटकं च प्रकरणं भाणः प्रहसनं डिमः ॥
व्यायोगः समवकारो वीथ्यङ्केहामृगा अपि । रूपकाणि दशैतानि शङ्करेण विभाविरे ॥
नाटिका प्रकरणिका भाणिका हासिका तथा । वियोगिनी च डिमिका कलोत्साहवती पुनः ॥
चित्रा जुगुप्सिता चैव चित्रतालेति दुर्मया । एवमुक्तं मार्गनाट्यं शिवाभ्यां ब्रह्मणा पुरा ॥
अथ देशीनृत्तकाव्यप्रभेदा डोम्बिकादयः । कथ्यन्ते डोम्बिका भाणः प्रस्थानं षिद्गकोऽपि च ॥
भाणिका प्रेरणं चाथ रासक्रीडं तथैव च । रागकाव्यं च हल्लीसः रासकं चेत्यमी दश ॥

Daṭṭila names 16 of the latter kind as saṭṭaka, toṭaka, goshṭhī, blindaka, śilpaka, prekshaṇa, sallāpaka, hallīsa, rāsakā, ullāpya, śrīgadita, nāṭyarāsaka, durmallī, prasthana, kāvya and lāsikā. Thus it will be seen that all those which are exhibited before audience are classed as plays only figuratively; Saradātanaya gives support to this view, तेषां रूपकसंज्ञापि प्रायो दृश्यतया क्वचित् ।"

562. The following table has been prepared by M. Ramakrishna Kavi :

Type of the play.	Theme.	Kohala's Uparupaka.	Hero and his nature.	Extent in acts.	Unity (Sandhis)	Vritti.	Rasa.	Specialities.
1. नाटक	Well-known and Purānic.	नाटिका	Heroic and noble or दिव्य	5 to 10	5 Unities of 64 angas.	Four.	All rasas शृङ्गार and वीर prominent.	High and noble type.
2. प्रकरण	Created by the poet (उत्पाद्य)	प्रकरणिका	Excluding divine beings. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Civilised and worldly.
3. समवकार	Known (ख्यात)	चित्रा	Devās and Rākshasas. Udatta heroes (twelve).	3 in 3 nights total 13½ hours.	All the four except विमर्श.	All the four except kaiśiki.	Vira and Sringāra subsidiary.	Fight, deceit, invasion. Vīthyangas may be used.
4. ईहामृग	Do.	चित्रताला	Divine being for a Divine heroine.	4	3 Unities.	Ārabhaṭi.	Light Sringāra.	Forcible abduction, fight etc.
5. डिम	Do.	डिमिका	Well-known heroic (16 heros).	4	4 except. विमर्श.	Sātvatī and Ārabhaṭī.	Raudra (Sringāra not allowed)	Māya, Indrajāla. Devas, piśāchas etc. Excitement and fear.
व्यायोग	Do.	जुगुप्सिता	Known. Uddhata Feminine characters are very few.	1	3 Unities. no गर्भ and अवमर्श.	Ārabhaṭī.	Vīra and hāsya.	Fight, beating, builying etc.
7. उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क	Well-known or created by the poet.	वियोगिनी	No divine beings.	1	First and the last unities.	Bhāratī.	Karuṇa.	Grief of women cries, dejection etc.
8. प्रहसन	Created.	हासिका	Sannyasin, sage, Brahmin, Vaiśika, vita etc.	1	Do.	Do.	Hāsya.	Worldly life not very vulgar.
9. भाण	Do.	भाणिका	Single character, vita dhurta.	1	Do.	Do.	Sringāra and Vīra (only to be suggested.)	Lāsyāngas allowed. Conversation by question and repetition.
10. वीथी	Do.	कलोत्साहवती	One or two characters, vita or dhurta.	1	Do.	Kaiśikī.	Touch of Sringāra.	Angas specially thirteen.

563. Sanskrit plays have been classified very elaborately under various sub-divisions; and Visvanatha in his Sahityadarpana,[1] divides them into his great classes, *viz.* 1. RUPAKA, 'principal dramas,' of ten species; 2. UPA-RUPAKA, 'minor dramas' of eighteen.

A. 1. The NATAKA, or 'principal play' should consist of from five to ten acts (*Anka*) and should have a celebrated story (such as the history of Rama) for its plot (*Vastu*). It should represent heroic or god like characters, and good deeds; should be written in an elaborate style, and be full of noble sentiments. Moreover, it should contain all the five 'joints' or 'junctures' (*Sandhi*) of the plot: the four kinds of action (*Vritti*); the sixty-four members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties: and the thirty-six distinctive marks (*Lakshana*). The hero or leading character (*Nayaka*) should be of the kind described as high-spirited but firm, being either a royal sage of high family (as Dushyanta in the Sakuntala), or a god (as Krishna), or a demigod (*Divyadivya*), who, though a god (like Ramachandra) thinks himself a man. The principal sentiment or flavour (*Rasa*) should be either the erotic (*Sringara*) or heroic (*Vira*), and in the conclusion (*Nirvahana*) the marvellous (*Adbhuta*). It should be composed like the end of a cow's tail (*Go-Pucchagra*), *i.e.* so that each of the acts is gradually made shorter. If it also contain the four *Pataka-sthanaka* or 'striking points' and the number of its acts *Anka* be ten, it is entitled to be called a *Maha-Nataka*. An example of the *Nataka* is the *Sakuntala*, and of the *Maha-Nataka* is the *Bala-Ramayana*.

2. PRAKARANA should resemble the Nataka in the number of its acts as well as in other respects; but the plot must be founded on some mundane or human story, invented by the poet, and have love for its principal sentiment, the hero or leading charater being either a brahmin (as in the *Mric-chakatika*), or a minister (as in the *Malati-madhava*), or a merchant (as in the *Pushpa-bhushita*), of the description called firm and mild (*Dhira-Prasanta*), while the heroine (*Nayika*) is sometimes a woman of good family, sometimes a courtesan, or both.

3. BHANA, in one act, should consist of a variety of incidents, not progressively developed, the plot being invented by the poet. It should only have the opening and concluding juncture. An example is the *Lila-Madhukara*.

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1. M. Wilson, *IW*, 470-3. Saradāṭanaya call a Bhāṇikā as Dombi and adds some classes of Uparupakas, Bhāna, Mallikā, Kalpavalli and Parijātaka. For a complete account of classifications of dramas, see Int. to Bhānaprakāsa (*GCS*), by Yadugiri Yaṭirajaswami.

4. VYAYOGA, in one act, should have a well-known story for its plot, and few females in its *Dramatis Personæ*. Its hero should be some celebrated personage of the class called firm and haughty (*Viroddhata*). Its principal sentiments or flavours should be the comic (*Hasya*), the erotic (*Sringara*), and the unimpassoned (*Santa*).

5. SAMAVAKARA, in four acts, in which a great variety of subjects are mixed together (*Samavakiryante*); it dramatizes a well-known story, relating to gods and demons, *e.g. Samudramathana, Abdhimathana* or *Payodhimathana.*

6. DIMA, in four acts, founded on some celebrated story; its principal sentiment should be the terrible (*Raudra*); it should have heroes (a god, a Yasksha, a Rakshasa, a serpent, goblin &c.) *e.g.* is *Tripuradaha, Tarakoddharana*; *Vrtroddharana, Virabhadravijrmbhana*; *Manmathonmathana.*

7. IHAMRIGA, in four acts, founded on a mixed story (*Misravritta*), partly popular, and partly invented; the hero and rival hero (*Pratinayaka*) should be entier a mortal or a god. According to some it should have six heroes. It derives its name from this, that the hero seeks (*Ihate*) a divine female, who is unattainable as a deer *Mriga. e.g. Urumasekhavijaya*; *Mayakurangika*; *Viravijaya.*

8. ANKA or UTSRISHTIKANKA, in one act, should have ordinary men *Prakritanarah* for its heroes; its principle sentiment should be the pathetic (*Karuna*), and its form (*Srishti*) should transgress (*Utkranta*) the usual rules, *e.g. Sarmishthayati*; *Karunakandala, Gangabhagiratha*; *Saktiramanuja*.

9. VITHI, in some act, is so called because it forms a kind of garland (*Vithi*) of various sentiments, and is supposed to contain thirteen members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties, *e.g. Madhavi Indulekha,*[1] *Malatika, Vakulavithika* and *Kamadatta,*[2] and *Premabhirama* of *Ravipati Tripuranataka.*

10. PRAHASANA, properly in one act, is a sort of farce representing reprobate characters (*Nindya*) and the story is invented by the poet, the principal sentiment being the comic (*Hasya*); it may be either pure (*Suddha*), of which the *Kandarpakeli*, 'love-sports,' is an example;

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1. Mentioned by Bāhurupamiśra in his commentary on Daśarupa.

2. The original is lost, but there is the Telugu Translation Kridābhirāmam of Vallabha. See Andhra *Sah. Par. Patrika*, II. 369 and *Bharati* (1927), 21.

or mixed (*Sankirna*), like the *Dhurtacarita*, 'advantures of a rogue; or it may represent characters transformed (*Vikrita*) by various disguises."

B. The eighteen Upa-rupakas' names are as follows :—

1. नाटिका, which is of two kinds, *Natika* pure, and *Prakaranika* differing little from the Nataka and Prakarana. *e.g. Ratnavali.*

2. त्रोटक, in five, seven, eight, or nine acts ; the plot should be founded on the story of a demi-god, and the Vidushaka or 'Jesting Brahman' should be introduced into every act. *e.g.* Vikramorvasi; Sṭambhiṭarambhaka ; Maḍalekhā, Menakānahuṣa.

3. गोष्ठी, *e.g.* Raivaṭamaḍanikā.

4. सट्टक, *e.g.* Ānanḍasunḍarī ; Karpūramanjari.

5. नाट्यरासक, *e.g.* Narmavaṭī, Vilāsavaṭī.

6. प्रस्थान, *e.g.* Śṛngāraṭilaka.

7. उल्लाप्य, *e.g.* Ḍevīmahāḍeva (Ḍevīmahoḍaya ?) ; Udāṭṭakunjara.

8. काव्य *e.g.* Gauḍavijaya ; Sugrīvakelana ; Yāḍavoḍaya.

9. प्रेङ्खण, *e.g.* Ṭripuramarḍana ; Nṛsimhavijaya ; Vālivaḍha.

10. रासक, *e.g.* Menakāhiṭa.

11. सल्लापक, *e.g.* Māyākāpālikā.

12. श्रीगदित, *e.g.* Rāmānanḍa ; Krīdārasāṭala.

13. शिल्पक, *e.g.* Kanakavaṭīmāḍhava.

14. विलासिका.

15. दुर्मल्लिका, *e.g.* Binḍumaṭī.

16. प्रकरणी.

17. हल्लीस, *e.g* Keliraivaṭaka.

18. भाणिका, *e.g.* Vīṇāvaṭī ; Kāmaḍaṭṭā ; Ḍānakelikamuḍī.

SARADATANAYA ADDS NEW CLASSES OF UPARUPAKAS.

19. पारिजातलता, *e.g.* Gangāṭarangikā.

20. कल्पवल्ली, *e.g.* Māṇikyavallikā.

21. डोंबिका, *e.g.* Guṇamālā ; Cūdāmaṇi.

22. भाण, *e.g.* Nanḍimaṭi ; Śṛngāramanjarī.

These examples are mentioned in Abhinavabhāraṭī (*AB*), Sarasvaṭīkaṇṭhābharaṇa (*SK*), Śṛngāraprakāśa (*SP*), Ḍaśarūpa (*DR*) and Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa (*ND*) and are mostly known only by name."

564. Harṣa,[1] very likely Śrī Harṣadeva, King of Ujjain, lived about the 6th century B.C. and commented on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Śāradātanaya quotes his classification :

नाट्यवेदं विधायादौ ऋषीनाह पितामहः ।
धर्मादिसाधनं नाट्यं सर्वदुःखापनोदनम् ।
आसेवध्वं तदृषयस्तस्योत्थानं तु नाटकम् ।
दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्कैरविदूषकैः ।
तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥

Bhāvaprakāśa, Baroda Edn. p. 238.

565. Subandhu was an ancient play-wright and rhetorician. According to Śāradātanaya he divides nāṭaka into five kinds, Pūrṇa, Praśānta, Bhāsvara, Lalita and Samagra.

सुबन्धुर्नाटकस्यापि लक्षणं प्राह पञ्चधा ।
पूर्णं चैव प्रशान्तं च भास्वरं ललितं तथा ॥
समग्रमिति विज्ञेया नाटके पञ्च जातयः । (*Ibid.* 238).

As an example of Samagranāṭaka i.e., in the fullest form, he mentions Kṛtyārāvaṇa (now lost) and names such a play Nṛttapāra (or Nāṭyapāra). To illustrate this class Subandhu wrote a play Vāsavadattā-nāṭyapāra obviously on the story of Vastarāja and Vāsavadattā. It is this Subandhu that is alluded to by Daṇḍin thus :

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो विन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
वत्सराजो ... ... ॥

Avantisundarīkathā.

It is quite likely that Daṇḍin's verse

मृतेति प्रेत्य संगन्तुं यया मे मरणं स्मृतम् ।
सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥

is taken from Nṛtyapāra.

Vāmana (*KSV*; III. 21) quotes a verse in part

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा :—

सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयः चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ॥

आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य च सुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात् साभिप्रायत्वम् ।

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1. He was older than Rāhulaka.
2. The word Nāṭyadhāra, as till recently read, is an error for Nāṭyapāra.
3. The reading Vasubandhu is obviously wrong and the manuscript No. 4/B 820 of the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, gives the reading Subandhu only. See Rangaswami Sarasvati, *Subandhu or Vasubandhu* (*JMys.*).

Abhinavagupta (*AB*, XXII) thus comments on Nātyāyiṭa which he says elsewhere is a synonym of Nṛttapāra or Nātyapāra.[1]

(*a*) स्वप्ने स्वप्नान्तरं तत्राप्यन्यत्, स्वस्यान्तरमित्यादिन्यायेन वा भवत्येकस्वप्नायितवृत्त्या वा सर्वथा तन्नाट्यायितम् । तत्रास्य बहुतरव्यापिनो बहुगर्भस्वप्नायिततुल्यस्य नाट्यायितस्योदाहरणं महाकविसुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाट्यपाराख्यः (धाराख्यः is a clerical error.) समस्त एव प्रयोगः । तत्र हि बिन्दुसारः प्रयोज्यवस्तुक उदयनचरिते सामाजिकीकृतः, असावप्युदयनो वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते ।

एष चार्थः—स्वस्मिन् सूत्ररूपके दृष्टे सुज्ञानो भवति । अतिविततत्वभयात्तु न प्रदर्शितः, एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाह्रियते । तत्र ह्युदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोगः "तव सुचरितैरेव जयति" इति । तत उदयनः—"कुतो मम सुचरितानि" इति सास्रं विलपति—

एह्यम्ब किं कटकपिङ्गलपालकैस्तै र्भक्तोऽहमप्युदयनः सुतलालनयिः ।
यौगन्धरायण समानय राजपुत्रीं हा हर्षरक्षित गतस्त्वमपप्रभावः ॥ XXII. 45.

(*b*) नाट्यायितं च वासवदत्तानाट्यपारे प्रतिपदं दृश्यते । XXII. 47.

(*c*) संधिर्ग्रहणं वा सनिबन्धनबन्धनमिति । यथा वासवदत्तानृत्तपारे वत्सराजस्य सन्धिः । XVIII. 21. sl.

Bindusāra, son of Candragupta Maurya, ruled according to the Purāṇas in 1501-1473 B.C. and according to modern historians in 4th century B.C.[2]

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1. In the same work and in a different chapter Abhinava speaks of Vāsavadattā-nṛttapāra only as a synonym. "In the fourth and fifth quotations *nrittapāra* and *nātyapara* are mentioned to show that in *nātyāyita* characters on the stage in one drama are represented to sit as audience in some other sub-drama exhibited in the development of the main theme as in the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara. In Nātyapāra of Subandhu the main character, the hero Udayana, is made to witness the dramatic performance of his own story played by Bindusāra. When the latter extols the glorious deeds of Udayana the hero suddenly forgets his being the audience of the drama and exclaims his own miserable state of separation from Vāsavadattā before her mother."

2. On this controversy, see Introduction. On the birth of Bindusāra, Buddhistic works give a story: "Hearing an attempt at poisoning by his enemies, Canakya fed him with small doses of poison without his knowledge, so as to keep him immune of poison. One day, the Queen who was in full pregnancy, and within 7 days of delivery was about to swallow the food sent to the king with whom she was about to partake the food containing poison. As the child in the womb would be destroyed by the effects of poison, if the Queen swallowed the food of which a morsel was put into her mouth, Canakya who only entered the apartment just then, cut the head of the Queen by a sword before she swallowed the morsel. The child was removed from the womb, and kept in the stomach of goats successively for seven days to complete the full term of gestation. The child was then delivered to a female slave and was nourished and reared by her. In consequence of the spot left on the person of the child by the blood of goats, he was called Bindusara."

It is not unlikely it was this Subanḍhu that wrote an Ākhyāyikā Vāsavaḍaṭṭā that is instanced by Paṭanjali.[1]

566. **Ramila** and **Saumila** were probably brothers. The works of Rāmila and Saumila are not now available. Rājaśekhara calls them the joint authors of Śūḍrakakaṭhā:

तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ वन्द्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
ययोर्द्वयोः काव्यमासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥

They are Kaviputru mentioned by Kāliḍāsa.[2]

In Āṭmaboḍhenḍrasarasvaṭi's commentary on Gururaṭnamālikā, there is a quotation for Rāmila's play Maṇiprabhā.

There it is said that these poets were contemporaries of Arbhaka-Śānkara the 20th in descent from Āḍi Śānkara in the Kāmakotipeetha

विद्याधिपः रामिलाख्यः स्वस्यैवाश्वीयशालाविचारकस्तादात्विकविबुधजनमाननीय-तद्विरुदवाही मणिप्रभाकारो मैथिल इति लक्ष्यम् ॥

अत्रानुसन्धेयं यत्किल मणिप्रभायां—

सूत्रधारः । आर्ये, अवधीयताम् ।

भङ्गं चन्दनमार्दिनः प्रणतयोः स्फूर्जद्रसां साहितीं
हर्षक्षोणिपतेश्च हर्षमतुलं दृष्ट्वैव ये तानिषुः ।
धीरांस्तान् गुरुशङ्करेन्द्रयमिनाश्चित्तेस्मरन्रामिलः
प्राणैषीत्स मणिप्रभां प्रथयितुं भक्तेर्गुरोर्गौरवम् ॥

नटी—अज्जउत्त कोसों च दणमद्दीके पणदाको अहरिसमहीवालोके त्रा सुगहीतणामहे असंरिंदा इति संकित्तिज्ञ इगुरुपदेण समंचे अक इणा ।

सूत्रधारः—न जानासि ?

मूकार्मोऽपि जगद्गुरोः करुणया विद्याघनस्याप्तवा-
गाचार्योऽस्ति हि शङ्करेन्द्रबिरुदस्सर्वज्ञपीठाधिपः ।
अर्चाकिङ्करमातृगुप्तकविताग्र्वस्य निर्वासना-
याधायोश्वपनागपावपि कवी रामिल्लमेदू क्षणात् ॥[3]

(*Gurrıatnamalika*, p. 53).

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1. See para 470 *supra*.

2. There is a Śuḍrakakaṭhā of Pancaśikha mentioned in *KS* of Hemacanḍra (p. 235) under their joint names. Vallabhaḍeva quotes:

भ्रूचातुर्यं कुञ्चितान्ताः कटाक्षाः स्निग्धा हावा लज्जितान्ताश्च हासाः ।
लीलामन्दं प्रस्थितं च स्थितं च स्त्रीणामेतद्भूषणं चायुधं च ॥

3. There it is said that Rāmila and Mentha was the keepers of the horses and elephants of Emperor Harṣı. See para 37 *supra*, where Menṭha's verse about this Śankara is quoted.

किञ्च—

> आचार्यैशद्विजन्मार्थ्यतिथिषु विनतो वैनतेयश्शकाहे:
> कश्मीरानेव काव्यं किमपि कवयितुर्दत्तवानप्रमत्तम् ।
> रक्षादत्तप्रहर्षप्रकृतिकृतिशताध्मातहर्षस्सहर्ष:
> कर्णाभ्यर्णावतीर्ण: कथमथतदनो विक्रमी विक्रमार्क: ॥

इत्यादिना

यच्च हयग्रीववधेऽपि :—

> ख्यातश्रीशङ्करेन्द्रप्रचुरतरकृपालब्धसाहित्यविद्य:
> सद्यस्साधूक्तिसंमोद्यपि परकवितामर्षिणो मातृगुप्तात् ।
> प्रौढा: प्रौढोक्तिरूढैर्निबिडरसभरैर्गुम्भनैर्यत्र मेढु-
> मैंधुर्मोदादिनादीद्धयवदनवधं वाग्म्यकुण्ठस्स मेण्ठ: ॥

इति च प्रपाञ्चितम् ।[1]

567. Bhasa. Antiquity of Bhāsa goes to an age so removed that he has been called a Muni. Kālidāsa refers to the glory of ancient poets like Bhāsa, Saumila, Kaviputrā[2] &c., and contrasts his own work as new.[3] Bāṇa describes the fame attained by Bhāsa by his dramas commenced by Sūtradhāra, and displaying various characters.[4] Daṇdin praises the scientific perfection of his dramas which are said to be the embodiment of his glory.[5] Jayadeva calls Bhāsa, the Smile of Sarasvati.[6] Rājaśekhara mentions a tradition that the merit of Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta was manifest, when even fire would not consume it.[7]

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1. There it is said Mukārbhaka-Śankara died in 359 Śaka (437 A D.) See para 37 *supra*.

2. प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिलकविपुत्रादीनां । Mālavikāgnimitra, Prologue.

3. पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् । Sākuntalā, Prologue.

4. सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकै: । सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ।
Harsacarita, Int. Verse 16.

5. सुविभक्तमुखाद्यङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभि: । परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासश्शरीरैरिव नाटकै: ॥
Avantisundarikathā, Int.

6. हासोभास: *Prasannarāghava*, I.

7. Compare *I4*, XLII, 52.

> भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकै: क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
> स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावक: ॥

Abhinavagupṭa mentions Bhāsa[1] and quotes a verse from a drama of which the theme was the story of Rāma.[2] Somaḍeva quotes two verses under Bhāsa's name.[3] The anthologies have preserved some verses too.[4] Bhāsa's language possessed a peculiar grace, his dramas were well designed and variety of characters was their feature and in versatility of imagery and originality of conception, he attained a name.

568. The antiquity of time attributed to Bhāsa is seen from a tradition which represents Bhāsa as a rival of Vyāsa and his poem Visṇuḍharma, as having triumphed over Vyāsa's work of the same name.[5] T. S. Narayanāsastri, in his introduction to Raṭnāvali propounded the opinion that Bhāsa was the later name of Ḍhāvaka alias Ghatakarpara and he lived in the days of Śrī Harṣa Vikramaḍiṭya who flourished according to him in the beginning of the 6th century B.C. He relied

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1. महाकविना भासेनाऽपि स्वप्रबन्धे उक्तः ।
त्रेतायुगं तदिह हन्त न मैथिली सा रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु चास्य चेतः ।
लब्धा जनस्तु यदि रावणमस्य कायं प्रोत्कृत्य तन्न तिलशो न वितृप्तिगामी ॥
Abhinavabhāraṭi, Adhy. VI.

2. This verse is not found in the publication of the Trivandrum Sanscrit series.

3. पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखमीक्षणीयं ग्राह्यः स्वभावललितो विकटश्च वेषः ।
येनेदमीदृशमदृश्यत मोक्षकर्म (वर्त्म) दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान्स पिनाकपाणिः ॥
Yaśastilakacampu.

4. Peterson, *Subh.* 80—1
यदपि विबुधैस्सिन्धोरन्तः कथंचिदुपार्जितं तदपि सकलं चारु स्त्रीणां मुखेषु विलोक्यते ।
सुरसुमनसश्श्वासामोदे (शशी) च कपोलयोरमृतमधरे तिर्यग्भूते विषं च विलोचने ॥

5. In Prithvirājavijaya Mahākavya written by Jayānaka in 12th century A.D., there is a verse,
सत्काव्यसंहारविधौ खलानां दीप्तानि वह्नेरपि मानसानि ।
भासस्य काव्यं खलु विष्णुधर्मान् (?) सोऽप्याननात्पारदवन्मुमोच ॥
In commenting on this verse Jonarāja says that to test the relative merits of Bhāsa and Vyāsa, who were then rivalling, one work of each was thrown into the fire and fire did not consume the excellent work of Bhāsa (भासमुनेः काव्यं) called Viṣṇuḍharma (See *IA*. XLII, 52-3). In fact there are now two works of this name, both professing to be Purāṇas (See *IA*, XIX, 408). It is probably on account of this tradition that Vākpaṭi in his Gaudavāho has भासम्मि जलनमित्ते (V. 800): "Bhasa, friend of fire". T. Ganapati Sastri (Int. to Pratimānātaka, p. 10, note) ignores the reference in the above verse to a Kāvya called Viṣṇuḍharma, and says विष्णुधर्मप्रतिपादकानंशानग्निर्न दग्धवान् ।

on passages in Rājaśekhara's Kavivimarśa and Hemacandra's Kavyānusāsana[1] to say that Ḍhāvaka was a washerman by birth and he composed a number of dramas among which he sold one to King Harṣa; it is this sale that is mentioned in Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa. It is unfortunate that Kavivimarśa is not anywhere traceable and in Kāvyānusāsana now in print, the passage cannot be discovered.

Rājāśekhara in his Kavivimarśa wrote:

भासो रामिलसौमिलौ वररुचिश्श्रीसाहसाङ्कः कविः
मेण्ठो भारविकालिदासतरलास्कन्धस्सुबन्धुश्च यः ।
दण्डी बाणदिवाकरौ गणपतिः कान्तश्च रत्नाकरः
सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वे वयम् ॥

कारणं तु कवित्वस्य न सम्पन्न कुलीनता ।
धावकोऽपि हि यद्भासः कवीनामग्रिमोऽभवत् ॥

आदौ भासेन रचिता नाटिका प्रियदर्शिका ।
निरीर्ष्यस्य रसज्ञस्य कस्य न प्रियदर्शना ॥

तस्य रत्नावली नूनं रत्नमालेव राजते ।
दशरूपककामिन्या वक्षस्यत्यन्तशोभना ॥

नागानन्दं समालोक्य यस्य श्रीहर्षविक्रमः ।
अमन्दानन्दभरितस्स्वसभ्यमकरोत्कविम् ॥

उदात्तराघवं नूनमुदात्तरसगुम्भितम् ।
यद्वीक्ष्य भवभूत्याद्याः प्राणिन्युर्नाटकानि वै ॥

शोकपर्यवसानास्य नवाङ्का किरणावळी ।
माकन्दस्येव कस्यात्र प्रददाति न निर्वृतिम् ॥

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥

And Hemacandra in Kāvyānusāsana (commentary on Ḍandin's Kavihṛdaya).

सम्प्रति परां काष्ठामारूढेनापि भासेन भूतपूर्वा स्वकीयदशा न विस्मृता ।
यतोऽनेन पूर्वचरितं घटकर्परेणोदकवहनमेव प्रतिज्ञातम् ।
प्रतिज्ञां चेमामसहमानाः परे कवयः परिहासितुमनसो विक्रमार्कसभ्यमेनं
भासं तज्जातिस्मारकघटकर्परनाम्ना व्यवजहुः ।
क्रमेण च स एव व्यपदेशो भासमहाकवेस्सुप्रसिद्धस्सम्पन्नः ॥

1. See Int. to Ray's Edn. of Ratnāvali.

Elsewhere the following verse is quoted as Bhāsa's :

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ।
नूनं न दृष्टं कविनापि तेन दारिद्र्यदोषो गुणराशिनाशी ॥

569. T. S. NARAYANA SASTRI, High Court Vakil, Madras, was an ardent student of Sanskrit literature and his Age of Sankara in which he attempted to collect the results of his research was left unfinished owing to his premature demise. He thus summed up his conclusions :

(i) That a comparative study of works akin to the plays of Sri Harsha shows : (*a*) that there is a close identity of plot between the Malavikagnimitra on the one hand and the Ratnavali on the other and that if the Malavikagnimitra were the earlier, it is difficult to explain how the other two ever came to be written ; (*b*) that 'Sri Harsha' was not as a matter of fact indebted to Kalidasa for his plots, but to certain accounts and traditions about historical personages, which were afterwards embodied in the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya and that his plays follow a certain order of sequence and had their origin in connection with certain popular historical characters ; (*c*) that Kalidasa in his Malavikagnimitra and nowhere else makes reference to poets before him, and that the manner of such reference, coupled with his allusion to the tales of Udayana in his Meghaduta, can have meaning only when taken as applying to writers whom he was in some way trying to excel ;

(ii) That Bhasa is mentioned by a long list of eminent writers as one of the greatest of Sanskrit poets, as a dramatist of the highest reputation and as the author of the Ratnavali, Priyadarsika and Nagananda and a host of other plays ;

(iii) That by 'Sri Harsha' is meant Sri Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjain, not Harshavardhana of Kanouj, and that it is by identifying the former with the latter that scholars have fallen into the great error of ascribing the plays in question either to Bana or to some other poet of Harshavardhana's court ;

(iv) That this Sri Harsha must have lived in the 6th century B.C. as borne out by a host of references to him in our ancient works.[1]

1. For a criticism of these views by R.V. Krishnamacharya, see his Introduction to Priyadarsika, when the arguments, are elaborately set out in lucid Sanskrit prose. See also S. P. Ray's Int. to Ratnavali.

570. It was in the year 1910 that Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapathi Sastri of Travancore discovered a collection of 13 plays,[1] with a similarity of expression and construction and declared that they were Bhasa's composition.[2] In his introduction to Svapnavasavadatta he says "it is usual in Natakas to begin with Nandi and then to state नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः. But the Natakas in this collection as a rule begin with the stage direction नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः and then the *Mangala Sloka* is introduced. Again instead of the word Prastavana these Natakas use the word Sthapana. Thirdly, in the Natakas of Śudraka, Kalidasa and others, in the Prastavana mention is made of the name of the author and of his works and in some instances in terms of praise. But in the plays before us in the Sthapana, not even the name is brought in, either of the works or of the author.[3] In the Bharatavakya or the closing sentence of everyone of these plays, invariably occurs the

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1. Mahalinga Sastri has written a fine prose summary of the story of these plays, *Printed*, Madras. For an English translation of these plays, see edition by Ashtakar & Co., Poona.

2. These arguments have been thus summaries by R. Vasudevasarma in the *Hindu*, 2nd Feby. 1937, where he answers objections to the view :

(1) That there is in these plays discernible a distinct departure from the rules of dramaturgy as laid down by Bharata in making his stage manager enter after the "nandi" or the benedictory invocatory song, in the non-mention of the name of the author, in calling the prologue a "sthapana" and not a "prastavana", in representing death, sleep and fight on the stage and in closing without a Bharatavakya pronounced by one of the characters, all leading to the inference that these plays belonged to Pre-Bharatan days.

(2) That Bhatta Bana, Bhamaha, Vamana and other ancient rhetoricians have referred to him in unmistakable terms as a poet of ancient renown.

(3) That Kautilya quoted him, thus fixing him up to the pre-Kautilyan age.

(4) That Bhasa uses un-Paninian archaic forms, arguing a pre-Paninian date.

(5) That he was a Puranamuni according to Kalidasa and Jonaraja.

(6). And that by virtue of his writings being characterised by an intensity of rasa and by a marvellously exquisite flow of language, he was comparable to Valmiki and Vyasa and so was possibly contemporaneous with them.

Śakuntalācarcā an elaborate commentary on Śakuntalā an unknown author (about 300 years old) mentions all these plays, but without the author's names, as well as Traivikrama, Vatsarājacarita, Viṇāvāsavadatta &c. (See Kuppusamiśastri's *Rep.* (1919) 41.

3. But these three characterstics are found in some other plays discovered later viz., Bhagadajjuka, Traivikrama, Nalābhyudaya, Viṇāvasavadatta (whose last benedictory verse mentions King Rāmavarma), Padmaprābhṛta, Ubhayābhisārikā, Dhurtavitasamvāda and a Bhāna nicknamed Kuntappalli Bhāna.

player "May our greatest of kings or may our King rule the land."[1] In all these plays there is in the end a sentence announcing such and such a Nataka is finished and the name of the work is given............"

Besides a structural similarity, these plays also contain several passages in common e.g., एवमार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि, अये किं नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते ।[2] The Sloka लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि etc., appears in the 1st Act both of Carudatta and Bālacarita. The passage किं वक्ष्यतीति हृदयं परिशङ्कितं मे occurs in the 6th Act of Svapananātaka and also in the 4th Act of Abhiṣekanātaka. The part धर्मस्नेहान्तरे न्यस्ता of a śloka is seen in both Pratimā and Abhiṣekanātaka. Many more points of similarity of this kind can be observed in the plays.

571. The common characterstics of the technique in these plays are not as pointed out in the notes below peculiarly their own and cannot by themselves lead to the conclusion that they are all the works of the same author. But much must be said in regard to the six plays which contain the expression Rājasimha in the ending verse and probably of Pratimā also, where that ending verse is almost of a similar form and which contains a passage common with Abhiṣekanātaka,[3] that they may be fathered on the same poet and if one of them, Svapnanātaka, is definitely known to be the work of Bhāsa, the other works may also be ascribed to him. But to say the same of other plays in the group, we shall have to await further evidence.

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1. i इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यमेखलाम् ।
महीमेकातपत्राङ्कां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥

ii यथा रामश्च जानक्या बन्धुभिश्च समागतः ।
तथा लक्ष्म्या समायुक्तो राजा भूमिं प्रशास्तु नः ॥

The former is found at the end of Svapnavāsavadatta, Bālacarita and Dutavākya and a slight modification of it but containing the word Rājasimha is found at the end of Pratignā, Avimāraka Abhiṣekha and Pāncarātna.

These verses are not found at the end of Dutaghatotkaca, Madhyamavyāyoga, Karṇabhāra and Urubhanga. The latter is found only in Pratimā. Cārudatta as found is incomplete though the manuscript says it is finished.

2. But this very expression is used in Ubhayābhasārikā, Pādatāditāka and Āscaryacudāmaṇi.

3. This when compared with the Nāndi of the Antarnātaka in Viṇāvāsavadatta, would lead to an inference that the latter is a work of Bhāsa, for it contains besides other characterstics of technique referred to by T. Ganapatisastri. But Viṇāvāsavadatta is the work of Śudraka (For this, see under Śudraka).

T. Ganapatisastri considers that Bhāsa refers to the Nyāyaśāstra of Meḍhāṭiṭhi, Pāṇini,[1] an ancient sage prior to Bharaṭa,[2] Kautilya,[3] Guṇādhya,[4] Bhāmaha[5] and Śūḍraka, and GIORNALE on these considerations places him not later than the 5th century B.C.[6]

On the authenticity of this attribution of authorship opinion is divided.[7]

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1. See Int. to Praṭimānātaka, xxv-xxvi. Bhāsa's verse of unpāṇinean words is discussed.

2. *Ibid* xxxi–iii, where it is said that Bhāsa does not follow Bharaṭa's rules of dramatizing, and must have followed earlier works of Kṛśasva etc. On this simple question scholars differ: S. Levi says "the Trivandrum Bhasa conforms *scrupulously* to the classical rules of the Indian Aristotle Bharata" (*Vasavadatta, par Albert Baston*, Preface iii) and Haraprasadsastri (*JASB*, 1912) says "Bhasa (of the Trivandrum series) disregards altogether the rules of drama hereby laid down in Bharata."

3. T. Ganapatisastri says that the verse नवं शरावं &c., found in the fourth act of Praṭignāyaugunḍharāyaṇa is quoted by Kautilya in his Arṭhaśāsṭra. (See Int. to Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa, xxvii). But in the commentary on Arṭhaśāsṭra by Māḍhavamiśra, it is stated that it is a quotation from Manusmṛṭi so that it would follow that the author borrowed the verse from the same source, if Bhāsa had not borrowed it from Kautilya.

4. According to T. Ganapatisastri, Guṇādhya lived in the 1st century A.D. (*l.c.* xxvii.)

5. According to T. Ganapatisastri, Bhāmaha lived not later than 3rd or 2nd century B.C. (*l.c.* xxvii).

6. Lesny (*ZDMG*, 1918, 203) and Winternitz (Festschrift fur Ernst Kuhn, S. 301) and Banerjee (*JRAS*, 1921, 368) on their examination of the Prakrit passages conclude that these plays are older than Kalidasa (5th century A.D.), but younger than Aśvaghoṣa (3rd century A.D.). Keith (*SD*, 93) gives 300 A.D. Sukthankar (*JAOS*, XL. 241; XLI, 107) says Bhāsa was later than Pāṇini and discusses the prakrit passages. Antiquity of these passages is established also by G. Morgenstierne and W. Printz (*l.c.*). P. Choudhuri (*Mod. Rev.*, XIV. 382) discusses T. Ganapatisastri's views. See also Belloni-Filippi, *Vasavadatta of Bhasa* (*JIOS*, XXVII.)

7. Jacobi, *Vasavadatta*; Jolly (*Gottingen Nachrichten*, 1916, 353); Winternitz (*GIL*, III. 186, 945); Keith (*IA*, LII. 59; *SD*, 92–3); M. Baston (*Tr. of Vasavadatta*); Suali (*Giornale della Soc. As. Italiana*, XXV. 111); Pavolini (*Ibid.*) Lesny, (*ZDMG*, LXXII. 203-8) Lindenau, *Bhasa studien*; G. Morgenstierne, *Carudatta and Mritchakatika, Leipzig*; Lacote (*JA*, XIII. 493); F. W. Thomas, (*JRAS*, 1922, 79); Printz (*Bhasa's Prakrit*, Franport, A.M.); and A. Banerjee (*JRAS*, 1921, 367.) Among scholars of the negative view are L.D. BARNETT (*JRAS*, 1919, 233. 1921, 587-9) on the ground that Rajasimha referred to is a Pandyan King Teramaran Rajasimha) of 7th century A.D. and that these plays resemble Maṭṭavilāsaprahasana. Ramavatarasarma (*Śāradā*, Allahabad, 1st Part i) says that verses quoted in anthologies are not found in this group and the Nānḍi is not dedicated to Śiva, but Bhāsa was a devotee of Śiva. BHATTANATHA SWAMI (*IA*, XLV. 189) for which see note under Svapnavasavadatta *post*. K. GHANASYAM- (Int. to translation of Meghaduta in Gujarat, Bombay) assigns Bhāsa to the time of

572. Of these dramas, Pratijnā is Īhāmṛga, Pāncarātra is Samavākāra, Ūrubhanga is Utṣrstikānka, Cārudaṭṭa is Prakaraṇa, Ḍūṭavākya, Maḍhyama, Karṇabhāra and Ḍūṭa-Ghaloṭkaca are mostly Vyāyogas, and the rest Nātakas.

573. Svapnavasavadatta is a drama in six Acts,[1] and is really a continuation of the Pratignāyaugandharāyaṇa. Having heard a prediction from a sage that Uḍayana Vaṭsarāja[2] would marry Paḍmāvaṭī, sister of King Darśaka and with his help would recover his lost dominions, Uḍayana's minister Yaugandharāyaṇa with intent to hasten the marriage with Paḍmāvaṭī resorted to a stratagem. He gave

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King Chandragupta in 3rd century B.C. and Kālidāsa to the Court of King Agnimitra about B.C. The Introduction is a valuable essay on Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Sten Konow (*IA*, XLIII, 66) put Bhāsa not before 3rd or 4th century A D. K. Rama Pisharoti denies the correctness of the attribution to Bhāsa and goes to the extent of saying that Bhāsa was the author of a Svapanavāsavadaṭṭa and that quotations from Svapanavāsavadaṭṭa by various authors not found in the present edition show the existence of these works of that name, *Shama'a* Madras, V. 173-186; *Bull. of Or. Studies*, III. 107.

A. Rangasami Sarasvati (*JMy*, XIII. 686) says that Rājasimha referred was the Pallava King Narasimhavaraman II, who was also known as Rājasimha and who lived in the last decade of the 8th century A.D. In his introduction to his own editions of several of these plays, T. Ganapatisastri has attempted to answer these objections and has done so in a separate monograph.

For a complete discussion of the question, see Jyotiscandra Ghatak's *Dramas of Bhasa* (Jubilee Research Prize Thesis, Calcutta University, 1923). For an examination of the criticisms by R. Vasudevasarma and R. Mahadevasarma, see *The Hindu*, Madras, 1927 Feb. 2nd and 9th.

Sukthankar, *The Bhasa Riddle*, (*JBRAS*, I. 137); Hiranandasatri, *Bhasa and authorship of the 13 plays*; *Studies in Bhasa* (*JAOS*, XL. Oct; XLI. April,); Lesney, *On the Prakrit of Bhasa* (*ZDMG*, 1918); C. R. Devadhar, *Plays ascribed to Bhasa* (*Annals*, VII. 29, VIII. 17-42); P. V. Kane, *Kundamala and Bhasa* (*Annals*, XI. 155). K. Krishnamacarya, *Bhasa, a study* (*C. H. Coll. Mag.*, Oct. 1917) and *Duryodhana as portrayed by Bhasa* (*Collegian*, March 1914); R. Vasudevasarma, *On Tamil Influences on Bhasa* (*The Hindu*, 13th June 1928). See also Levi, *JA*, (1923), 193 and *JRAS*, (1925) 100; *Cal. Rev.* (1924), 330.

1. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum by T. Ganapati Sastri with an elaborate introduction and again with a commentary. Ed. by Lakshmana Sarup, Lahore. Translated by K. Pisharodi (*JMy*. X, 164. 203, 372), by L. H. Gray (New York), by Baston (Paris) and into verse by Pannalal (Allahabad), and by H. B. Bhide (Allahabad). Ed. with translation by C. R. Deodhar, Bombay. See C. R. Deodhar, *Swapnavasavadatta*, (*Annals*, VI).

2. P. V. Gune in *Prodyota, Udayana* etc., *in Jain Legend* (*Annals*, 1920-21, July) collects different allusions of the story of Udayana and the essay is very interesting with the titular verse of Meghaduṭa:

प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जह्रे हैमं तालद्रुमवनमभूत्तत्र तस्यैव राज्ञः ।
अत्रोद्भ्रान्तः किल नलगिरिस्स्तम्भमुत्पाट्य दर्पादित्यागन्तून्रमयति जनो यत्र बन्धूनभिज्ञः

out that Uḍayana's queen Vāsavaḍaṭṭā (daughter of King Mahāsena of Avanṭi) was lost in a conflagration and disguising her as his sister whose husband was away, he donned the garb of a Muni and approaching Paḍmāvaṭi entrusted her to Paḍmāvaṭi's care under the pseudonym of Avanṭikā. Then Uḍayana married Paḍmāvaṭi. Once when asleep Vāsavaḍaṭṭā came to his side and when she touched him he opened his eyes, but before he could get hold of her, she flew away. This made Uḍayana all the more dejected. As he was diverting himself with a picture of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā in her wedding attire, Paḍmavāṭi mentioned to him that in her harem there was a lass called Avanṭikā quite like the image in the picture, entrusted to her care by a brahmin. Then Vāsavaḍaṭṭā was brought before him and the lovers met once again and all was well when the secret was divulged.

574. References in rhetorical works are as follow:

(i) DANDIN in Kāvyāḍarśa (II. 280) has

मृतेति प्रेत्य सङ्गन्तुं यया मे मरणं मतम् ।
सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥

In commenting on this Ṭaruṇavācaspṭi says

अत्र अवन्तीविषये वत्सराजस्य जाता रतिः ॥

and Bhoja says (*SP.* Ch. X) that Avanṭi here means Vāsavaḍaṭṭa. In this edition Vāsavaḍaṭṭā is called Avanṭi or Avanṭikā by Yaugandhanāyaṇa when she was entrusted to Paḍmāvaṭi.

[*N.B.*—M. R. Kavi points out that this verse is found in Ṭāpasavaṭsarāja when Vaṭsarāja attempted suicide in Yamunā and Vāsavaḍaṭṭā appears then in the scene.]

(ii) VAMANA's quotation (V. i. 3)

शरच्छशाङ्कगौरेण

is found in this edition.

(iii) BHOJA writes thus:

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थां द्रष्टुं राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः। पद्मावतीरहितं च तदत्रलोक्य तस्या एव शयने सुष्वाप, वादसवदत्तांच स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श। स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे। स्वप्नशब्देन चेह स्वापो वा स्वप्नं वा स्वप्नदर्शनं वा स्वप्नायितं वा विवक्षितम् ॥

(*Śṛngāraprākaśā*, Chap. XII).

This description agrees with the story in the present edition.

(iv) ŚARADATANAYA mentions the sanḍhis in Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa. Of these first verse is found in the Trivandrum edition, but the 2nd and 3rd stages are absent:

प्रशान्तरसभूयिष्ठं प्रशान्तं नाम नाटकम् । न्यासो न्याससमुद्भेदो बीजोक्तिर्बीजदर्शनम् ॥
ततोऽनुद्दिष्टसंहारः प्रशान्ते पञ्च सन्धयः । सात्वतीवृत्तिरत्रस्यादिति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ॥
स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्यमुदाहरणमत्र तु । आच्छिद्य भूपातसव्यसना देवी मागधिकाकरे ॥
न्यस्ता यतस्ततो न्यासो मुखसन्धिरयं भवेत् । न्यासस्य च प्रतिमुखं समुद्भेद उदाहृतः ॥
पद्मावत्या मुखं वीक्ष्य विशेषकविभूषितम् । जीवत्यवन्तिकेत्येतज्ज्ञातं भूभिभुजा यथा ॥
उत्कण्ठितेन सोद्वेगं बीजोक्तिर्नर्मकीर्तनम् । एहि वासवदत्ते क यासीत्यादि च दृश्यते ॥
सहावस्थितयोरेकप्राप्त्याऽन्यस्य गवेषणम् । दर्शनस्पर्शनालापैरेतत्स्याद्बीजदर्शनम् ॥
चिरप्रसुप्तः कामो वा वीणया प्रतिबोधितः । तां तु देवीं न पश्यामि यस्या घोषवती प्रिया ॥
किं ते भूयः प्रियं कुर्यामिति वाग्यत्र नोद्यते । तमनुद्दिष्टसंहारमित्याहुर्भरतादयः ॥

(v) SARVANANDA (who lived about 1159 A.D.) in his commentary on Amarakośa in commenting on the Sloka शृङ्गारवीरकरुणा etc., says that स्वदिशमात्मसात्कर्तुमुदयनस्य पद्मावतीपरिणयोऽर्थश्शृङ्गारः स्वप्नवासवदत्ते, तृतीयस्तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणयः कामशृङ्गारः and this description tallies with the story in the present edition. Bhattanāṭhaswāmi (*IA*, XIV. 101) thinks that the work referred to by Sarvānanḍa must be different. He finds an allusion to the story in Malaṭī-Māḍhava and says that the main theme of Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa of Bhāsa was the marriage of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā and not Paḍmāvaṭī, whereas the present play deals with the events subsequent to the marriage of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā, that is, the marriage of Paḍmāvaṭī.

The following verse quoted by Abhinavaguptạ in Ḍhvanyāloka as from Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa is not found in the Trivandrum Edn.:

सञ्चितपक्ष्मकवाटं नयनद्वारं स्वरूपताडेन ।
उद्घाट्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं मे नृपतनूजा ॥

Nor is the verse quoted by Rāmacanḍra in Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa:

यथा भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते शेफालिकामण्डपशिलातलमवलोक्य वत्सराजः—
"पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोष्म चेदं शिलातलं ।
नूनं काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसा गता ॥
पूर्वार्धे लिङ्गम् । उत्तरार्धमनुमानम् ।"

Nor is the following quoted by Sāgarananḍin in Nāṭakalakṣaṇaraṭnakosā:

नेपथ्ये सूत्रधारः-(उत्सारणं श्रुत्वा पठति)-अये ! कथं तपोवनेऽप्युत्सारणा । (विलोक्य)- कथं मन्त्री यौगन्धरायणः वत्सराजस्य राज्यप्राप्त्यानयनं कर्तुकामः पद्मावतीयजनेनोत्सार्यत इति—

575. Pratignayaugandharayana,[1] is a Natikā in four Acts. In the course of an elephant hunt Vaṭsarāja sees a false elephant,[2] prepared and stationed in the forest at the orders of King Praḍyoṭa and when unknowingly attempting to tame it with his Viṇā, Praḍyoṭa's soldiers overpower him, and take him prisoner. Then Praḍyoṭa's minister Śālankāyana intervenes and hands him over to Praḍyoṭa. Praḍyoṭa takes the Vinā and gives it to his daughter Vāsavaḍaṭṭā and imprisons Vaṭsarāja in his own house. Vaṭsarāja and Vāsavaḍaṭṭā meet each other and soon Vatsaraja happy in his love forgets all thought of his own kingdom. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyana, his minister, discovers Vaṭsarāja's predicament. He arranges by careful espionage that all his army in disguise pervades the capital of Praḍyoṭa and himself in a garb of a madman begins to run through the streets, watching an opportunity. At the appointed signal the army rises up and in trying to take away Vaṭsarāja and Vāsavaḍaṭṭā on an elephant by force, Yaugandharāyaṇa is subdued and caught. But Praḍyoṭa is pleased with the minister's sagacity and he sends him back home in royal state with Vaṭsarāja and the princess.

576. Carudatta is a fragment in four Acts without the initial or final verses. Cāruḍaṭṭa, a merchant improverished by his generosity, fell in love with a hetæra Vasanṭasena. Pursued by the king's brother-in-law Samsṭhāna she took refuge in Caruḍaṭṭa's house and left her jewels in his care. The jewels were stolen away at night by a thief Sajjalaka in order to purchase the freedom of a slave girl of Vasanṭasena. In the morning Caruḍaṭṭa offered his wife's necklace to Vasanṭasena in lieu of the lost jewels, but Vasanṭasena handed the slave girl to Sajjalaka and herself went to Caruḍaṭṭa. Here the play

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1. Vāmana quotes a line यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्ध्यति (Adhyaye II.) This is found in this drama. In Kumuḍimahoṭsava there is reference to the names of Vaṭsarāja, and his horse Sunḍarapātala and his servant Kāṭyāyana.

In the same connection, Praṭignāyaugandharāyaṇa mentions the name Sunḍarapātala (page 12)

तदो कीला अमाणोवि आ अलतच्छन्दाणुवत्तिण सुन्दरपाटेण अस्सेण

2. Bhāmaha (IV, 40) remarks that Vaṭsarāja could not have been deceived by an artificial elephant and if caught, his life would not have been spared by the enemy. He gives this as an instance of unnaturalness or Nyāyaviroḍha ;

सचेतसो वनेभस्य चर्मणा निर्मितस्य च । विशेषं वेद बालोऽपि कष्टं किं नु कथं नु तत् ॥

3. Ed. *TSS*, with commentary by T. Ganapatisastri (Trivandrum). Of dramas having similar plots, are Uḍayanacariṭa and Viṇāvāsavaḍaṭṭa. For these analogies, see M. Ramakrishnakavi's introduction to Viṇavāsavaḍaṭṭa (Madras).

ends abruptly and "it seems as if Carudatta were accused of theft and that Vasantasena herself is in grave danger of her life."[1]

577. Pratimanataka[2] begins with banishment of Rāma to the woods and the miserable condition of Ḍaśaratha ending in his death. Bharata infers the death of his father from the statue of his father erected in the statue house of the family and from this the play takes its name. Bharata then interviews Rāma in the forest and returns back to the capital with his sandals to be crowned in his stead. Then follows the story of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and the war with Rāvaṇa ending in his destruction and Rāma's return with Sītā to his hermitage, where Bharata and the queens go to receive him and Rāma is crowned on the spot. In this play the author has often copied expressions from Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

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1. Edited by T. Ganapati Sastri, (*TSS*) Trivandrum, and again with his own commentary. See K. V. Vasudevasarma, *The Source of Daridra-Carudatta* in *The Hindu*, Madras, June 6th, 1928 Vāmana in his Kāvyālankarasutra (V. i. 3) quotes a verse (I. 2.

यासां बलिर्भवति मद्गृहदेहलीनां ... ...

which is found in this play. The word Daridra-Carudatta is used by Śakara in Mṛccha-katikā (Act IX in his first speech).

आं स्मृतं मया, दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्येदं कृपणचेष्टितं पातयिष्यामि.

In Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharatanāṭyaśastra we have the following references to a drama called Daridra-Carudatta :

i अनर्थकं वचो यत्तु सप्रलाप इति । परस्परमसम्बद्धं मौर्ख्यादिवशादित्यर्थः, । यथादरिद्र-चारुदत्ते शकारः । सुणामि मल्लगन्धम् (Adhyāya XXII)

This passage is found in Mṛcchakaṭikā, Act I, above verse 35

ii यत्र तु दैवायत्तं फलं वर्ण्यते, तत्र कथं न च वर्ण्यं, पुरुषकारमात्राभिमानिनां दैवमजानानां चार्वाकादिमतमेयुषां सदैव बहुमानव्युत्पत्तये हि पुरुषकारोऽप्यफलः तदभावोऽपि सफलः प्रदर्शनीयः, अथ एव दरिद्रचारुदत्तादिरूपकाणि तद्विषयाणि ॥

(Adhyāya XIX).

2. Ed. Trivandrum (*TSS*) with an elaborate and valuable introduction by T. Ganapatisastri. Translated by Rama Pisharoti with critical notes (*JMy*, XII. 58, 375; XIII. 595, XIV. 39, XI. 353); Ed. with translation by S.M. Paranjape, Bombay.

3. Here is a nice description of an identity:

लक्ष्मणः—अये, अयमार्यो रामः ! ननु रूपसादृश्यम् ।

मुखमनुपमं त्वार्यस्यामं शशाङ्कमनोहरं मम पितृसमं पीनं वक्षस्सुरारिशरक्षतम् ।

द्युतिपरिवृतस्तेजोराशिर्जगत्प्रियदर्शनो नरपतिरयं देवेन्द्रो वा स्वयं मधुसूदनः ॥ (IV. 8)

578. Balacarita[1] in five acts describes the birth of Kṛṣṇa and his miraculous performances from sucking out of the life of Pūtanā and the killing of Cāṇūra to the killing of Kāliya and Ṛṣabhāsura, the destruction of Kamsa, and the coronation of Ugrasena.

579. Urubhanga[2] begins with a prologue describing the actual fight between Bhīma and Ḍuryoḍhana in which Ḍuryoḍhana is struck with a mallet on his thigh and falls down disabled. The scene follows in which Ḍhṛtarāstra and his wife go to see the last dying son and Ḍuryoḍhana recovers his sense of rectitude and commends a life of friendship. The last scene introduces the furious Aśvatthāman[3] and his violent vow to destroy the last scion of the Pāndava race. The play ends with the passing away of Ḍuryoḍhana in the stage[4] and the renunciation of Ḍhṛtarāstra.

580. Pancaratra. The play takes its name from the period of five nights referred to in the plot, which is briefly as follows:— "After wandering for twelve years in the forest the Pandavas were living incognito in the thirteenth year. Drona, the family preceptor of the Kurus, knew the reluctance of Duryodhana and others to give a bit of land even, to the Pandavas. Hence he apprehended a fratricidal war. To avoid such a calamity he was looking for an opportune moment to unite the brothers. At the instance of Drona, he (Duryodhana) performed a sacrifice. At the end of the sacrifice he performed his bath and wanted to render Gurudaksina. Drona cleverly demanded half of the kingdom for the Pandavas. Duryodhana assented to it on the condition that Drona would bring within five nights

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1. Ed. Trivandrum. See Winternitz, *ZDMG*, LXXIV. 125; Lindenau, *BS*, 22; V. Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati*, IV. 29. Bālacarita quoted by Viśvanātha in Sāhityadarpaṇa (VI) is a different work and must refer to Rāmāyaṇa, for the verse there quoted उत्साहातिशयं वत्स is not found in this play, and that is addressed by Paraśurāma to Rāma.
2. Ed. Trivandrum. It is also called Gaḍāyuḍḍham in some manuscripts.
3. Here is Aśvatthāman's address to Duryoḍhana after the hurt;

भोः कुरुराज ! संयुगे पाण्डुपुत्रेण गदापातकचग्रहे ।
सममूरुद्वयेनाद्य दर्पोऽपि भवतो हतः ॥

4. Thus he is described

श्रीमान् संयुगचन्दनेन रुधिरेणार्द्रानुलिप्तच्छविः
भूसंसर्पणरेणुपाटलभुजो बालव्रतं माहितः ।
निर्वृत्तेऽमृतमन्थने क्षितिभरान्मुक्तस्सुरैस्सासुरै-
राकर्षन्निव भोगमर्णवजले श्रान्तोज्झितो वासुकिः ॥

the news of the whereabouts of the Pandavas. Drona found out Bhima from the news of Kichaka's being slain in secret in the capital of Virata. Bhisma induced the Kauravas to carry off the cattle of Virata under the pretext of ministering him for his absenting himself from the sacrifice. Thus he located the Pandavas. And half the kingdom was given to the Pandavas."[1]

581. Rama Datta Pant's Aparapancarāṭra is based on this play. He was professor of Sanskrit in Bareilley college. He lived in Almora District in 1861-1928 A.D. He also wrote Lekhinīkṛpāṇa and Ḍīpaśaṭaka.[2]

582. Dutavakyam is an one-Act drama. "This is woven from the Mahabharata story of Krisna acting as an ambassador of the Pandavas. Kancuki intimated the arrival of Krisna to Duryodhana saying 'Purushottama is come.' Just then Duryodhana was holding his ministerial council. He corrected Kancuki's language telling him to name Krisna as Kamsabhritya Damodara. As an evil omen Duryodhana fell from his seat at the advent of Vasudeva Krisna. When Vasudeva was seated in Duryodhana's council hall, he found there a picture of Draupadi's Kesakarsana. Vasudeva then demanded the division of the paternal property. Duryodhana pointed to Pandu's remaining free from intercourse with females and there was a curse from a sage and refused any division of property. Vasudeva also then pointed out that Vicitravirya got Pthisis Pulmonalis and that Dhritarastra was born on Ambika through the agency of Vyasa and that therefore he also, on the same ground as Duryodhana held out,

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1. Ed. Trivandrum and again with his own commentary and an elaborate Introduction by T. Ganapati Sastri. As summaried by J. Ghatak (l.c.)

2. Here is a description of prious brahmins :

इमेऽत्रभवन्तो द्विजातयः—

राज्ञां वेष्टनपट्टघृष्टचरणश्लाघ्यप्रभूतश्रवाः
वार्धक्येऽप्यभिवर्धमाननियमास्स्वाध्यायशूरैर्मुखैः ।
विप्रा यान्ति वयःप्रकर्षशिथिला यष्टित्रिपादक्रमाः
शिष्यस्कन्धनिवेशिताञ्चितकरा जीर्णा गजेन्द्रा इव ॥ I. 5.

and of Abhimanyu's chariot :

आलम्बितो भ्रमति धावति तेन मुक्तो
न प्राप्य धर्षयति नेच्छति विप्रकर्तुम् ।
आसन्नभूमिचपलः परिवर्तमानो
योग्योपदेशमिव तस्य रथः करोति ॥ II. 27.

could not claim paternal property. Then Duryodhana tried to use force, when Vasudeva took his Visvarupa, and the former found him everywhere in every possible shape and size. Sudarsana, the discus of Vasudeva, was called in by the latter into action and there came Sudarsana, Kaumodaki, Pancajanya and all other weapons in the train. Duryodhana's fear and bewilderment were highest. Then Vasudeva again cooled down. Just then Dhritarastra came in on the scene, and fell at the feet of Vasudeva, to atone for the fault of his sons. The Lord Vasudeva complied with his request."[2]

583. **Madhyamavyayogam**. "Bhimasena rescues a Brahmin family from the hands of Ghatotkaca. Ghatotkaca and his mother Hidimbī wanted human food and caught sight of a group of brahmins, an old man, his wife and three sons and it was after some discussion arranged to give up the middle son. Just then Bhimasena came on the scene and in the course of the fighting with Ghatotkaca, they recognised each other as father and son, and the victim was rescued."[3]

584. **Karnabharam** begins with the relation by Karṇa of the story of a curse that just at the moment of need his weapons would prove ineffectual. On his way to battle against Arjuna, Indra encounters him in the garb of a poor brahmin and asks for a gift. Karṇa with his characteristic generosity promises anything that he desired. Indra asks for his armour and earrings and walks away with the gifts. The plays ends with the gift of an invulnerable Śakṭi by Indra to Karṇa in lieu of the extortion he had committed.[4]

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1. Ed. Trivandram and again with his own commentary by T. Ganapatisastri. As summarised by J. Ghatak (l.c)

2. अये ! अयं पाञ्चजन्यः प्राप्तः—

फूर्णेन्दुकुन्दकुमुदोदरहारगौरनारायणाननसरोजकृतप्रसादः ।
यस्य स्वनं प्रलयसागरघोषतुल्यं गर्भा निशम्य निपतन्त्यसुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

अये ! इयं कौमोदकी प्राप्ता—

मणिकनकविचित्रा चित्रमालोत्तरीया सुररिपुगणगात्रध्वंसने जाततृष्णा ।
गिरिवरतटरूपा दुर्निवारातिवीर्या व्रजति नभसि शीघ्रं मेघबृन्दानुयाता ॥

3. Ed. Trivandram, and again with his commentary and an introduction by T. Ganapati Sastri. Translated by S. P. Janvier, Myrore, with introduction and notes. There is a stage adaptation of this drama called Haidimba Vaidagdhya by T. S. Narayana Sastri with an introduction on Bhāsa and Kālidāsa (Madras). Pavolini, (*GSAI*, XXIX. 1) points out that Bakavadha of Mahābhārata has been adopted here for the plot.

4. Ed. Trivandram. It is also called Kavacakundalāharaṇam in some manuscripts.

The nāṇḍī here is fine:

पायात्स वोऽसुरवधूहृदयावसादः पादो हरेः कुवलयामलखंडनालः ।
यः प्रोषतस्त्रिभुवनैकमणे रराज वैडूर्यसङ्क्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥

585. Duta-Ghatotkacam. When Abhimanyu was killed by the Ḍhārtarāṣtras cruelly and illegally, Gānḍhārī, Ḍhṛtarāṣtra and Ḍuśśalā repudiated the conduct of the Kauravas. Ghatotkaca was sent on a mission of peace by the Pāndavas to the Kaurava camp, but he was insulted. Ghatotkaca became defiant. Ḍhṛtarāṣtra interferred and appeased him.[1]

586. Abhisekanatakam is based on the story of Rāmāyaṇa in Kiṣkinḍhā, Sunḍāra and Yuḍḍha Kāndas. It begins with the fight with Vāli and runs through the plot until the fall of Rāvaṇa and Siṭā's ordeal of fire. Then follows a charming eulogy.[2]

587. Avimarakam. "Viṣṇusena the king of Sauvīra, became a candāla for a year, along with his family by the curse of Dīrghaṭapas. While thus living in Kuntibhoja town incognito he killed an Asura named Avi, and became known as *Avi-māraka.* One day he rescued his maternal uncle's daughter Kurangī from the clutches of an infuriated elephant. On hearing this, the father of Kurangī, Kuntibhoja intended to marry her to Avimāraka, but he could not do so, as Avimaraka was of a very low caste. But Kurangī and Avi met, grew in mutual amour, and the love reached a climax. Through Dhātri's contrivance Avimaraka once entered Kurangī's chamber. Coming out and finding no help out of the difficulty, he resolved to die by throwing himself down from a hill. At that time a Vidyādhara met him, and gave him a ring by whose power he could secretly enjoy the companionship of Kurangī every night with a buffoon of his as his comrade. Kuntibhoja on finding him there became perplexed, and thought of marrying her to Jayavarman, another nephew of his on the sister's side. But Narada intervened and married the couple publicly with celebrations."[3]

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1. Ed. Trivandrum.
2. Ed. Trivandrum and again with his own commentary by T. Ganapati Sastri. Here is Rāma's news to Siṭā about his coronation:

समं बाष्पेण पतता तस्योपरि ममाप्यधः ।
पितुर्मे क्लेदितौ पादौ ममापि क्लेदितं शिरः ॥

3. Ed. Trivandrum. As summarised by J. Ghatak, *JIOS*, XXVIII. Beccarmi-Crescenzi, *L'Avimaraka di Bhasa*. The story is found in Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara. It is alluded to by Vāṭsyāyana in Kāmasuṭra and in Kaumuḍī-mahosṭava:

Here is a fine description of night-fall :

व्यामृष्टसूर्यतिलको विततोडुमालो नष्टातपो मृदुमनोहरशीतवातः ।
संलीनकामुकजनः प्रविकीर्णचोरो वेषान्तरं रचयतीव मनुष्यलोकः ॥

and of the darknight :

तिमिरमिव वहन्ति मार्गनद्यः पुलिननिभा प्रतिभान्ति हर्म्यमालाः ।
तमसि दशदिशो निमग्नरूपाः प्लवतरणीय इवायमन्धकारः ॥

588. Damaka and **Traivikrama** are two peculiar pieces of dramatic composition. There are too short even to last for a half hour and for parity of diction and structure, they have been called *'Two more dramas of Bhasa'*.[1] In DAMAKA,[2] says V. Venkatram Sastri "the sentences, slokas, and even words occurring herein are to be found in the Swapnavasavadatta and other dramas, in the Mattavilasa, Kautilya's Arthasastra, Kumarasambhava of Kalidasa and in such other books, the only exception being the Bharatavakya at the end of the play.[3] The nandi verse can be seen in the arthasastra,[4] the anustubh in the middle occurs in Kumarasambhava,[5] while in the body of the play there is the drama named Karnabhara of so-called Bhasa."

Ḍāmaka is a friend of Karṇa, king of Anga and acts as a Viḍūṣaka. He accompanies Karṇa to the hermitage of Paraśurāma during his sojourn there for learning missiles in archery. He finds himself ill at

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शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमाविमारकं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीयं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥

Bhoja, in Śṛṅgāraprakāśā mentions the story of Avimāraka (Chapter XXII) :
अहल्याविमारकशकुन्तलादीन्यन्यानि च सोत्कण्ठानि च कथयेत् ।

In Natānkuśa (of Mahima ?) it is stated कुरङ्गीप्रभृतीनां च वृथैवाकल्पना and Kurangi is the herone of this drama. An account is given in Jayamangala's commentary on Kāmasutras about the origin of name Avimāraka (Bombay Edn. 275) meaning literally *Killer of Goats*.

1. Paper read at Or. Confce., Madras, 1924, by M. R. Kavi.

2. Ed, Punjab Sans. series, Lahore, with Translation and Introduction by V. Venkataram.

3. सर्वत्र सम्पदस्सन्तु विपदोऽपि न सन्तु च ।
सर्वे सन्तु च सन्तुष्टा असन्तुष्टा न सन्तु च ॥

4. सुवर्णपुष्पीं ब्रह्माणीं ब्रह्माणं च कुशध्वजम् ।
सर्वान् देवांश्च वन्देऽहं वन्देऽहं सर्वतापसान् ॥

5. मुक्तायज्ञोपवीतानि बिभ्रतो हैमवल्कलाः ।
रत्नाक्षसूत्राः प्रव्रज्यां कल्पवृक्षा इवाश्रिताः ॥

ease in the many royal comforts which he is forced to enjoy in the king's company and is upset, and says:

मम बुद्धिश्चेदानीमादर्शमण्डलगतेव छाया वामेषु दक्षिणा, दक्षिणेषु वामा, भवति। अहं खलु शृणोमि गन्धं श्रवणाभ्याम्। अन्धकारपूरिताभ्यां नासापुटाभ्यां पश्यामि। रैभ्यसगोत्रो ब्रह्मबन्धुरहं यस्य कस्य वा भागिनेयः खलु भीमसेनस्य घटोत्कच इव ॥

The description of āśrama is picturesque. The main story relates how Karṇa got initiated into the mysteries of the bow on the false representation that he was not a kṣatriya and how when Paraśurāma discovered the fraud by chance he cursed Karṇa "Let your Astras prove futile in need."

This plot appears a complement of Karṇabhāra, where Karṇa's kundalas were taken away on the pretext of a gift and if clubbed with Karṇabhara may rightly fit in a dramatisation of Mahābhāraṭa.

589. Bodhayana's Bhagavadajjuka, a prahasana, is so named because Bhagavān namely Parivrāt or Yogin and Ajjukā a hataera play the roll. Of the three commentators, one attributes it to Boḍhāyana, another to Bharaṭa and a third leaves it anonymous.[1] A poet Boḍhāyana is praised by Sukumāra in his Raghuvīracariṭa, a play of the 12th century.[2] In the Māmandur inscription of Mahenḍravikramavarman dated 610 A.D., Bhagavaḍajjuka is mentioned.[3] A quotation in it from

1. Ed. *JBORS*. Ed. by Prabhakarasastri, Madras. Ed. by Anujanachan, Sendamangalam, with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa (*TC*, IV. 5492, 4385).

बौधायनकविरचिते विख्याते भगवदज्जुकाभिहिते।
अभिनेयेऽतिगभीरे विशदानधुना करोमि गूढार्थान् ॥
यश्चासौ भवभूतिसूक्तिजलधेरर्थौघयादोगण-
प्रक्षोभोत्थितभीतिभञ्जनकरीं व्याख्यातरीं निर्ममे।
तेनेयं विषमेतिवृत्तगहने बौधायीये पुनः
नाट्ये गर्भितशास्त्रजृम्भितवचोगम्भीरगुम्भे कृता ॥

This shows that Nārāyaṇa also wrote commentaries on Bhavabhuṭi's plays. Another commentary by Acyuṭa's pupil Rāma is yet unprinted. For an anonymous commentary, see *DC*, XXI. 8437.

2. यैर्बौधायनवाक्यपुष्पकलिका कर्णावतंसीकृताः।

3. See under Mahenḍravikramavarman *post*.

शाण्डिल्यः—सुणादु भअवो। "अष्टौ प्रकृतयः, षोडश विकाराः, आत्मा, पञ्चावयवाः, त्रैगुण्यम्, मनः, सञ्चारः, प्रतिसञ्चारश्च" इति। एव्वं हि भअवदा जिणेण पिडअपुत्तएसु उत्तम्।

परिव्राजकः—शाण्डिल्य! साङ्ख्यसमय एषः, न शाक्यसमयः।

Ṭaṭvasamāsa, one of the oldest and basic works on Sāṅkhya philosophy and a classification of dramas in an ancient mode[1] amply attest its antiquity.[2] In any view the work must have belonged to about the beginning of the 1st century A.D. or earlier and never later than the 4th century A.D.

This play was "apparently intended by its author to bring into ridicule the doctrines of Buddhism—a method, among others, which the Brahmins employed to stem the rising tide of that religion. The chief characters in the play are a Parivrajaka, or saint, his disciple Sandilya, and a young and beautiful courtezan. The play opens with a discussion between the master and the pupil on Hindu Dharma; but the attention of the latter is all for the young woman in the adjacent garden. As this one-sided discussion proceeds, the woman suddenly falls down dead from snake-bite. The young man is very much affected, but the older one seizes the opportunity to demonstrate to his pupil the powers of Yoga and transfers his soul into the body of the courtezan who presently rises up and continues the philosophic discussion. The beholders are very much surprised, but their astonishment is not diminished when the body of the Parivrajaka, which had fallen lifeless, starts up again and talks and behaves as the courtezan used to do. For, the agents of Yama had made a mistake in taking the Jiva of the girl and had returned to restore it, but finding her body alive, infused her Jiva into the Parivrajaka's frame."

590. To the beginning of the Christian era or earlier must be referred, four bhāṇas editted as a collection, CATURBHANI. Tradition has coupled them as anterior to Kāliḍāsa.

वररुचिरीश्वरदत्तश्यामिलकश्शूद्रकश्च चत्वारः ।
एते भाणान् बभणुः का शक्तिः काळिदासस्य ॥

and it is not unlikely that these four poets are named in order of time. Parity of motifs, likeness in humour and unity in aesthetics display their proximity and intimacy. References to Kaṭantra school of grammar, to Ḍaṭṭaka's Vaiśikā sūṭras and to the stories of Pāṭalīpūṭra justify the inference of their antiquity.

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1. सूत्रधारः—
अत्रैव मे चिन्ता । अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु पारेहामृगडिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाणसल्लाप-कवीथ्युत्सृष्टिकाङ्कप्रहसनादिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानमिति पश्यामि ॥

2. See Asokanath Bhattacarya, *Bhagavadajjuka and some new problems*, (Pr. Or. Conce, 1926), and Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati*, I. 47.

591. Vararuci is mentioned as a poet by Paṭanjali. Syāmilaka mentions him as a writer on rhetoric also. In UBHAYABHISARIKA Vararuci describes the lives of Kuberaḍaṭṭa and Narāyaṇaḍaṭṭā.[1]

592. Isvaradatta or Vireśvaraḍaṭṭa wrote bhāṇa DHURTAVITASAMVADA. The scene is laid in Patalīpuṭra and in the guise of a conversation the poet propounds the tenets of Kāmāsāsṭra in all intricacies.[2] The play is quoted by Bhoja and unlike many other plays of the class has a sociological value.[3]

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1. S. K. De. gives date, 6 and 7th century. Keith places them in 1000 A.D. and later and W. Thomas (Centinary sup. to *JRAS*, 126-36, & *JRAS* (1924), 762) in the time of Harṣa of Kanouj.

Here is an instance of fine humour emanating from a damsel and a philosophising lover :

किं ब्रवीषि, षट्पदार्थबहिष्कृतेस्सह संभाषणमस्माकं गुरुभिः प्रतिषिद्धम् ।
भगवति युक्तमेवैतत् । कुतः—

द्रव्यं ते तनुरायताक्षि दयिता रूपादयस्ते गुणा
सामान्यं तव यौवनं युवजनस्संस्तौति कर्माणि ते ।
त्वय्यार्ये समवायमिच्छति जनो यस्माद्विशेषोऽस्ति ते
योगस्ते तरुणैर्मनोभिलषितैर्मोक्षोऽप्यनिष्टाज्जनात् ॥

2. Is he the same as King Iśvarasena?

In a Nazik inscription in *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, IV. 103, king Iśvarasena, son of Ābhira Sivaḍaṭṭa is mentioned as a ruling sovereign and "is thought to have reigned in the 3rd century A.C." "Besides Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaraḍaṭṭa is considered on reasonable grounds to have been an Ābhira and his coins show that he reigned sometime between circa 236 and 239 A.C." These dates are surmised by H. C. Chakdalkar in his *Studies in Kamasutra of Vatsyayana* (p, 31). See also Bhagavanlal Indraji, *The Western Kshatrapas* (*JRAS*, 1890, 659) and E. P. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, cxxxiii. D. R. Bhandarkar assigns Iśvaraḍaṭṭa to A.C. 188-190) (Arch. Sur. India, *Annual Rep.* 1913-4, p. 230) ; and see also his papers on *The Gurjaras* (*JBRAS*, XXI, 430).

3. For instance here are some questions answered :

(i) कामयमाना वेश्या कथं विज्ञायेत ?

(ii) प्रथमस्समागमः केन कारणेन मोहमुत्पादयति ?

(iii) कथं वेश्यावञ्चनं न प्राप्नुयात्कामुकः ?

(iv) दर्शनमात्रकेणैव कथं शक्यं रहोनैपुण्यम् ?

Here is something landatory of the society of Veśya :

प्रागल्भ्यं स्थानशौर्यं वचननिपुणतां सौष्ठवं सत्त्वदार्षि
चित्तज्ञानं प्रमोदं सुरतगुणविधिं रक्तनारीनिवृत्तिम् ।
चित्रादीनां कलानामधिगमनमथो सौख्यमग्र्यं च कामी
प्राप्नोत्याश्रित्य वेशं यदि कथमयशस्तस्य कोऽको ब्रवीति ॥

593. Syamilaka was the son of Īśvaradatta or Vireśvaradatta. He calls himself an Udīcya. His PADATADITAKA[1] is quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣmendra, Vallabhadeva and others. It describes the foolish actions of Viṣṇunāga an orthodox Brahmin employed as Registrar of Royal Inscriptions and is intended as a satire of urban society. The scene is laid in Sārvabhaumendrapuram in Sourastra country. Viṣṇunāga was hit on his head by a courtesan with her feet[3] and he sought expiation for it from an assembly of debauchees and they prescribe a hit with her other foot as the remedy.[4]

594. Bāṇa praises ĀDHYARAJA's plays of variety of characters :[5]

आढ्यराजकृतोत्साहैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
जिह्वान्तः कृष्यमाणेव न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

Harṣacarita, Int.

Utsāha is a species of dramatic composition, The commentary says:

उत्साहो नृत्ते ताळविशेषः उदीर्यमाणगीत्याधारभूतपदोपचारात्काव्यमुत्साह इति केचित् । यत्र पूर्वं श्लोकेनार्थ उपक्षिप्यते, पश्चात्स एव गद्येन वितन्यते, मध्ये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च भवति, सपरिसमाप्तार्थ उत्साह उच्यते इत्यन्ये ।

595. Sudraka, known as Indrāṇigupta, was a Brahmin of the Aśmaka country. He was brought up along with a prince called Svāṭi. Svāṭi quarrelled with him while at game in boyhood and the ill-feeling was nurtured as he grew in age. Among Śūdraka's friends was one

1. Ed. by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, (1924).

2. Also written as Śymālaka or Syāmala. It is not likely that he was the same as the teacher of Mahimabhatta or Bāṇa's paternal uncle's son mentioned in Harṣacarita. Śyāmalika refers to poets Rudravarman and Āryarakṣita and Āryaka

3. Viṣṇunāga thus deplores the incident :

हा धिक् पुंश्चलि ! अनात्मज्ञे ! यया त्वया ममास्मिन्—
प्रयतकरया मात्रा यत्नात्प्रबद्धशिखण्डके
चरणविनते पित्राघ्राते शिशुर्गुणवानिति ।
सकुसुमलवैरशान्त्यम्भोभिर्द्विजातिभिरुक्षिते
शिरसि चरणौ न्यस्तौ गर्वान्न गौरवमीक्षितम् ॥

4. अपि चेदमस्याः प्रायश्चित्तं श्रूयताम्—
तस्या मदालसविघूर्णितलोचनायाः श्रोण्यर्पितैककरसंहतमेखलायाः ।
सालक्तकेन चरणेन सनूपुरेण पश्यत्वयं शिरसि मामनुगृह्यमाणम् ॥

5. For the identification of Ādhyarāja with Harṣadeva, see R. Pischell, *Nachrichten Phil, Lit.,* Klasse (1901), 485.

Bāndhudaṭṭa. When once a Buddhist mendicant Sanghālikā inveigled Śūḍraka into a solitary cave and attempted assassination, Śūḍraka overpowered the mendicant, killed him and escaped. Then he visited various cities, like Viḍiśā, Ujjain and Maṭhurā and his adventures were many. He seized the kingdom of Ujjain and became its king, but in grateful recollection of youthful associations he spared the life of the old king Svāṭī.[1] He was well versed in the Ṛk and Sāma Veḍas, in mathematics, in the art of dancing girls and in taming elephants. He was a votary of Śiva, who favoured him with his boons. He won many wars and had a glorious reign. He performed Aśwameḍha, lived for 100 years and ten days and immolated his frame in fire, having duly annointed his son as sovereign.[2] Śūḍraka's name as sovereign and poet has acquired a traditional dignity. His exploits and adventures are as glorious and charming as those attributed to Vikramāḍiṭya and universal interest in their narration has contributed to gather around them many tales almost of a legendary nature.

The celebrity of Śūḍraka's reign has commended his name into a hereditary appellation in later royal dynasties such as the Ganga and Pallava and in this respect also he bears an analogy to Vikramāḍiṭya. Some lexicographers quote Śūḍraka, Vikramāḍiṭya, Sahasānka etc., as synonymous.

596. Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara represents him as king of Śobhāvaṭī and saved from imminent death by a Brahmin who gave up his life to assure the king a life of a hundred years. So says Veṭālapancavimśaṭi which calls him King of Varḍhamāna ; Ḍaśakumaracariṭa alludes to his adventures in successive incarnations ; Harṣacariṭa makes him an enemy of Canḍrakeṭu, prince of Cakora ; and Kāḍambarī describes him as the king of Viḍiśā. Rājaṭarangiṇī mentions him as the type of firmness and as predecessor of Vikramāḍiṭya.[3]

The story of his life has been the theme of several works.[4] Śūḍrakacariṭa, an Ākhyāyikā,[5] Śuḍrakakaṭhā of Rāmila and Saumila, ;[6]

1. This information is given in the prologue to Mṛtcakaṭikā.
2. *For the Founder of the Vikrama Era* (*JMy.* XII. 208, XIII. 506). A. Rangaswamy Sarasvati, has now propounded the theory that the founder of Vikramāḍiṭya era was Śuḍraka.
3. *Raj.* III, 343 ; *Levi*, 107.
4. *ZDMG*, XXVIII. 117 ; Keith, *SD*,
5. Mentioned by Vāḍiganghāla in his commentary on Kāvyāḍarśa.
6. Rājaśekhara names it :

ताशूद्रककथाकारौ वन्द्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
ययोर्द्वयोः काव्यमासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥ *Suktimuktāvali.*

Śūḍrakakaṭhā (prakrit poem) of Pancaśikha,[1] Vikrānṭa-Śūḍraka (a play).[2]

597. In Vīracariṭa,[3] a heroic poem in 30 adhyayas ANANTAKAVI narrates the events supposed to have taken place at Praṭisthāna (Paithan) on the Godāvarī in connection with Śālivāhana (the conqueror of Vikramāḍiṭya of Ujjain) and his son Śakṭikumāra. Śūḍraka is described as the friend and afterwards co-regent of Śālivāhana and of his son and when the latter attempted to disembarass himself of his influence, he was overthrown and Sūḍraka himself became king.

598. When did Śūḍraka live? On this question, as usual in the studies of Orientalists, views are various. But the synchronism mentioned in Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā that Śūḍraka was a contemporary of Svāṭi is a new standard for consideration, though this again depends on the unsettled chronology of the Ānḍhra dynasty of Magaḍha. According to Purāṇas and Kaliyuga Rājavṛṭṭānṭa, Simhaka Śrī Śāṭakarṇa, read variously as Sipraka, Kṣipraka, Sinḍhuka and Śiśuka founded the dynasty in 2305th year after Yuḍhisthira's coronation and the dynasty ruled for 506 years. The 24th in the line was Śivasvāṭi, the son of Mahendrasāṭakarṇi and he reigned for 28 years from 2705th year of Yuḍhisthira's coronation, that is, 434 to 409 B.C. But Puranic chronology is discredited by modern scholarship! Pargiter who now seems to be the authority whom modern historians adore gives 'on the footing of inscriptions' to Ānḍhra kings 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.[4] Purāṇas give a list of 32 kings of whom the last that bore a name ending in Svāṭi was Śivasvāṭi, the 27th king of the line. Śivasvāṭi was the earliest bearing the appellation after Hāla, who was first in the line. Hāla, alias Śāṭavāhana, inaugura-

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1. Mentioned by Bhoja in *Śṛngāraprakāśa* (XXVIII):

शुकोजरद्गिरः शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा । जंवदणरव इविण ओ * * *

and also (*Ibid.* XXX.) शूद्रकचरिते

सम्भ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मलिम्लुचानामुर्वीशश्शमितमयोधयद्धनुष्मान् ।

कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती वनेषु चार्ता वार्तायै कमितुरितस्ततो जगाम ॥

and by Hemacanḍra in *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Bom. Edn. 388).

आनन्दः पञ्चशिखस्य शूद्रककथायाम्

2. Mentioned by Bhoja and Abhinavagupta.

3. See para 202 *supra*. For an account of Śālivāhana, see also the poem Śālivāhanakathā by Śivadāsa (para 204 supra).

4. *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age* (Oxford) 35-43, 71, based on H. Luders, "A list of Brahmin inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D." (*EI*, X, App.) and V. Smith, *EH*, 207-217.

ted the Kaṭanṭra School of grammar and at his instance Sarvavarmān wrote the Kaṭanṭra system for speedy and easy instruction in grammar by the grace of God Kārṭikeya. If Śaṭavāhana Hāla, the 18th in the Āndhra line of kings, lived according to Pargiter about the beginning of the 1st century A.D., it is likely that Śūḍraka who thought it fit to ridicule Kaṭanṭra grammar[1] was a contemporary of a king Svāṭi of Āndhra dynasty ; that king was Śivasvāṭi who ruled about 81 A.D. Śivasvāṭi ruled for 28 years. On this consideration Sūḍraka may be assigned to the end of the 1st century A.D.

According to Purāṇas, Śūḍraka ruled in the middle of the 5th century B. C. as Śivaswāṭi ruled in 462-434 B. C.[2]:—

		Purāṇic dates B. C.	Pargiter's dates. A. D.
1.	Simhaka Śrī Swaṭikarna	834—811	
2.	Kṛṣṇa Śrī Śāṭakarṇi	811—793	
3.	Śrīmalla Śāṭakarṇi	793—783	
4.	Purṇoṭsanga	783—765	

1. *BKR*, (1875-6), 74 ; Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 81) accepts the date 1st century A.D , for the origin of this School.

2. See T. S. Narayanasastri, *Age of Sankara*, Part I. *D*, 92-100, where also, see for sources and varieties of names of kings.

Wilson (*Theatre* I. 6) gives 190 A.D. on the authority of Skanda Purāṇa, which says Śuḍraka would reign 3293 years after Kali. A local Māhāṭmya of Paithama says he founded a dynasty there in 372 A.D. (*Arch, Sur. of Western India*, III. 56). Other accounts make him the first of the Āndhra Kings and say that the name given as Śiśuka. Śuruka or Śiprika elsewhere is an error for Śuḍraka (*JBRAS*, XIII. 312).

Lassen (*IAlt*, II. 965) is uncertain but is inclined towards 150 A.D. Fergusson (*Indian and Eastern Arch.* 717 ; *JRAS*, (N.S.) IV. 122) gives 31 B.C. Wilford (*As. Res*, IX. 101) gives between 1st and 3rd century B.C. and Princep (*Useful tables* ; *Arch Sur. of Western India*, II, 132) 21 B.C.; Regnaud (Int. to Edn., Paris) says Buddhism was then prevalent and assigns between 250—600 A.D. rather near the first. Weber (*IL*. 205) refers to the use of the word Nānaka (*Mrit.* I, 23) as a term borrowed from the coins of Kanerki who reigned in 40 A.D., and gives Śuḍraka a subsequent date. M. Williams (*IW*. 471) gives 1st century A.D. Pischel (*Int. to Śṛngāraṭilaka*) bases his view on the verse लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि and makes Śuḍraka contemporary of Dandin and Dandin the real author Mṛcchakaṭikā. Macdonell (*SL*, 361) agrees with Pischell and gives date 6th century A.D. See also Peterson (*Subh.* 130). Note this verse now found in Bhāsa's Cāruḍaṭṭa and Bālacariṭa. For criticism of these opinions, see K. P. Parab's Introduction to Mṛcchakatikā (Bombay). N. Chattopadhyaya, *Mṛcchakaṭikā, a study*, Bombay and Mysore. M. Nyayaratna, *On the authorship of Mṛcchakaṭikā* (*JASB*, 193-200). For articles in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 88-9 and *Bhāraṭi* (1924), 32. K. C. Mehendale [*Date of Sudraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā*] assigns Śuḍraka to the middle of 6th century A.D. J. C. Ghatak (*Date of Mṛcchakaṭika from astrological data*) fixes the date latest 3rd century B.C.

		Purāṇic dates B.C.	Pargiter's dates A.D.
5.	Śri Śāṭakarṇi	765—709	
6.	Skanda Swāmin	709—691	
7.	Lambodara	691—673	
8.	Āpīṭaka	673--661	
9.	Meghasvāti	661—643	
10.	Śāṭasvāti	643—631	
11.	Skandasvātikarṇa	625—618	
12.	Mṛgendra Svāṭikarṇa	618—615	
13.	Kunṭala Svāṭikarṇa	615—607	
14.	Saumya Svāṭikarṇa	607—595	
15.	Śatasvāṭikarṇa	595—594	
16.	Puloma Śāṭakarṇi or Puloman I	594—558	
17.	Megha Śāṭakarṇi	558—520	
18.	Ariṣṭa Śāṭakarṇi	520—495	
19.	Hāla	495—490	
20.	Purīndrasena or Purikasena	485—464	59
21.	Mandalaka	490—485	
22.	Sundara Śāṭakarṇi	464—463	80
23.	Cakora Śaṭakarṇi	463	81
24.	Mahendra Śaṭakarṇi	462	
25.	*Śivaśaṭakarṇi* or *Sivasvāti*	462—454	81
26.	Gauṭamīputra	434--409	109
27.	Puloman II	409—377	135
28.	Śivaśri Śaṭakarṇi	377—370	165
29.	Śivaskanda Śāṭakarṇi	370—363	170
30.	Yagnaśri Śāṭakarṇi	362—344	173
31.	Vajayśri Śāṭakarṇi	344—338	205
32.	Candraśī Śāṭakarṇi	338—335	208
23.	Puloman III	335—322	218

599. Mrcchakatika, a play in 10 acts, describes the loves of Cārudaṭṭa and Vasanṭasenā. Cārudaṭṭa was a virutous Brahmin of affluence. He lost his fortune but did not forsake his piety. Vasanṭasenā, a courtesan, was enamoured of him and his qualities, and sent valuable jewels to him covered up in a cart used by his child. Śakāra, the brother-in-law of the reigning king Pālaka, was in love with Vasanṭasenā. But Vasanṭasenā did not receiprocate the love. Śakāra assaulted Vasanṭasenā as a result of which she fell down stunned and unconscious. Thereupon Śakāra accused Cārudaṭṭa as the murderer and the prosecution ended in a sentence of execution. In the meantime Vasanṭasenā had recovered and she appeared on the scene of execution just in time to save Cārudaṭṭa. About the same time, a revolution is said to have occured in the state. Āryaka, whom Cārudaṭṭa rescued

from prison, marched upon Ujjain deposed king Pālaka and installed himself on the throne and Cārudatta was in grateful appreciation of the kindness made one of his chief officers.[1]

600. There are commentaries on the play by Gaṇapaṭi,[2] by Pṛṭhviḍhara,[3] by Rāmamayaśarman,[4] by Lallāḍīkṣiṭa,[5] by Śrīnivāsācārya,[6] by Viḍyāsāgara,[7] by Ḍharānanḍa.[8]

601. "The Mrcchakatika" says Wilson "is in many respects the most human of all the Sanskrit plays. There is something strikingly Shakesperian in the skilful drawing of characters, the energy aud life of the large number of personages in the play, and in the directness and clearness of the plot itself. It is a ten-act *prakarana* or comedy of middle class life, and the scene is laid in the city of Ujjain. The subject of the plot is the love and marriage of Carudatta, a brahman merchant reduced to poverty by his generosity. and Vasantasena, a rich courtesan. In the third act there is a long and humorous account of a burglary in which stealing is treated as an art or science provided with rules and conventional procedure. The chief value of the Mrcchakatika, aside from its interest as a drama, lies in the graphic picture it presents of a very interesting phase of everyday life in ancient India. The elaborate description of the heroine's palace in the fourth act gives us a glimpse of what was considered luxury in those days. The name 'Clay Cart' is taken from an episode in the sixth act, which leads to the finding of heroine's jewels in the terra cotta cart of the hero's little son and to their use as circumstantial evidence in a trial. This complicates the plot until all is resolved in the *denouement.*"

602. The discovery of the play Caruḍaṭṭa, and its attribution to Bhāsa has led to very serious conjectures in literary history on the originality of this play, on the identity of Bhāsa and of Śūḍraka and of the

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1. Ed. with various commentaries everywhere. Translated into English prose and verse by A. W. Rider with an introduction (*HOS*, Harward); by Wilson, *Theatre*, I. 182 and partly by K. B. Parab (Bombay). For translation into various other European languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 87.
2. *CC*, I. 465.
3. Ed. by N. B. Godabole, also by K. P. Parab (Bombay).
4. Ed. by V. Mujumdar (Calcutta).
5. Ed. by N. B. Godabole (Bombay).
6. Ed. Madras.
7. Ed. Calcutta.
8. *DC*, XXI. 8475. He was son of Rāmabala. It was composed by 1814 A.D.

condition of the classical literature before the Christian era.[1] Caruḍaṭṭa, as extant, extends only to 4 acts and it is there incomplete and so far as these four acts go Mricchakatika is about a copy of it. "The first acts of the two plays differ very little except that Vasantasena is pursued by two persons in Caruḍaṭṭa, while she is pursued in Mritchakatika by three persons, namely Vita, Cheta and Sakara. In the second Act of Carudatta are not found the characters Madhura, Dyutakara and Darduka of Mritchakatika and the sham Vasantasena to turn a parivrat, but not a Sakya Sramanaka as in Mritchakatika. In the third Act the plot is the same in both the plays. In the fourth, where Vasantasena has overheard the conversation between Madana and Sajjalaka, Vidushaka has stepped in to carry out his mission, and Sajjalaka appears before Vasantasena only after Vidushaka is gone unlike in Mritchakatika."[2]

The light thrown on the life of Śūḍraka by Avanṭisunḍarīkathāsāra helps to trace the real intent and import of the Mṛcchakatikā. Āryaka appears to be Śūḍraka and Caruḍaṭṭa to be Śūḍraka's friend Banḍhuḍaṭṭa.[3]

603. Vatsarajacaritra, or Vīṇāvāsavadaṭṭa,[4] does not give the name of its author but it resembles in dramatic character the plays attributed to Bhāsa. "In a manuscript of Vallabhaḍeva's Subhāṣiṭāvali preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, the nānḍī verse

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1. While advocates of authorship of Caruḍaṭṭa say that Mṛcchakatika was a later enlargement of Caruḍaṭṭa, the opponents say that Caruḍaṭṭa was an abridgment of Mṛcchakatika. There are now springing up scholars who think Bhāsa was a poet of the Court of Śuḍraka.

2. As summarised by T. Ganapathi Sastri in his Introduction to Caruḍaṭṭa. In his introduction to Svapna-Vasāvaḍaṭṭā (xxxviii et seq.), he gives instances of common and similar passages.

3. A. Rangasami Sarasvati (*JMy*, XII. 274) also suggests that Vasanṭasena means Malayavaṭi, who was hurt by Kunṭala Śaṭakarṇi (See Kamasuṭra) and the latter may mean Śakāra. The known epigraphical date for Purikasena (20th Ānḍhra king) in 59 A.D. and Kunṭala Śāṭakarni (13th Ānḍhra King) lived according to the Purāṇas 130 years before Purikasena. That would place Kunṭala's accession about 80 B.C.

K. P. Jayaswal, Bhandarkar and P. D. Gune also attempted to extract historical information from Mṛcchakatikā. According to them king Praḍyoṭa of Ujjain had two sons Gopālaka and Palaka and a daughter Vāsavaḍaṭṭā. Pālaka appears to have ascended the throne after his brother either because his eldest brother abdicated or he died leaving his son young. This child Āryaka of the play later on dethroned Pālaka, probably with the help of his aunt's husband Uḍayana, who thus gained power and influence over Ujjain.

4. TC, III. 3995. So says the author of Śakunṭalācarcā (in *O.M.* Library).

is quoted under Śūdraka.[1] This reference coupled with the graceful language and the similarity of style where the word "Kuvalaya" is often used (a character of Śūdraka's works), lends an authority to Vallabhadeva's citation. Mahāsena, King of Ujjain, had a daughter Vāsavadattā of marriageable age. Instructed to marry her to a suitable prince, he did penance and Śiva, pleased with it, blessed her with a husband of specified qualities, all of them excellent. The king was at a loss to know who that prince was and when his ministers assembled rejected the names of several contemporary kings, Darsaka of Magadha, Śatamanyu of Matsya, Subāhu of Sindhu and others the minister Vasuvarma lighted upon Vatsarāja of Kauśāmbī, as the object of Śiva's description. But Vatsarāja was proud and inaccessible. They thought of means of bringing him round. Because Vatsarāja in the garb of an elephant threw dust on a sage and was cursed to be imprisoned through an elephant, the minister devised the stratagem by alluring him by an artificial elephant, for in the capture of elephants Vaṭsaraja was an expert. So the elephant was made and stationed in the woods. The perfection of its form baffled all reality. News reached Vatsarāja that a splendid elephant had entered his forest and off went he to capture it with the aid of his Veenā. Ghoṣavati. As he approached the elephant, then came out hidden warriors and Vatsarāja was overpowered and taken to Ujjain where he was kept an honourable captive. His minister Yaugandharayana affected much pain at the loss of Vatsarāja and proclaimed his proposed immolation in fire at once. In the presence of the bewailing population, Yaugandharayana entered the fire, but by the help of Tiraskariṇī-vidyā, became invisible. He put on the garb of a lunatic and entered the city of Kauśāmbī at night, in the description of which the poet cannot be too far appreciated.[2] In the meantime Yaugandharayana contrived to let loose an elephant in rut from Kausambī on Ujjain and when none there was to prevent its havoc, Vatsarāja was temporarily let out for its subjugation. This he did with ease and he saw Vāsavadattā watching his movements from the apartments of the palace. The dawn of love was instant and the impression that she made on Vatsarāja is exquisitely delineated. The lovers were pining. Mahasena's minister Śālankāyana noticed the

1. यन्मण्डलं पापविनाशदक्षं यदृग्यजुस्साममयंपवित्रम् ।
विराजते येन च भूर्भुवस्सुवः पुनातु वस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम् ॥ embedding Gāyatrimantra.

2. उषागतं वमदिव दिङ्मुखैस्तमो निशामुखं परभृतकर्णमेचकम् ।
परिक्षराचिमिरपरीतमम्बरं शनैश्शनैरवतरतीव मेदिनीम् ॥

inclination and suggested to the king that Vatsarāja should be made to instruct Vāsāvadattā in Vīṇa. Yaugandharāyana by this time was able to interview Vatsarāja and moved by the sight of his sorrows blessed him with a near victory. Day by day the association of the lovers in the course of musical instruction was fanning the fire of love and in a short time the mutual enchantment was in a climax. Here follows an Antarnātikā, with a regular Prastāvana. Then follows a scene in which Vāsavadattā having reached the perfection of her tuition, exhibits her art in music and dancing. The bewitching poses and movements tended to enslave Vatsarāja's mind and there remained only an open expression of the mutual fascination. This was accompanied by messages of the maids and exchange of a ring. On a day when the townsmen were regaling themselves in a festival on the Narmada bank and when the king was out on a hunting excursion, Yaugandharāyaṇa by the merit of his charms created an apparent fire in the palace and in the midst of the confusion of attempted escapes, the lovers escape to Kauśāmbī on their favourable elephants Nalagīri and Bhadrāvatī to the amazing joy of his subjects and a Bharatavakya is its own. The play is available in full only for the first three acts and for the rest there is only the collection of verses, so that it is not possible to say what was the theme of the sub-play. It closes with the expression of Vatsaraja's devotion to Vāsavadattā, a description of her charms and a diversion on the Vīṇā." Here are verses worthy of Śūdraka:

या शेते कौस्तुभस्य द्युतिकिसलयते शारदव्योमनीले
विष्णोर्वक्षस्युदारे रजनिकरकराकारहारोपहारे ।
साभ्येत्यालिङ्गतु त्वां प्रशिथिलगलतेनोत्तरीयेण लक्ष्मीः
हर्षादापीडयन्ती नवकमलरजोरोचनाभ्यां स्तनाभ्याम् ॥

विष्णोर्जयत्यरुणताम्रतलस्सपादो यः प्रोच्छ्रतः सल्लितस्त्रिजगत्प्रमातुम् ।
क्वापि प्रविष्टरुचिराङ्गुळिराबभासे वैदूर्यसंक्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥

604. In Kṣemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā (p. 152), there is a quotation from some work of a poet Dīpaka in which Vinayavatī figures: न तु यथा तस्यैव (दीपकस्य)—

अयि विरहविचित्ते भर्तुरर्थे तथार्ता सपदि निपतिता त्वं पादयोश्चण्डिकायाः ।
स्वयमुपहितधूपस्थालकच्छत्रशृङ्गोद्दलितमपि ललाटं येन नैवाललक्षे ॥

अत्र विनयवत्याः सुचिरात्प्रत्यावगतं ललाटनखोल्लेखापह्नववचने सख्या समुपदिश्यमाने स्वैरापह्नवशिक्षामात्रमेवोपलक्ष्यते ॥

We have seen that Ḍandin expressed that Śūḍraka, after his conquest, compiled a work, in which he described his own experiences. It is conjectured that Vāsavaḍaṭṭā represented Vinayavaṭī, Yaugandharāyaṇa personated Banḍhuḍaṭṭa and the story of Vaṭsarāja and his amours with Vāsavaḍaṭṭā while in confinement in Mahāsena's palace have been suggested by Śūḍraka's love of Vinayavāṭī, engendered while imprisoned in the days of King Swāṭi and by his elopement with the help of his friend Banḍhuḍaṭṭa.[1]

605. Padmaprabhrtaka,[2] a humorous Bhāṇa, describes the amours of Mūlaḍeva[3] and Ḍevaḍaṭṭā and their successful union through

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1. शूद्रकेणासकृज्जित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गधारया ।
जगद्भूयोऽप्यवष्टब्धं वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥ *Avanṭisunḍarikaṭhā.*

For a detailed account of this play by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, see *Kalā 1*, parts 8, 9, 10 and 12.

2. Ed. by M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in Caṭurbhāṇī (Trichur) with a valuable introduction. *TC*, III. 3896, Hemacanḍra quotes the verse

मूलादपि मध्यादपि विटपादप्यङ्कुरादशोकस्य ।
पिशुनस्थमिव रहस्यं समन्ततो निष्कसति पुष्पम् ॥

(*Kāvyānusasana*, Bombay edn. 198.

3. Mulaḍeva was according to Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhasāra the founder of Ellichpur (Acalapura). There are many legends about Mulaḍeva. Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara (Tarangas, 89, 124) gives an account of him as the friend of Vikramāḍiṭya and as having won a bride at Pataliputra. Kṣemendra's Kalāvilāsa proceeds as if related by Mulaḍeva Mulaḍeva was also known as in Karṇisuṭa, Kalānkāra, Mulabhaḍra and Kharapata. In Maṭṭavilāsa Kapālika says नमः खरपटायेति वक्तव्यं येन चोरशास्त्रं प्रणीतम् ॥

In Kāḍambarī, Bāṇa speaks of Vinḍhyātavi कर्णसुतकथेव सन्निहितविपुलाचला शशोपगता च ।

Vipulā is Devaḍaṭṭā's sister in this play Padmaprābhṛṭaka and Śaśa is a friend of Mulaḍeva. Harṣacariṭa (VI) says अतिदयितलास्यस्य शैलूषमध्यस्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेवः. Hence मित्रदेव is a misprint for मूलदेव. (See on this Paper by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, *JMy*, XIV, 29: XV. 51 Maṭṭavilāsaprahasana alludes to a work of Mulaḍeva on theft. In Mṛcchakatika where Sarvalika the burgler dilates upon the intricacies of the art of housebreaking. Śuḍraka must have had Mulaḍeva's exploits in mind. Avanṭisunḍarikaṭhā has a verse

स नारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रयाकथा ।
मूलदेवोदि........................ ॥

The rest of the line is lost which probably alluded to some work of Mulaḍeva. Mulaḍeva is also known to have been a poet. Mulaḍevakaṭhā (*Mitra* X) says that he was a wicked prince of Pāṭaliputra, who having been banished regained favour of the king through the good offices of a prostitute Devaḍaṭṭā.

the endeavours his friend Śaśa. Sanghalika a rival lover is introduced, and a person of this name appears in Avanṭiśunḍarikaṭhā as plotting to kill king Śūḍraka. One of the characters Ḍaṭṭakalasī condemns the Katānṭra School of grammarians as against the school of Pāṇini. Reference is made to Ḍaṭṭaka, author of Vaiśikasūṭras, who began his work with the syllable *Om*. This play is a fine specimen of poetic art and distinctly ranks among the best known works in Sanskrit literature.[1]

606. Puspadusitaka, or Puṣpabhūṣiṭaka is a prakaraṇa, in which the heroine is a kulajā. It is mentioned by Abhinavagupṭa and Ḍhanika and a fairly good summary of the plot is given by Kunṭaka.[2]

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1. See for instance, the verse from which the play got its name:

ईषल्लीलावदष्टं स्तनतटमृदितं पत्रलेखानुविद्धं
खिन्नं निश्वासवातैर्मलयतरुरसक्लिष्टकिञ्जल्कवर्णम् ।
प्रातर्निर्माल्यभूतं सुरतसमुदयप्राभृतं प्रेषयास्मै
पद्मं पद्मावदाते करतलमृदितभ्रामणक्लिष्टनाळम् ॥

The description of a ball play is fine:

प्रेङ्खोलत्कुण्डलाया बलवदनिभृते कंदुकोन्मादितायाः
चञ्चद्बाहुद्वयायाः प्रविकचविसृतोदीर्णपुष्पालकायाः ।
आवर्तोद्भ्रान्तवेगप्रणयविलसितक्षुब्धकाञ्चीगुणायाः
मध्यस्यावल्गमानस्तनभरनमितस्यास्य ते क्षेममस्तु ॥

and so is the first lapse of an amorous damsel:

भयाद्रतमसूयितप्रचलमेखलानूपुरं
सशङ्कशिथिलोपगूहमवमुक्तनीवीपथम् ।
स्वयं समभिनाहयत्त्वयमुदात्तरागायुध-
स्तव प्रथमचोरिकासुरतसाहसं मन्मथः ॥

2. (i) मन्दकुलानां स्त्रीणां चरितं यत्रेत्याहुः। तेन कुलाङ्गनापि तत्र मन्दकुलैवेति दर्शितं भवति। एतदेवाभिमन्यमानेन पुष्पदूषितके अशोकदत्तादिशब्दाकर्णनेन समुद्रदत्तस्य शङ्कायोपरिबन्धसन्नादोषा (?) निर्वहणान्तोपयोगिनि हि नन्दन्ती (नन्दिनी) निर्वासने, तस्याश्च गृहान्तरावस्था। इदमेव मुखसन्धौ मूलम्।—*Abhinavabhārati*.

(ii) प्रबन्धावयवानां प्रधानबलसंबन्धनिबन्ध्यानुग्राह्यानुग्राहकभावः स्वभावसुभगप्रतिभाप्रकाशमानः कस्यचिद्विचक्षणः(स्य) वक्रचमत्कारिणः कवेरलौकिकं वक्रिमासंजानलावण्यं समुल्लासयति। यथा पुष्पदूषितके द्वितीये अङ्के—

प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्यनिबिडानुरागदः (?) नवरायाविभावादर्या (?) अमन्दमदनोन्मादमुद्रेण समुद्रदत्तेन निजमहिकेतनं तुल्यदिवसमानन्दयन्ती समाननाय मणिमुचेनेव प्रविशता प्रकंपावेग-

Samudradatta, a friend of Mūladeva won over a concubine of the latter and Mūladeva vowed to seduce the wife of Samudradatta. Samudradatta secrectly married Nandayanti. Mūladeva proclaimed by māyā that Nandayanti was married to him and on his complaint Samudradatta was banished. His wife was kept in a cell, but Samudradatta managed to visit her in nights and when her pregnancy was known she was suspected by her father of unchastity and sent out. She took shelter in the house of a Śabara. Samudradatta returned and his marriage was proved, but when he hesitated to accept her on account of the pregnancy, his servant Katāha proved to him that on the night of his visit, he gave a ring to Nandayanti at the conjunction of the constellations Punarvasū and Puṣya and the boy was born in Viśākha. Samudradatta was convinced, and he and Mūladeva again became friends and all ends well.

607. Harsa or Harsha-Vardhana was the son of Prabhākaravardhana[1] and Yaśomati.[2] He bore titles Pratāpaśīla and

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विकललासकायननिपातनिहितनिद्रस्य द्वारदेशशायिनः कुवलयस्योत्कोचकारणं सकरादङ्गुलीयकदानं च यत्कृतं तच्चतुर्थेऽङ्के मथुराप्रतिनिवृत्तेन तेनैव शमदमस्य निष्क्रम्य शमावेदितसमुद्रदत्तवृत्तान्तेन कुलकलङ्काकदर्थ्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य स्वतनयस्पर्शमानः समाविद्रस्नुषाशीलशुद्धिमुन्मीलयत्तदुपकाराय कल्पते । तता च सागरदत्तस्य वचनं "तदङ्गुलीयं सुतनामचिह्नं चरित्रशुद्धिं विसामान्यमुद्यता......पापस्य भवेत् स शुद्धिः"—*Vakroktijīvita.*

प्रबन्धेषु पूर्वं पूर्वं प्रकरणम् अपरस्मात्परस्य प्रकरणान्तरस्य सरससंपादितसंबन्धसंविदानकसमर्प्यमाणकता प्राणप्रौढिप्ररूढवक्रतोल्लेखमाह्लादयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके प्रथमं प्रकरणम्, अतिदारुणाभिनवप्रवासवेदनानिरानन्दस्य आनन्दयन्निव संमान्यसमागतस्य समुद्रतीरे समुद्रदत्तस्योत्कण्ठाप्रकारप्रकाशनं, द्वितीयमपि प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्य, निशीथिन्यामुखौ चालङ्कारदानमूकीभूतकुवलयस्य कुसुमपातितायां अनाकलितमेव तस्य सहचरीसङ्गमनम्, तृतीयमपि संभावितकुविनयेऽपि नयदत्तनन्दिनीनिर्व्यासव्यसनतत्समाधाननिबन्धनम्, चतुर्थमपि मथुरां प्रतिनिवृत्तकुवलयप्रदश्यमानविमलसंपदः कठोरगर्भभरखिन्नायां स्नुषायां निष्कारणनिष्कासनादनाहितप्रवृत्तेः महापातकिनमात्मानं मन्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य तीर्थयात्राप्रवर्तनम्, पञ्चममपि वनान्तः नवपालपालिकामानन्दयन्त्यालामकालनेन समुद्रदत्तकुशलोदन्तकथनम्,षष्ठमपि सर्वेषां विचित्रसङ्ख्या समागमाभ्युदयसंपादकमिति ॥—*Vakroktijīvita.*

प्रकरणे नायिका द्विधा—वेश्या कुलजेति । यथा वेश्यैव तरङ्गदत्ते, कुलजैव पुष्पदूषितके ।

Daśarupa.

For a note and extracts by R. Ramamurti, see *JORS*, IV. 78.

1. For a collection of his verses, see F.W. Thomas, *Kav.* 54, and Peterson, *Subh.*
2. For coins bearing those titles, see Burn, *JRAS*, (1906), 845.

Śilāditya.[1] His capital was Dhaneswar and Kanauj. His father attained considerable success in his wars against the neighbouring countries of Malawas, Gurjaras and Huns. Rājyavardhana was his elder brother and Rājyaśrī his sister. In an expedition against the king of Malwa to weak his vengeance for wrongfully confining Rājyaśrī, Rājyavardhana was though successful treacherously slain by the vanquished king's ally, Saśānka, king of Bengal.[2] Harṣa ascended the throne in 604 A.D. and started an era in his name.[3] Having recovered his sister, Harṣa overran Northern India in five years and reigned happily till 647 A.D. Within six years of his accession, Harṣa came to hold sway over the whole of the Ganges basin including Nepal and over the whole of the Hindustan including Orissa. His attempt to become overlord of South India was furstrated by his defeat at the hands Calukya Pulakesin.

Himself a great poet his court was the resort of learned men on whom he conferred munificent gifts. The Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang visited his capital during his Indian tour and he gives an excellent account of his court and administration.[4] Bāṇa, Divākara and Mayūra were poets of his court[5] and in his Harṣacarita Bāṇa describes the life and greatness of his patron.

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1. For the gencology of the family, see Gupta Ins. No. 52; *EI*, IV. 208, I. 67; *JRAS* (196), 845; ibid (1909), 446. For a full account, see C. V. Vaidya's *MI*, II. 1-160 and Parekh's *Life of Harsha* (in mahratti).

3. Śaśānka's kingdom probably became subject to Harṣa later on, see *EI*. VI. 143.)

3. For inscriptions dated in this era, see Keilhorn, *IA*. XXVI. 32; also *EI*, V. App. Nos. 528-47.

4. Beal, *Life ahd Travels of Hiuen Tsang* (Paris) Records; Watters, *On Hiuen Chuan's Travels in India* (London).

On Harṣadeva generally, see C. Francisco, *Sui Drami attribuiti a4 Harshadeva*, Naples; Maurice L. Ettinghausen, *Harshavardhana, Emperor and poet* (Louvain), an exhaustive monograph; K. M. Pannikar, *Sri Harsha of Kanouj*, Bombay; S. J. Warren, *Koning Harsha Van Kanyakubja* (The Hague); V. Smith, *EH*, 335-859, *Oxford History of India*, 165-171.

For inscriptions relating to Harṣa, see *IA*, VII. 196: XI. 308; XII. 234; XIII, 70, 421; XVII. 146; XIX. 40, 151; XX. 119; and generally see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 98; *CC*, I. 764; Peterson, *PR*, IV. 138; *JBRAS*, X. 38; XVI. 179; Bhandarkar, *BR*, (1897), XX. 11; Fleet, *CII*, III. 931, 171 note.

For all verses quoted in the anthologies see F. W. Thomas, *Kav.* 117-122.

5. Padmagupta in Navasāhasānkacarita (II) says

विचित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणोरवनीपतेः । श्रीहर्षस्येव संघट्टं चक्रे बाणमयूरयोः ॥

A verse is quoted as Rājaśekhara's in Jalhaṇa's Suktimuktāvali (*JBRAS*, XVII. 57-71).

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्याः यन्मातङ्गदिवाकरः । श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सभ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥

608. It is a matter of controversy whether king Harṣavardhana was the author of or at least the patron of the author of the three dramas Ratnāvalī, Nāgānanda end Priyadarśikā. It is said in Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa that one of the objects of poetry is wealth and as an illustration is added श्रीहर्षादेर्बाणा (धावका) दीनामिव धनम् ।[1] From this it has been suggested that 'Bāṇa' or 'Ḍhāvaka' according to the readings taken, was the real author and the king purchased the authorship from them for a price. This statement of Mammata may be correct so far as it goes, but there is very little other evidence that these dramas particularly were written by Ḍhāvaka or Bāṇa and were so paid for. It may be that in appreciation of some good poetry written by these poets, the king showed his munificence.

In the absence of definite evidence that king Harṣavarḍhana was the author or proprietor by purchase of these works from Bāṇa or Ḍhāvaka, it is a matter for consideration, who was the *Harṣaḍeva* mentioned in the prologues of these plays as their author.[2]

609. So far as it is known, King Harṣavarḍhana has not been called Harṣaḍeva in any of his inscriptions or by Bāṇa in his Harṣacariṭa. Even in the anthologies, the name Harṣaḍeva is used[3] and the verses there are quoted from these three dramas and verses quoted under the name of Harṣavarḍhana are not traceable in these dramas. Kalhaṇa mentions king Harṣa-Vikramāḍiṭya of Ujjain, as the patron of Māṭṛgupṭa.[4] If there is no cogent connection between king Harṣa-

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1. Among commentators on Kāvyaprakāsā, who read 'Dhāvaka' are Jayarāma Vaiḍyanāṭha, Nagoji, Paramānanḍa, Narasimha and Acyuṭarāya. (See Vāmanācārya's edition of Kāvyaprakāśa, 8-9 Brahme and Paranjpe (Introduction to Nagananda); H. H. Wilson (*Theatre*, II. 259, 316) and Pischel, *GGA*, XXXIX, 1235-41 accept this view. F. Hall, (*JASB*, XXXI, 11-13, Int. to Vasav) says that Bāṇa's claim is as good as Dhāvaka's. E. P. Cowell (Prof. to Boyd's Nāgānānda) and Macdonell (*SL*, 362) say Bāṇa was author of Raṭnāvali and Ḍhāvaka of Nāgānanḍa. Weber (*IL*, 204, 207, 212, 218) attributes Raṭnāvali to Bāṇa. Henry (*Int. Lit.* 295-313), Ettinghousen (*l.c.* 98-102), S. Konow (*Das Indtsche Drama.* 73-4), M. Winternitz (*Ind. Lit.* III, 226), Levi (*TI*, 184-196), and E. Windisch, (*Tr. of Int. Oriental Congress* (1884) II. 93-95), accept Harṣa's authorship. For a summary of these views, see Int. to Priyadarsika (Col. Un. Series), xxi.

2. See for a learned discussion, by Saradaranjan Ray, *Int.* to Ratnavali (Calcutta.)

3. See F.W. Thomas, *Kav.* 1117 and Peterson, *Subh.* 138.

4. See para 566 supra.

तत्रानेहस्युज्जयिन्यां श्रीमान् हर्षापराभिधः ।
एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत् ॥

varḍhana, and these dramas, it is quite likely that this Harṣaḍeva was that king Harṣa-Vikramāḍiṭya. Abhinavaguptạ, Śāradāṭanaya, and Bahurūpamiśra quote verses from a commentary on Nāṭyaśastra by a Harṣa. It is equally likely that Harṣa, the writer on dramaturgy, was the author of these plays.

A king Harṣa is mentioned as a great poet by several writers of successive centuries.[1] Bāṇa eulogises Harṣa's poetic genius.[2] ITsing records that king Śilāḍiṭya versified the story of Boḍhisaṭva Jīmuṭavāhana, he had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting and thus popularised it in his time."[3] Soddhala enumerates Vikramāḍiṭya, Śrī Harṣa, Munja, Bhojaḍeva &c. as Kavīnḍras[4] and eulogises Hārṣa.[5] Jayaḍeva cites Harṣa along with Bāṇa, Rāmila Saumila etc.[6] Ḍamoḍaraguptạ gives excerpts from Raṭnāvali and calls it the work of a royal author.[7]

Besides verses from the three plays, about a dozen verses, are also quoted in the anthologies as Harṣa's.[8] Two Buddhistic poems of devotion Suprabhāṭasṭoṭra in 24 verses and Aṣṭamahāśrīcaiṭya-saṃskarasṭoṭra (in 5 verses) are also attributed to him.[9]

In Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (chap. xx) there is the following verse quoted:

श्लोकोऽयं हरुषाभिधानकविना देवस्य तस्याग्रतः
यावद्यावदुदीरितश्शकवधूवैधव्यदीक्षागुरुः ।
तावत्तावदुपोढसान्द्रपुलकोद्भेदः स्स तस्मै ददौ
लक्षं लक्षमखण्डितं मदजलप्रक्लिन्नगण्डं गजम् ।

So in Śaradāṭanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa (VII).

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्कैरविदूषकैः ।
तदेव त्रोटकं भेदो नाटकैरविदूषकैः ॥

1. See Priyaḍarśikā (*COS*. Int. xli.).

2. काव्यकथास्व **** ममृतमुद्वमन्तम् । अपिचास्यकवित्वस्यवाचः न पर्याप्तोविषयः ॥ Harṣacariṭa (Bombay Edn.) 79, 86.

3. A record of the Buddhist Religion in India and the Malay Archipelago (Tr. by Takakusu, 163).

4. Uḍayasunḍari, (*GOS*), 150.

5. श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु नाम्नेव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
गीर्हर्ष एष निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा संपूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥

6. See para 567 supra.

7. He quotes the verse उदयनगान्तरितमियं प्राची सूचयति दिङ्निशानाथम् ।

8. See Thomas, *Kav.* 117-20.

9. Ettinghousen, *l.c.* 168-175, 176-179; Thomas, *JRAS* (1903) 703-722; S. Levi. *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, Leidon (1894), II. i. 189-203.

610. Ratnavali,[1] a natikā in four acts, describes the secret loves of King Uḍāyana and Sāgarikā, an attendant on the queen Vāsavaḍaṭṭā. Private intrigues are arranged but discovered by the queen. "After may vicissitudes the heroine turns out to be Ratnavali, a Ceylon princess, whom a shipwreck has brought to Udayana's court. The plot is unconnected with mythology, but is based on a historical or epic tradition, which recurs in a somewhat different form in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara. As concerned with the second marriage of the King, it forms a sequel to the popular love-story of Vasavadatta. It is a impossible to say whether the poet modified the main outlines of traditional story, but the character of a magician who conjures up a vision of the gods and a conflagration is his invention, as well as the incidents which are entirely of a domestic nature."[2]

There are commentaries by (Bhīmasena, Muḍgalaḍeva),[3] Govinḍa,[4] Prākṛṭācārya,[5] J. Viḍyāsāgara,[6] K. N. Nyāyapancānana,[7] S. C. Chakravarti,[8] Śīva,[9] Lakṣmaṇasūri,[10] R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya,[11] S. Ray,[12] V. S. Aiyar[13] and by Nārāyaṇaśaṣtri Nigudkar.[14]

611. Kṣemenḍra's drama Laliṭaraṭṇamālā appears to have had a similar plot. There is this quotation in his Auciṭyavicāracarcā (pp. 140-2).

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1. Ed. everywhere. On Raṭnāvali generally, see R. C. Dutt, *Civ.* II. 265. M. Williams, *IW*, 505 ; G. Buhler : *On the authorship of the Ratnavali* (*IA*, II. 127). F. Hall. *Int. to Vasavadatta*, 15-18 ; J. J. Mayer (*Damodaragupta's Kuttinimatam*, Leipzig ; S. C. Vidyabhushan, *Date of Ratnavali*, *Mahabodhi*, 12) ; R. V. Krishnamacharya, Int. to Edn. (Srirangam) ; it is a very elaborate introduction ; M. Schuyler, *Bib.* 9 ; Buhler, *On the authorship of Ratnavali*, *IA*, II. 127) ; Weber, II. 207 ; Saradaranjan Ray's Int. to Ed. (Calcutta) contains a valuable introduction. See also *ISlr.* I. 356. Tr. into English by Saradaranjan Ray (Calcutta), by S. C. Chakravarti (Dacca) ; by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 255-319 ; by Bidhu B. Goswami (Calcutta). For translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 40.
2. Macdonell, *SL*, 362.
3. *CC*, I. 492.
4. Ed. Bombhy.
5. *CC*, II. 115.
6. Ed. Calcutta.
7. Ed. Calcutta.
8. Ed. Dacca.
9. *HR*, III. 34. 137. He was son of Ṭryambaka.
10. Ed. Calcutta.
11. Ed. Madras.
12. Ed. Srirangam.
13. Ed. Kumbakonam.
14. Ed. by K. M. Joglekar with an English Introduction (Bombay).

यथा मम ललितरत्नमालायाम्—

निद्रां न स्पृशति त्यजत्यपि धृतिं धत्ते स्थितिं न क्वचित्
दीर्घां वेत्ति कथां व्यथां न भजते सर्वात्मना निर्वृतिम् ।
तेनाराधयता गुणस्तव जपध्यानेन रत्नावळीं
निस्सङ्गेन पराङ्गनापरिगतं नामापि नो सह्यते ॥

अत्र वत्सेश्वरस्य रत्नावळीविरहविधुरचेतसः स्मरव्यथासमुचितं विदूषकेण सुसङ्गतायै यदभिहितं । निद्रां न स्पृशति...न सह्यते स्थितिधृतिकथानिर्वृतीनां स्त्रीलिङ्गाभिधानेनाङ्गत्वाध्यारोपेण परमौचित्यं प्रतिपादितम् ॥

612. Priyadarsika, a nāṭikā in four acts, is a reflection of Raṭnāvali. Ḍridhavarman, King of the Angas, having betrothed his daughter Priyaḍarśikā to King Uḍayana prepares to take her to him. Meanwhile the Kalinga King overcomes and imprisons him. Priyaḍarśikā after some vicissitudes is admitted to the harem of Uḍayana by his commander, under the name of Āranyikā, a maid-servant to the queen. The king is enamoured of her and his secret intrigues are as usual discovered by the Queen. Āranyikā is imprisoned by her, but not long after this, she is recognised as the Anga princess *Priyaḍarśikā*, her own maternal cousin. Bitten by a serpent the heroine is in a swoon and the king revives her. The story ends with her happy presentation to the king by the queen herself.[1]

There is a commentary by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācarya.[2]

613. Nagananda[3] in four acts "describes the story exactly as related in the Kathasaritsagara (Taranga XXII) of Jimutavahana, a prince of the Vidyadharas, who, swayed by sentiments of universal love, relinquishes his kingdom to serve his parents in the forest. There in the Malaya mountain he falls in love with the daughter of the Gandharva King; and roaming about by chance, fresh from the wedding, he hears that the King of Serpents has made peace with Garuda and stipulated to offer a serpent each day to the kite. The heart of the prince is moved. He resolves to save the life of that day's victim even at the

1. On Priyaḍarśikā generally. G. Strehly: Int. to Edn (Paris). F. Cimmino (*o. c.* XXXI. 1-18). R. V. Krishnamacharya. Int. to Edn (Srirangam No, 3). M. Schuyler, *Bibl.* 2.

2. Ed. Srirangam: (with an introduction by the commentator). Ed. by J. Vidyasagara; Ed. V. D. Gadre, (Col. Un. series) with translation by G. K. Nariman, A. V. W. Jackson and C. J. Ogden, and an elaborate introduction.

3. In a manuscript preserved in the Patan Library dated Samvat 1258, the name of the author is given as Śrī Harṣa (see *PR*, V.)

risk of his own. Garuda finds out that by mistake he has harmed the disguised prince and overpowered with grief learns that abstinence from cruelty is the highest virtue on earth. The play ends with the appearance of the Goddess Gauri, who revives the prince to life."

There are commentaries by Ātmārāma,[1] by N. C. Kaviratna,[2] by Śivarāma[3] and by Śrīnivāsācārya.[4] There is a poem called Nāgānanda.[5]

Other dramas[6] composed on a similar purpose and style of composition are the Lokānanda of Candragomin[7] and Sānticaritra[8] of unknown authorship.

614. "From the invocation to Buddha in the Nāndī and the circumstance that the play describes the incidents of Buddha's life in his work as Jīmūtavāhana, it is possible to say that the play has a Buddhistic coloring, but it may be too soon to affirm that the main purpose of it is to illustrate a Buddhistic doctrine of universal humaneness. The rule of compassion is inculcated in all ancient Hindu Ethical literature and is essentially pre-Buddhistic in its origin. Garuda is an Aryan God and the appearance of the goddess Gauri and shower of nectar marking the happy culmination are Hindu in their core."[9]

On Nāgānanda generally, see S. Beal (*The Academy*, XXIV. 217; F. Cimmino, Proc. 13th Int. Cong. of Orientalists, Leiden (1902), 31; S. G. Bhanap. Int. to Edn. (Bombay). G. B. Brahme and S. M. Paranjape, Int. to Edn. (London); S. C. Ray. Int. to Edn (Calcutta); M. Schuyler, *Bibl.* 9. Weber, *IL*, 207. Burgess (*IA*, I. 140) gives an excellent English summary. Tr. into English by N. C. Vaidyaratna (Calcutta), by P. Boyd (London), by S. C. Ray (Calcutta) and by Vasudevachariar (Madras) with a summary of the plot; by R. D. Karmarkar (Poona) with notes and introduction and by L. V. Ramachendra Iyer, Madras and by P. V. Ramanujaswami with Int,. Trn. and notes, Madras.

1. *CC*, I. 283. He is probably different from the commentator, Rāma in *DC*, XXI. 8414.

2. Ed. Calcutta.

3. Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, *TSS*, Trivandrum. He has also commented on Subhadrādhananjaya and Tapatī-Samvaraṇa.

4. He was the Sanskrit Pandit, St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly.

5. *Trav.*

6. For similar Jain plays, see Levi, 324.

7. Levi, *App.* 80. See para 260 *supra*.

8. Levi, *App*, 81.

9. It looks likely that the name and matter were suggested by Lokānanda (*Levi*, App. 80, 324). Of this there is a Tibetan translation (see *l.c.* 56).

615. Kalidasa, as a dramatist, has attained universal admiration. His talents stand unique and rarely has any other been recognised as his equal.[1]

Ḍandin wrote :

लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन् यस्य निर्विवशा गिरः ।
तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भं काळिदासेन शोधितम् ॥

Bāṇa said :

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य काळिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥

In his tract, *Kalidasa, the moralist,*[2] Ravindranath Tagore writes :

" Kalidasa has shown that while infatuation leads to failure beneficience achieves complete fruition, that beauty is constant only when

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1. For verses quoted in anthologies as Kālidāsa's (not traceable in any known works), see Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXXIX. 306 and Peterson, *Subh.* 23.

Some of these verses are very fine :

i हेमाम्भोरुहपत्तने परिमलस्तेयी वसन्तानिल-
स्तत्रत्यैरिव यामिकैर्मधुकरैरारब्धकोलाहलः ।
निर्यातस्त्वरया व्रजन्निपतितः श्रीखण्डपङ्कद्रवै-
र्लिप्ते केरळकामिनीकुचतटे खञ्जश्शनैर्गच्छति ॥

ii न वक्ति प्रेमार्द्रं न खलु परिरम्भं रचयति
स्थितौ तस्यां तस्यां करकमललीलां न सहते ।
स्मितज्योत्स्नाकान्तं मुखमभिमुखं नैव कुरुते
तथाप्यन्तः प्रीतिं वपुषि पुलकोऽस्याः कथयति ॥

iii स्वप्न प्रसीद भगवन्पुनरेकवारं
सन्दर्शय प्रियतमां क्षणमात्रमेव ।
दृष्टा सती निबिडबाहुयुगे विलग्नं
तत्रैव मां नयति सा यदि वा न याति ॥

2. This is in Bengali. Translated into English *Mod. Rev.* XIV.

On KALIDASA generally : C. Bendall, *Kalidasa in Ceylon*, (*JRAS*, (1880), 440); G. A. Grierson, *Are Kalsdasa's heroes monogomists ?* (*JASB*, XLVI. 39); *Some notes on Kalidasa*, (*JASB*, XLVIII. 32-48); G. S. Leonard, *Further proof of the polygamy of Kalidasa's heroes*, (*JASB*, XLVI. 160): Prannath Pandit, *Morals of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.* XLV. 352) ; A. V. Jackson, *Legend of Kalidasa preserved at Ujjain*, (*JAOS*, XXII. 331) ; *Time Analysis of the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.* XX. 341-59) ; *Bibliography of Kalidasa's plays*, (*Ibid*, XXII. 237 ; XXIII. 937); R. V. Tuilu, *Traditional account of Kalidasa*, (*IA*, VII. 115) ; Hoernle, *Kalidasa and Kamandaki*, (*IA*, XLI. 156) ; J. B. Chakravarti, *Kalidasa, the Great Indian Poet*, (*JMy.*, VIII. 261) ; R. A.

upheld by virtue, that the highest from of love is the tranquil, controlled and beneficient form, that in regulation lies the true charm and lawless excess the speedy corruption of beauty. He refuses to acknow-

Narasimhachariar. *Life of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.*, 273); A. R. Krishnasastri, *Formative influences of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, IX. 557); A. Venkata Subbiah, *Kalidasa's Sociological Ideals*, (*Ibid.*. 95); C. Venkataramaniah, *Some views of Kalidasa's philosophy and Religion*, (*Ibid.*, 98); K. Krishna Iyengar, *Kalidasa and Shakespeare*, (*Ibid.*, 151); M. Sumner, *Les Heroines de Kalidasa et belles de Shakespeare*, (Paris); J. E. Seneviratne, *Life of Kalidasa*, (Colombo); F. Neve, *Kalidasa dans les raffinements de sa culture*, (Paris); L. Liebion, *Das Datum des Candragomin und Kalidasa*, (Breslau): Ch. Harris, *An investigation of some of Kalidasa's views*, (Evansville, Ohio); D. R. Bhandarkar, *Solesisms of Sankaracarya and Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLI. 214); T. Narasimhaiengar, *Kalidasa's Religion and Philosophy*, (*IA*, XXXIX. 236); V. V. Sovani, *Essay on Society in the times of Kalidasa*, (in Malvati); Allamraju Ramasastri, *Horoines of Kalidasa*, (*Sah.* XXII. 45); A. C. Chatterji, *Kalidasa, his poetry and mind*, (*MR*, XI. also Ed. Calcutta); Rajendranath Vidyabhushan, *Kalidasa*, (in Bengali); R. V. Krishnamachariar, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*, (*Sah.* XVIII); Ramanujacarya, *Kalidasa's date*, (*Sah.* XIX); Ramacharya, *Kalidasa's love for deer*, (*Sah.* XXIV); Seshagiri Sastri, *Kalidasa*, (*IA*, I. 340); G. S. Krishnasami Iyer, *Poetry of Kalidasa*, (*IR*, XIV, 899); Bhide, *Notes on Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII. 246); Harichand, *Les Citations de Kalidasa, dans, les traites d'Alankara*. (*JA*, VII. No. i and ii); *Kalidasa et l' art poetique de l' Inde*. Paris, reviewed in *JRAS* (1918), 564 (which contains all the quotations from Kāliḍāsa contained in Alankara works); C. V. Vaidya, *Pandyas and the date of Kalidasa* (fixes the date 1st century B.C.); K. G. Majumdar, *Vatsyayana and Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII. 195); Majumdar, *Kalidasa and Kamandaki*, (*IA*, XLVI. 220); G. A. Grierson, *Are Kalidasa's heroes monogamists*, (*IA*, XLVII. April No); P. K. Chatterjee, *Poet Kalidasa and sea voyage*, (Jl. of Dept of Letters, Calcutta, XVI); Anand Koul, *Birth-place of Kalidasa*, (*Jl. of Ind. History*, VII. 345); K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, *Kalidasa, his philosoghy of Love*, (*JOR*, III. 349); C. K. Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhasa in the light of Western Criticisms*, (*JMy*, XVII. 125); A. Rangasami Sarasvati, *Kalidasa*, (*JMy.*, XV. 269, XVI. 98); A. Shah, *Kautilya and Kalidasa*, (*JMy.*, XI. 42, X. 303) and *Astronomical Data in the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Tr. All Ind. Or. Conse.* 1924); K. G. Sankara Iyer, *Vikrama theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JMy.*, XI. 188); Chakravarti, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JRAS*, (1891), 330); Huth, *Die ziet des Kalidasa*,; S. H. Dhruva, *Thoughts from Kalidasa*, (Bombay); Bhau Daji, *On the Sanskrit poet, Kalidasa*, (*JBRAS*, VI. 19, 207); B. C. Majumdar, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JBORS*, II. 388); K. G. Sankara Iyer, *Yasodharman's theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JBORS*, VII. 60); K. Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhasa in the light of Western Criticism*, (*JMy.*, XVIII. 127); H. Subbaroya Sastri, *Kalidasa's Flowers*, (*Bharati*, I. 107); P. Venkataramanayya, *Was Kalidasa a votary of Kartikeya* (*Ibid.* V. 688); Mr. Ramakrishnayya, *Ritusamhara*, (*Ibid.*, 387); Pichaya Sastri, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid.* 678); N. Ramadasayya, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid.*. 20); G. Jagopantulu, *Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.*, VIII. 19); K. Ramakrishna Rao, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*. (*Ibid.*, III. 15); A. V. Sutatmamya Sastri, *Kalidasapatraucityam*, (*Ibid*, V. 326): Apte, *Date of Kalidasa*, (Bombay); C. Sivaramamurti, *Kalidasa and Painting*, (*JOR*, VII. 160); T. L. Venkatrama Sastri, *Musical Element in Kalidasa*, (*JOR*, VII. 357).

ledge passion as the supreme glory of love; he proclaims goodness as the final goal of love."

There are three dramas[1] that are acknowledged to be his, Śakunṭalā or more fully Abhijnāna-Śākunṭala, Mālavikāgnimiṭra and Vikramorvaśīya. These plays attracted the attention of foreign savants more than two centuries ago and Goethe thus sang of Śakunṭalā:

> Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, fed,
> Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?
> I name thee, O Sakuntala! and all at once is said.

It is the quintessence of Kāliḍāsa's poetry.[2]

616. Sakuntala. "King Dushyanta of the Lunar race, pursues a gazelle in the vicinity of Kaṇva's hermitage. Here he espies Śakunṭalā, watering her tender nursery with her favourite friends. Struck by her beauty he begs for an interview. He overhears the reciprocation of love by Śakunṭalā, meets and marries her. He gives her his ring and with a promise to fetch her soon he returns to his palace. In a thoughtless mood, she fails to greet an irascible sage Ḍūrvasas and his impatient curse obliterates the memory of her lover, until the spell could pass away at the sight of a ring. Some time passes and Kaṇva resolves to send her to her husband. She takes leave of her lovely friends, the inanimate plants and the inarticulate deer. She reaches the court of the king, she loses the ring and her exhortations are in vain. The king has no recollection of the amorous incident at the sylvan park. Śakunṭalā laments her fate and is borne off by her mother Urvasī to the abode of the celestials. The ring is recovered by a fisherman from the stomach of a fish and as an accused thief he is brought to judgment. Its sight dispels the gloom and the king recollects his former love. His regrets are wasted. Time passes and Indra seeks his help against his foes. Then while driving in Indra's car he sees a young boy, his own

1. Rājaśekhara made a pun:

एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केन चित् ।
शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥

Here Kāliḍāsaṭrayī means these three plays of Kāliḍāsa and the poet indirectly suggests the existence of three Kāliḍāsas.

2. Here is the traditional verse;

कालिदासस्य सर्वस्वमभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् ।
तत्रापि च चतुर्थोऽङ्को यत्र याति शकुन्तला ॥

dear son Bharata, playing with a cub and soon he finds his Sākunṭalā not to leave her again."[1]

Śākunṭalā was recently staged at Melbourne from a translation made by Lawbonce Bunyon and the adaptation of the music is thus described.

"The overture opens with the King's love singing theme, given first in the low register of the orchestra. This is continued by the higher strings and wood wind to a climax, with a first hint of the curse motive. A bridge passage for strings and wood wind leads to Śakuntala's love-singing theme played by the violin; this works up to a repeat of the same given in the higher octave by the flutes and oboes. A tremolo passage for strings, with a further hint of the curse motive, is followed by the development of the King's theme working to a full climax of both the King's and Śakuntala's themes leading straight to the curse motive at full orchestral strength. A quiet passage for strings ending with a cadenza for the oboe is followed by the golden peak theme given by the flute in its highest register. The overture foreshadows the entire development of the drama: the sublimation of the earthly unstable love to the universally significant reunion at the mystic's retreat in the Himālaya Mountains. The incidents of the drama are limited in the use of the curse and other motives. Before and during part four, an off-shoot of the Golden Peak theme will be heard, suggestive of the nymphs, who sing their farewell to Śakuntala."

617. The popularity of the play has unconsciously done immense harm to the preservation of its original text. It is now extant in three or

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1. Edited everywhere.

Translated into English by Sir W. Jones (Calcutta), by M. Williams (London, Bombay), by K. K. Bhattacharya (Calcutta), by A. H. Edgren (New York); G. Kalipada Mukerjee (Calcutta); by Kamala Satyanathan (Madras); by T. R. Ratnam Iyer (Madras); K. Banerji (Nadia); by J. G. Jennings (Allahabad); by R. Vasudevarao (Madras) and by Roby Dutta, Calcutta as idyllic poetry; by A. M. Wright (Springfield, Mass.); by S. Ray (Calcutta). For translation in other languages see Schwyler, *Bibl.* 51.

On Śakunṭalā generally; M. Schwyler, *Bibl.* 48-56; V. Majumdar, Int. to Edn. R. Pischel, Int. to Ed. (Kiel); P. N. Patankar. Int. to Ed. (Poona) N. C. Vidyaratna, Int. to Ed. (Calcutta); T. E. Srinivasachariar, Int. to Ed. (Kumbakonam). T. Holme, Int. to Edn. (London). S. Ray. Int, to Ed. (Calcutta) R. R. Rabe: *De Kalidasa's Sakuntala* (Breslau); V. Sarkar, *Sakuntala-Rahasya, A. Weber, ISt*, XIV. 35, 161. T. Lakshminarasimharao; *Sakuntala* (*JMy.*, IX. 63). R. Kulkarni, *A University in the Sakuntala* (*Tomorrow*, August, 1923); A. C. Chatterji, *Kalidasa, His poetry and mind* (Calcutta); Rav. Tagore, *Sakuntala and its inner meaning* (in Bengali); Tr. into English, *MR*, IX) and *Bhārati* III. 25

four recesions called the Bengali,[1] Devanagari,[2] Kashmir,[3] and South Indian.[4] The latest collation of the second recession and an attempt at a critical edition is perhaps that of Prof. S. Ray of Calcutta.

618. There are commentaries by Rāghava,[5] Kāṭayavema,[6] Śrīnivāsa,[7] Ghanaśyāma,[8] Abhirāma,[9] (Kṛṣṇanātha Pancānana, Candraśekhara, Damaruvallabha, Prākṛtācārya, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmabhadra, Śankara) Premacandra,[10] D. V. Panta,[11] Vidyāsāgara,[12] Venkatācārya,[13] Śrī Kṛṣṇanātha,[14] Bālagovinda,[15] by Ḍakṣiṇāvartanātha,[16] Rāmavarman and Rāma Pisharoti,[17] and five anonymous.[18]

619. ŚRINIVASADIKSITA was the son of Ṭimmayarya and was known also Venkateśa. He was an archaka of the Vaikhānasa sect and Kāśyapagotra, at the temple of Tirupati (Chittoor District). He had the title of Cakrāyudha and lived about 1850. He is a prolix writer and his commentary is probably the longest and the most discussive. He has written a commentary on Vaikhānasasūtras and Ramāyaṇa and the manuscript of the latter is said to be at a village called Oratti, South Arcot, Madras Presidency.

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1. Represented by Premacandra's Edn (Calcutta) and Pischel's Edn. (Kiel.)
2. Represented by Isvarachandra Vidyasagara's Edn. (Calcutta) and M. William's Edn.(Oxford)
3. Represented by N. B. Godabole's Edn. (Bombay) and by A. R. Rajarajavarma's Edn. (Trivandrum)
4. See *BKR*, ixxxv.
5. Ed. Bombay. He was son of Pṛthvidhara, an authority on Nyaya and Mimamsa. *DC*, XXI. 8370. Ed. Bombay with English notes.
6. Ed. Bombay.
7. Ed. Madras. *DC*. XXI. 8373; *HR*, III. 6.
8. Ed. Trivandrum. With an English introduction.
9. *CC*. I. 23, II 187, III. 6.
10. Ed. Calcutta.
11. Ed. Calcutta.
12. Ed. Calcutta.
13. Ed. Madras.
14. See P. N. Patankar's Int. to Sakuntala (Poona) and *JAOS*, XXII. 237.
15. *TC*, IV. 4340. He was son of Śankarapaṇḍita who was the guru of Vancibhupāla of Harigita town and patronised by the latter. This is an epitome of Śrīnivāsa's commentary.
16. *TC*, III. 3982.
17. Ed. Trichur. This Rāmavarman is Parikṣit Kunjunni Tamburan, now alive at Cranganore.
18. *DC*, XXI. 8373, 8374, *TC*, III. 3480, 3965.

620. KATAYAVEMA was the son of Kāta, grandson of Māra and great-grandson of Kātaya. He married the daughter of Anapola, the Reddi king of Kondavidu and was at the helm of administration during the reign of Anapola's son Komāragiri (1381-1403 A.D.) He was a great warrior and scholar and at the request of Komāragiri he wrote commentaries called Komāragirirājīyam on the plays of Kāliḍāsa. He had three wives and from two of them, he had a son Komāragiri and a daughter Aniṭallī. In appreciation of his services to the state, Komāragiri bestowed on him the sovereignty of Rajamahendrapuram. He died about 1416 A.D. His son ruled only for 4 years, after which the descendants of Anitalli became the rulers.[1]

621. Malavikagnimitra is "a conventional dramatisation of harem intrigue in the court of King Agnimitra of Vidisa, probably of the Sunga dynasty. The play discloses the loves of this king Agnimitra and of Malavika one of the attendants of the queen, who jealously keeps her out of the king's sight on account of her great beauty. The various endeavours of the king to see and converse with Malavika give rise to numerous intrigues. In the course of these Agnimitra nowhere appears to be a despot, but acts with much delicate consideration for the feelings of her spouses. It finally turns out that Malavika is by birth a princess, who had only come to be an attendant at Agnimitra's court through having fallen into the hands of robbers. There being now no objection to her union with the king, all ends happily."[2]

There are commentaries by Kātaya Vema,[3] Nīlakantha,[4] Vīra-

1. For an account of Kātayavema, see Veturi Prabhakara Sastri's *Sringara-Srinatham* 56 and for inscription of Kātayavema, see *EI*, IV. 321, 328, 329, 330, dated from 1391 to 1416 A.D.

2. Macdonell, *SL*, 330.

On Malavikāgnimiṭra generally : F. Ballensen (*ZDMG*, XIII. 480) ; Cappeller, *Allervatin ad Kalidasa Malavikagnimitram*, (Konigsburg) ; S. J. Pandit, *Int. to Ed.* (*BSS*); M. Schuyler, (*JAOS*, XXIII. 93); M. A. Williams, (*IW*, 497 ; C. Varadacarya, *Malavikagnimitra noi a drama* (*Bharati*, VI. 8) ; V. Subbaroyudu, (*Ibid*, 714, 483). Translated into English by Ch. Tawney (Calcutta) by G. R. Nandargikar (Poona), by A. S. Krishnarao (Madras). For criticisms and translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 46.

3. Ed. Bombay and Poona.

4. Ed. Bombay. Composed in Samvat 1712 (1656 A.D.) at Kāsi. The author was son of Bālakṛṣṇabhatta of Sri Venkaramauni family. He lived at Vyomakeśapura.

rāghava,[1] Mṛṭyunjaya Niśśanka,[2] Ṭarkavācapaṭi,[3] Śrīkanṭha,[4] Parīkṣiṭ Kunjunni Raja.[5]

622. Vikramorvasi represents events partly terrestrial and partly celestial. King Purūravas rescues the nymph Ūrvaśī from the hands of demons and wins her love by his herosim. She parts with him on a summons from Inḍra and the king becomes disconsolate in his love. She drops a letter before him unseen confirming her own love and as ill luck would have it, this letter is picked up by the queen and she waxes wild. In the meantime Ūrvaśī was acting as Lakṣmī at the celestial theatre at the staging of the play of Lakṣmī-svayamvara and with her mind all engrossed by Purūravas she answers Purūravas in a colloquy, when her answer was to be Purūṣoṭṭama. Her teacher Bharata curses her to go to the lower world and Inḍra mitigates the effect of the curse by ordering her stay on earth till she gets an offspring from Purūravas. In their secret wanderings Urvaśī trespasses on the forbidden grounds of Kaṇva's park and becomes transformed into a creeper. The king becomes maddened and under the influence of a magic stone, she is restored. They have a son Āyus and when time comes for Ūrvaśī to return, Inḍra allows her to remain with him for good, in grateful recollection of the aid received in the destruction of demons.[6]

This play is in two recentions, in N. India[7] and S. India.[8]

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1. *CC*, II, 104, 217.
2. Ed. Madras.
3. Ed. Cafcutta.
4. *TC*, II. 820, 2570. Probably the same as the author of Kanḍarpaḍarpaṇa-bhāṇa (*HR*, III. No. 1683) and son of Abhinava Kāliḍāsa, of Kāśyapagoṭra, the author of Śṛngārakośabhāṇa (*TC*, II. 989). He is different from another Abhinava Kāliḍāsa of Vasisṭhagoṭra, who is the author of Yakṣollāsa (*TC*, II. 2066).
5. He is now alive at Cranganore.
6. Ed. Pischell (Berlin) and J. Vidyasagara (Calcutta).
7. Ed. *ESS*, Bombay.
8. On Vikramorvaśi generally, L. R. Lenz: *Apparatus criticus ad Urvasiam fabulam Calidasi* (Berlin) ·M. Schuyler (*JAOS*, XXIII. 93-101). S. P. Pandit. Int. to Ed. (Bombay). Macdonell *SL*, 258. For an appreciation, see *JMy*, XI. Translated into English by H. H. Wilson (Theatre) I. 183-274), by E. B. Cowell (Hertford), by Brajendranath De, (Calcutta Review, 884 in part only into verse), by A. Ghose (Bombay, into verse). For translations into other languages, see M. Schuyler, *Bible*. 58.

There are commentaries by Kātaya Vema,[1] Ranganāṭha,[2] (Abhayacaraṇa, Rāmamāya),[3] Ṭārāṇāṭha,[4] M. R. Kale.[5]

623. "Kalidasa is the great, the supreme poet of the senses, of æsthetic beauty, of sensuous emotion. His main achievement is to have taken every poetic element, all great poetical forms, and subdued them to a harmony of artistic perfection set in the key of sensuous beauty. In continuous gift of seizing an object and creating it to the eye he has no rival in literature. A strong visualising faculty such as the greatest poets have in their most inspired descriptive movements, was with Kalidasa an abiding and unfailing power, and the concrete presentation which this definiteness of vision demanded, suffused with an intimate and sovran feeling for all sensuous beauty of colour and form, constitutes the characteristic Kalidasian manner. He is besides a consummate artist, profound in conception and suave in execution, a master of sound and language who has moulded for himself out of the infinite possibililities of the Sanskrit tongue a verse and diction which are absolutely the grandest, most puissant and most full-voiced of any human speech, a language of the Gods. The note struck by Kalidasa when he built Sanskrit into that palace of noble sound, is the note which meets us throughout all this last great millenmium of Aryan literature. Its characteristic features are brevity, gravity and majesty, a noble harmony of verse, a strong lucid beauty and chiselled prose, above all an epic precision of phrase, weighty, sparing and yet full of colour and sweetness. Moreover it is admirably flexible, suiting itself to all forms from the epic to the lyric but most triumphantly to the two greatest, the epic and the drama. In his epic style Kalidasa adds to these permanent features a more than Miltonic fulness and grandiose pitch of sound and expression, in his dramatic and extraordinary grace and suavity which makes it adaptable to conversation and the expression of dramatic shade and subtly blended emotion."[6]

"The flourishing of the plastic arts had prepared surroundings of great external beauty for Kalidasa's poetic work to move in. The appreciation of beauty in nature, of the grandeour of mountain and forest, the loveliness of lakes and rivers, the charm of bird and beast,

1. *DC*, XXI. 8510.
2. *DC*, XXI. 8511.
3. *CC*, I. 569; II. 134, III. 120.
4. Ed. Calcutta.
5. Ed. Bombay.
6. Aurobinda Ghose, *Age of Kalidasa.*

life had become a part of contemporary culture. These and the sensitive appreciation of these and plants and hills as living things, the sentimental feeling of brotherhood with animals which had influenced and been encouraged by Buddhism, the romantic mythological world still farther romanticised by Kalidasa's warm humanism and fine poetic sensibility, gave him exquisite grace and grandeour of background and scenic variety. The delight of the eye, the delight of the ear, smell, palate, touch, the satisfaction of the imagination and taste are the texture of his poetical creation, and into this he has worked the most beautiful flowers of emotion and sensuous ideality. The scenery of his work is a universal paradise of beautiful things. All therein obeys one law of earthly grace; morality is æstheticised, intellectual suffused and governed with the sense of beauty. And yet this poetry does not swim in languor, does not dissolve itself in sensuous weakness; it is not heavy with its own dissoluteness, heavy of curl and heavy of eyelod, cloyed by its own sweets, as the poetry of the senses usually is. Kalidasa is saved from this by the chastity of his style, his aim at burdened precision and energy of phrase, his unseeping artistic vigilance."

624. Asvaghosa's Sārīpuṭraprakaraṇa, a drama in nine Acts, "deals with the events which led up to the conversion of the young Maudgalyayana and Sariputra by the Suddha, and some of the incidents are certain. Sariputra had an interview with Asvajit; then he discussed the question of the claims of the Buddha to be a teacher with his friend, the Vidusaka, who raised the objection that a brahmin like his master should not accept the teaching of a Kshatriya; Sariputra repels the objection by reminding his friend that medicine aids the sick though given by one of inferior caste, as does water one in thirst. Maudgalyayana greets Sariputra, inquiring of him the cause of his glad appearance and learns his reasons. The two go to Buddha who receives them and who foretells to them that they will be the highest in knowledge and magic power of his disciples. The end of the play is marked by a philosophic dialogue between Sariputra and the Buddha, which includes a solemic against the belief in the existence of a permanent self; it terminates in a praise of his two new desciples by the Buddha and a formal benediction."[1]

"The same manuscript contains portions of two other dramas, also likely the works of Asvaghosha. The first of these is an allegorical

1. Ed. by Luders, *SPAW*, (1911), 388; Keith, *SL*, 80.

play like Prabodhacandrodaya, and the characters are Buddhi, Kirti, Dhrti etc. The second though primarily religious in intent has much that is amorous. The relations between Magadhavati, a hetæra, Somadatta, a rogue and Dhananjaya, prebably a prince are depicted, but nothing can be said about the play, as what is available is very fragmentary."

625. Candraka is mentioned by Abhinavagupṭa in his commentary of Nāṭyaśastra (Adh. XIX) as a playwright of Kashmir. His identity with Canḍragomin is not clear, and it is more likely that Canḍragomin lived for earlier.[1]

Kalhaṇa says that Canḍraka was a great poet, who composed plays, pleasing all kinds of audience. He flourished in the Court of King Ṭunjina of Kashmir who ruled about 103 A.D. or according to Cunningham in 319 A.D.[2]

नाट्यं सर्वजनप्रेक्ष्यं यश्चक्रे स महाकविः ।
द्वैपायनमुनेरंशस्तत्काले चन्द्रकोऽभवत् ॥—*Raj.*, II. 16.

Ḍhanika quotes a verse which is enchanting.

626. Kaumudimahotsava. At the coronation of King Kalyāṇavarman of Patalīpuṭra a play was enacted in which is the story of defeat and d.ath of Kalyāṇavarman's father Sunḍaravarman at the hands of Candasena King of Licchavis and the rein-statement of Kalyāṇavarman on the throne of Magadha by the efforts of minister Manṭragupṭa. The name of the drama is not mentioned in the work, but the editors, rather discoverers, of it have christened it as Kaumuḍīmahoṭsava, from a possible pun in an expression used by the Sūṭraḍhāra. Unluckily in the manuscript that has been traced the first letters of the name of the author are ant-eaten and from the letters (कया) and from a significant mention of Vijaya in the verse

जयति प्रथमं विजया जयन्ति देवास्तयं महादेवः ।
श्रीमान्तौ भगवन्तावनन्तनारायणौ जयतः ॥ (iv 19)

the editors guess that a woman must be the author and that that woman is likely Vijjikā. Vijjakā or Vijjikā is a prakritised form of Vijaya

1. See para 260 *supra*.
2. The verses quoted in Subhāṣiṭāvali appear to be the Nānḍis of his various plays. See Keith, *SD*, 169.

(Vidya ?) Vijjikā's poetry has been preserved in the anthologies[1] and it is of very high order, and if this play were her work the language here is of the same merit. Kaumuḍīmahoṭsava as an autumal moonlight festival celebrated at Patalīpuṭra and elsewhere is mentioned in several works such as Raṭnāvalī and Muḍrārakṣasa. Several passages here show an imitation the expressions of Kāliḍāsa. The reference to Śaunaka and Avimāraka in the following verse

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमाककं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीयं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥ (iii 15)

suggests also the idea that the author of this play must have seen Ḍandin's Avanṭisunḍarī and Bhasa's Avimāraka where we find stories of Śaunaka and Avimāraka. If Vijjikā was he queen of king Canḍrāḍiṭya of the 7th century[2] it is the likely date for the composition of this work. But it is not impossible that these similies about Śounaka and Avimāraka were an independent thought of the author of this play. The reference to Ḍattaka, Gaṇikāpuṭra and Mūlaḍeva makes as feel that this play belongs to the same period as Caṭurbhāni, the four bhanas aforesaid, where similar thoughts and references are aboundantly discerned. Uḍayana's tales were much admired in the centuries just preceding and coming after the Christian era. Kāliḍāsa says so and the several dramas that have for their plots the story of Vatsrāja Uḍayana must have been composed at that period of popularity. If this latter surmise is correct, Vijjikā or the real author must have flourished far earlier than the 5th or 6th centuries. The plot of the drama[3] is this summarised by the editors :

"Chanḍasena, the military commandant of Sundaravarman, a king of Magadha, conspired with the Licchavis, the hereditary enemies of his lord and brought about their attack on Pātaliputra. In the contest between Sundaravarman and the Licchavis, the former died on the battlefield. Chanḍasena became the king, Mantragupta, the minister of Sundaravarman, secreted the prince Kalyanavarman with a few minister's sons at a place called Pampā in the Vindhyas, while he himself in various disguises watched an opportunity to regain the throne for the prince. Some years passed before he could muster forces and

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1. See para 374 *supra*.
2. Ibid.
3. Edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri with an introduction, Madras.

defeat the traitor. At last Kalyāṇavarman was installed on the Magadha throne. The drama was staged on the occasion of his coronation.

An amorous incident covers up the political stratagem of Mantragupta. Kīrtimatī, the daughter of Kīrtisena, the king of the Sūrasenas, accompanied one Yogasiddhi, a nun, who was proceeding to worship Vindhyavāsinī in the Vindhyas. The nun was once the nurse to Kalyānavarman at Pātaliputra and since the death of his father, Sundaravarman, she renounced all worldly ties and spent her days in various holy places. When she came to Mathura the royal household treated her most kindly and even entrusted their daughter, Kīrtimatī to her care in her pilgrimage to Vindhyavāsinī. During their stay at Pampā the prince and princess met each other by accident and their first sight slowly developed into love. Yogasiddhi saw their portraits as drawn by the goddess and identified between the couple the child growing into prime youth once nursed by her. She fell into a reverie of old reminiscences. Meanwhile Mantragupta killed the usurper and proclaimed Kalyānavarman as king of Magadha. The nun and the princess went back to Sourāṣṭra, and her father Kīrtisena was doubly pleased to receive the intelligence of Kalyāṇavarman's prosperity and his daughter's overtures of love and sent an ambassador with a pearl-necklace which had a heroic history behind it and with the proposals of marriage of his daughter to the royal youth. Kalyāṇavarman was only too glad to reject such an offer of friendly alliance and prop of life."

627. K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XIX. 113 *et seq*) discusses historical data in this drama[1]:

"The Guptas appear about 275 A.D. somewhere in Magadha. Gupta, the first Raja, rises as a feudatory prince. As later we find the early Guptas connected with Allahabad (Prayaga) and Oudh (Saketa), Maharaja Gupta's fief seems to have been near about Allahabad. His son was Ghatotkacha, and Ghatotkacha's son was the first prince who turned the name of his ancestor Gupta into a dynastic title. His name was Chandra. At the time of the rise of Chandra, called by the Prakrit name Chandasena in the Kaumudi-mahotsava, the king of Magadha at Pataliputra was Sundaravarman, ruling from his palace

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1. In this connection Jayaswal refers (at page 38) Bhāvaśataka of Nāgaraja (Sri Gaṇapaṭi Nāgaraja) to this period and identifies him with king Gaṇapaṭi Naga of the Tak Nāga race now living near Jammu and the Punjab He quotes a correct verse as found in *Cat* of Mithila Mss. II. 105.

On Bhāvaśaṭaka, see para 349 supra.

called Su-Ganga. This palace is named in the inscription of Kharavela as the Su-Gangiya and in the Mudra-Rakshasa as the Su-Ganga. The capital city of Pataliputra thus came down with its ancient palace intact to the period of King Sundaravarman and Chandra. King Sundaravarman was an old man, having a child of a few years of age yet in charge of a nurse. Chandra and Chandrasena has been adopted as his son by the king of Magadha, evidently before the birth of the young prince. Chandra regarded himself as the heir, being the elder, though a Kritaka son. He entered into a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis who are described as the enemy of the Magadha dynasty in the same drama Kaumudi-mahotsava. The Lichchhavis with a large army and Chandra laid a siege to Pataliputra. A battle was fought in which the old king Sundara-varman died. The young prince Kalyana varman was carried away to the Kishkinda hills by the faithful ministers. Chandra founded a royal dynasty (raja kula). The angry authoress of the drama calls the Lichchhavis 'Mlechchhas' and Chanda-sena a Karaskara, implying a casteless or a low-caste man, not fit for royalty.

The position of the Madraka Jats was probably not very low at the time, for had it been very low, King Sundaravarman would not have thought of making Chandra-sena his adopted son His original intention seems to have been to bequeath the kingdom to Chandra. And it was only due to the birth of Kalyanavarman from some younger queen (Kalyana-varma is said to have several step-mothers-' matarah ') that the breach between the adoptive father and the adopted son occurred. The real cause of the opposition from the public, which was very pronounced, seems to be a dislike for the social system of the Karaskaras who were not subject to the fourfold-varnasramism of the orthodox system. It is the same dislike which is expressed in the Maha-Bharata against the Madrakas. They had one caste amongst them with social equality and freedom, which did not agree with the settled rules of the Gangetic society. The compliment was mutually exchanged: the Kaumudi-mahotsava taunted at the Karaskara caste as rulers; the Guptas replied 'we shall abolish the Kshatriyas'.

114. Now we know from the Puranic history that in the reign of Kanishka (and probably also of his successor), Vanaspara imported some Madrakas for administrative purposes. But the Punjab military dress of Chandra Gupta I on his coins would suggest that the family had migrated recently in the Bharasiva period after the liberation of

the Madraka country by the latter. Very likely a Bharasiva king gave Gupta a fief, having border-land between Bihar and Kausambi, for it was to suppress a rebellion of the Savaras that Chandra Gupta I had gone to his frontier when the City Council of Pataliputra pronounced a decree of deposition against him.

115. Chandra Gupta I, having his caste against him and being somewhat of a usurper, was disliked by the Magadhans of his day, particularly as he failed to adapt himself to the traditional Hindu way of Government. He showed a hostile, repressive attitude to the people of Magadha. The Kaumudi-mahotsava records that Chanda-sena had put leading citizens into prison. The people of Magadha looked down upon him as something like a patricide. Chandra Gupta I had thus several elements arrayed against him. A cry was raised that he was not a Kshatriya, he had practically killed his aged adoptive father on the battlefield, he had called in the aid of the hereditary enemies of Magadha—the Lichchhavis, he had married a lady who was neither a Magadhan nor a Brahmanical Hindu. To this we should add that he had defied the imperial authority of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I.

116. With the aid of the Lichchhavi power and protection he trampled upon the liberties of the people of Magadha and put the leading citizens into prison. Alberuni therefore recorded a true and historical tradition when he said that the king or kings associated with the Gupta-kala (era) were cruel and wicked. The Hindus had the constitutional law laid down in their codes to destroy the king who acted as a tyrant or whose hands had the marks of the blood of his parents. They planned and rose, called in Prince Kalyanavarman from the Vakataka territory (Pampasara) and crowned him king at the Su-Ganga Palace at Pataliputra. The authoress of the Kaumudi-mahotsava exultantly said-'the law of Varna is restored; the royal family of Chanda-sena is abolished.' This happened while Chandra Gupta was on his campaign somewhere between Rohtas and Amarkantak fighting the rebellious Savaras. The outlandish monarch was ousted in or about 340 A.D., for Kalyana-varman was of full age to receive Hindu royal coronation at the time. In the year of his coronation Kalyana-varma was married to the daughter of the king of Mathura."[1]

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1. See also K. P. Jayaswal; *Historical Data in the drama Kaumudi-mahotsava* (*Annals*, XII. 50) See K. Raghavacharlu, *AHQ*. 139. Vijjaka is mentioned in Gadadarabhatta's Rasikajivana, composed about 1650 A. D. (*Annals*, XII. 399).

For Lichchhavis, see *IA*,. XXXII. 233, XXXVII. 78. On Lichchavi dynasty of Nepal, see *IA*, IX. 178, XIV. 350 and Fleet, *GI*, Int. 135, 184, 191.

628. Dhiranaga (Bhadanta) lived at Arālapura, sometime earlier than the 5th century A.D. His KUNDAMALA, a play in 6 acts, describes the later history of Rāma after the coronation, that is, the story of banishment of Sīṭa and her discovery and reunion. In depicting the sentiment of Karuṇa, he is a precursor of Bhavabhūṭi, who wrote Uṭṭararāmacariṭa on the same theme and rightly so, he was mentioned with appreciation by Bhoja and other writers on rhetoric. Verses quoted as his by Vallabhaḍeva and Śrīḍharaḍāsa are not found in this play.[2]

629. Visakhadatta[3] was the son of Pṛṭhu[4] Mahārāja and grandson of Vateśvaraḍaṭṭa, a Sāmanta. "His play MUDRARAKSASA, in

1. Ed. by M. Ramakishna Kavi, Madras. His mention of Dingnāga as the author is now acknowledged to be an error. See F. W. Thomas (*JRAS*, 1924); D. R. Mankad, *Pratimā and Kunḍamālā* (*Annals* XII. 97); K. Gopalakishna Sastri, *Kunḍamālā-vimarsā* (*Jl, Mys. Sans. Col.* V. 166). Aucht (*CC*, I. 109) mention Nāgayya's Kunḍamāla as from Burnell is erroneous. In *Tanj.* VIII. 3373, the colophon is अनूपुराधस्य कवेर्धीरनागस्य कृतिः कुन्दमालानाम नाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

2. See Peterson, *Subh. Int.* 49 and for his philosophical verses :

समाश्लिष्यत्युच्चैः पिशितघनपिण्डं स्तनधिया
मुखं लालापूर्णं पिबति चषकं सासवमिति ।
अमेध्यक्लेदार्द्रे पथि च रमते स्पर्शरसिको
महामोहान्धानां किमिव कमनीयं त्रिजगताम् ॥
सुधौतं कौशेयं सुरभि कुसुमं कौङ्कुममपि
क्षणात्तद्यस्मिन्पतितमशुचित्वे निपतति ।
त्रिगन्धान्निष्यन्दान्वमति नवभिर्यो व्रणमुखैः
कथं तस्मिन् काये सुभगबहुमानोऽत्रभवताम् ॥

Subh. 3388-9.

3. Some manuscripts read Viśākhaḍeva *DC*, XXI. 8163; Wilford (*As. Res.* V. 208) called the author of the work Ananṭa and quotes him as declaring that he lived on the banks of the Goḍāvari. But none of the extant commentaries contain this reference.

सूत्रधारः—अलमतिप्रसंगेन । आज्ञापितोऽस्मि परिषदा, यथाद्य त्वया सामन्तवटेश्वरदत्तपौत्रस्य महाराजपदभाक्पृथुसूनोः कवेर्विशाखदत्तस्य कृतिरभिनवं मुद्राराक्षसं नाम नाटकं नाटयितव्यमिति ।

4. Wilson (*Theatre*, II. 128) suggests that he might be identical with the Choban Chief of Ajmir Pritu Rai. Telang (Int. to Edn. page 12) points out the distinction that Pṛṭhu the father of Viśākhaḍaṭṭa is specially called Mahāraja, while Pṛṭhu of Ajmir is only Prithurai or Prithuraj.

seven acts,[1] has for its theme the reconcillation of Rākṣasa, the hostile minister of Nanda, the late king of Palibora to the individuals by whom or on whose behalf his sovereign was murdered, the Brahmin Canakya and the prince Canḍragupta. With this view he is rendered by the contrivance of Canakya an object of suspicion to the prince with whom he has taken refuge and is consequently dismissed by him. In this deserted condition, he learns the imminent danger of a dear friend, whom Canakya is about to put to death and in order to effect his liberation, surrenders himself to his enemies. They offer him contrary to his expectations the rank and power of prime minister and the parties become friends."[2]

राक्ष—किमतः परं प्रियमस्ति ।

राक्षसेन समं मैत्री राज्ये चारोपिता वयम् ।
नन्दाश्चोन्मूलिताः सर्वे किं कर्तव्यमतः प्रियम् ॥

630. The date of Viśākhaḍaṭṭa is as usual subject to much speculation. The concluding verse of benediction refers to a king Canḍraguptа.[3]

राक्ष—तथापीदमस्तु (भरतवाक्यम्)—

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यागुरूणां (नुरूपां)
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिप्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्वेज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

It is possible that the plot of the play as connected with Canḍraguptа was suggested by the identical name of the then reigning king and his victories over the marauding attacks of the

1. Ed. by A. Hillebrandt (Breslaw). See Review of it by Sten Konow, *IA*, XLIII. 64. For an account of the plot and the antecedent events, see introductory verses in Dhundhirāja's commentary (Ed. Bombay.)

2. Wilson, *o. c.* 127. There are English Translations by Wilson, (*Theatre*, II. 125-254) and by M. A. Kale, Bombay. For translations in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 95.

3. The readings are different: पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा and पार्थिवो रन्तिवर्मा Several reliable South Indian Manuscripts have the words पार्थिवो दन्तिवर्मा

If this is the correct reading then Danṭivarman was a Pallava king who ruled between 779-830 A.D. See C. J. Dubrauil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 74; *The Pallavas*, 54, 65, 72; T. A. Gopanatha Rao, *The Pallavas and the Ganga Pallavas*, (Christian College Magazine, 1907, April); Venkayya, *EI*, VIII. 291; Fleet's *Carnatic Dynasties*, 32; A, Rangasami Sarasvati, *JMy*, XIII. 686; *EI*, IV. 180.

Huns and the king mentioned there is Candragupta Vikramāḍiṭya II, 'who died in 413.' "The play knows the Hunas of a time when they had not yet acquired any territory in India, and the annoyance caused to the country by the Mlechas at the time of the composition of this drama, would refer, if the composition, as it seems probable, took place after the suppression of the Western Satrap (390 A.D.), to the Kushanas or to the new element of the Huns, who might have already made some invasions, probably with the Kushanas about the last year of Chandragupta's reign."[1]

The scene of the play is laid in the city of Kusumapura or Patalīpuṭra.[2] The several indictions of geographical facts show that the city was then in flourishing condition.[3] While Fa Hian the earlier Chinese Traveller described the city as the capital of Magadha,[4] Hiuen Tsang, the later traveller, found the city in ruins, the foundations of which still covered a very large area.[5] Again in the last act the morality of the Buddhas is alluded to and the references to Buddhism must have belonged to a period long prior to the decay of Buddhism[6] in India and in the time of Fa Hian had attained the zenith of its glory.[7] These several considerations suggest that the play might have been composed about the beginning of the 5th century A.D.[8]

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1. Jayaswal (*IA*, XL. 265 ff). suspects a defence of the scandalous murder of the Saka Satrap in the story put forward in the Muḍrā-Rākṣasa of the destruction of the Pantalaka (Philippos) by Canḍraguptа Maurya through the alleged agency of the Viṣakanyā. The Vāyu Purāṇa referred to the attempt at the uprooting of the Sakas in Malva and Rajputana in the early decades of the Gupta rule. He also refers to the passage in Harṣacariṭa VI. अरिपुरे च परकळत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेषगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तश्श- कपतिमनाशयत् ॥ He thinks Malayakeṭu is misspelling of Śalayakeṭu (Seleucus).

2. This play treats these as interchangeable (See Telang's Edn. pp. 187, 196, 198, 205). As to these names see Cunningham, *Arch. Rep*. XIV. 1; *JASB*, XVII. 49; Beal's *Fa Hian*, p. 70; *JRAS*. (n. s) VI. 227; Burgess, *Arch. Sur. Rep*. V. 43; Hall's, *Int. to Vasavadatta*, 35.

3. Telang's Ed. (*o.c.*) 154, 211-14.

4. Between 339-414 A.D. See Wilson, (*o.c*) 36; Beal's *Fa Hian*, 103; *JBRAS*, III. 153; *JRAS*, XVII. 126; *IA*, VI. 131.

5. See Elphinstone's, *History of India*, 292.

6. Act VII. 5; Telang's Int. (*o. c.* 25).

7. Beal's *Fa Hian*, Int. lxi.

8. Wilson (*o. c.*) 127 ff interprets the trouble by the Mlechas as meaning the Pattan princes and considers the application of the word Kṣapaṇaka to the Jaina Jivasiḍḍhi as a characterstic of a period subsequent to the disappearance of the Bauddhas from India. He therefore assigns the composition of the drama to 11 or 12th century A.D. See Weber (*SL*, 207 note), Cunningham (*Arch. Sur*. VIII. 22: *JASB*, XIV. 140;

631. Muḍrārākṣasa is unique in Sanskrit literature. "To the entire exclusion of love, the plot is wholly of a political character and represents a series of machiavellian stratagems, influencing public events of considerable importance and as a historical record or as a picture of it possesses no ordinary claims on our attention. There is in fact but one female character introduced and not however to suggest any scene of tenderness but only of sacrifice." The language is vigorous, but the verse never loses a melodious flow. The allusion to Varāhāvaṭāra and the simile "pearls spotless like snow"[1] render it probable that the author was quite familiar with, if not a native of Northern India.[2] The work has been held in high esteem, but without an idea of the historical events precedent to the plot of the work it may be hard to follow the course of the play.

IA, II. 145: VI. 114 note) accepts the view. Telang however (*o. c.* 16 ff) remarks that the Mlecha trouble might mean the early Mohammadan depredations of the 8th century and that the word Kṣapanaka is not exclusively applied to the Bauddhas. He reads the last verse as mentioning Avanṭivarman who might be identical with the father of the Maukhari King Grahavarman, the husband of the sister of Harṣavardhana of Kanouj and on this basis assigns the work to the 7th century A D. tentatively. For this Avanṭivarman, see Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. Rep.* XV. 165; XVI. 73 and Harṣa-carita, 103. There is king Avanṭivarman of Kashmir for which see Rajatarangini (V, 1-127) and *JBRAS*, Sp. No, 74. Another Avanṭivarman is mentioned with no date in *JASB*, XXX. 321. Macdonnel (*SL*, 365) and Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, 535) agree with Telang. Jacobi (*VOJ*, II. 212-216) says that the play was enacted before King Avanṭivarman of Kashmir on 2nd December 860 A.D. Hildebrandt, Speyer and Tawney (*JRAS*, 1908, 1910) affirm it to be much older, anterior to the first recension of the Pancaṭanṭra and to Bhaṭṛhari who died in 651 A.D. and suggest the accuracy of Jayaswal's view. See V. Smith, (*History of India*, 43 note). Schuyler (*Bib.* 10) gives the date 1000 A.D. J Antani (*IA*, LI. 49) gives date 7th century A.D. after Yaśoḍharman who ruled 645 A.D. For other references see Peterson, *Subh.* 123; Dhuva's *Age of Visākhaḍaṭṭa* (*NZKM*, V, 25-35); F. Hagg on Visākaḍaṭṭa (Burgdore), Hildebrandt's Edn. (Breslaw) and review of it by Sten Konow in *IA*, XLIII and Keith, *Date of Mudraraksasa and Brihatkatha* in *JRAS*, (1909) 145; R. C. Dutt, *Civ.* II. 281; M. Williams *IW*, 507. *Visakhadatta's characters*, (Sahridaya, IV. 61). Two stanzas of this play are found in Bhartrihari's Subhashita, for which see Telang's Preface to his Edn. of Bhartrihari, 21. For a critique, see *Sahṛdaya*, IV. 15 and *Bhārati* (1927) Aug.

1. आशैलेन्द्राद्धिमान्तस्स्खलितसुरनदीशीकरासारवर्षात्
तीरान्तान्नैकरागस्फुरितगुणरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।
आगत्यागत्यभीतप्रणतनृपशतैश्शश्वदेव क्रियन्तां
चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तवचरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्ध्रभागाः ॥

2. See Telang's Introduction (o.c., 13.)

632. There are several commentaries on the work. Vateśvaramiśra,[1] son of Gaurīpatimisra of Miṭhila, attempted to give a double interpretation to this composition and to present it as a system of polity as well as a play. Ḍhundhirāja, son of Lakṣmaṇa, wrote his commentary in the reign of King Sarabhoji of Tanjore in the year 1713 A.D. He gives a short poetical introduction describing the story of the Nanḍas leading to the accession of Canḍraguptạ and the events of the play.[2] Other commentaries are by Swāmi Sāstṛi, a native of Ananṭasāgara or Solavanḍān,[3] by T. Ṭarkavacaspaṭi,[4] by (Maheśvara, Vateśvara Prakṛtācārya, Keśava-upāḍhyāya and Abhirāma),[5] by Graheśvara,[6] by J. Viḍyāsāgara,[7] by Śarabhabhūpa.[8]

There is a prose version of the story by Ananṭapandiṭa,[9] and a poetical epitome, Muḍrārākṣasakathāsāra by Ravikarṭana.[10]

Ananṭa, son of Bālapandiṭa, lived at Punyasṭamba on the Goḍāvari in the middle of the 17th century. He wrote also commentaries on Govarḍhana's Sapṭaśaṭī and Rasamanjarī.[11]

633. In Vallabhaḍeva's Subhāṣiṭavali, there are verses attributed to Viśakhaḍeva, not traceable in Muḍrārākṣasa. There are probably taken from some of his lost works :

तत्त्रिविष्टपमाख्यातं तन्वङ्ग्या यद्वलित्रयम् ।
येनानिमेषदृष्टित्वं नृणामप्युपजायते ॥ 1648
सेन्द्रचापैरश्रिता मेघैर्निपतन्निर्झरा नगाः ।
वर्णकम्बलसंवीता बभुर्मत्तद्विपा इव ॥ 1728

1. *CC*, II. 160, 218.
2. Ed. Calcutta, Mysore, Bombay, Ahmedabad.
3. *DC*. XXI. 8468.
4. Printed Calcutta. Śṛngārasarvasvabhāṇa (*DC*, XXI. 8518) enacted at the festival of Māṭṛbhuṭeśvara at Trichinopoly (Trisirabpuri). The author is said to have been rewarded by King Ramācanḍra.
5. *CC*, I. 461; II, 106; 218; III. 99.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8472; *CC*, III. 99. He sṭyles himself Mahāmahopaḍhyāya and son of Siḍdheśvara of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra and gives his genealogy.
7. Ed. Calcutta.
8. *Tanj*. VIII. 3474, it is the Tanjore king Sarabhoji.
9. *CC*, I. 461. See also Sahṛḍaya XIX.
10. Printed at Calcutta and with a short gloss by Rājagopāla of Maḍura (Madras). He is called Ravinarṭaka in *DC*, XXI. 8155. He says he proposes to render into verse the story of Cāṇakya which was in prose (which apparently is now lost).
11. *CC*, I. 13. These two latter were composed in 1646 and 1635 A.D.

634. Viśakhaḍeva's Ḍevīcandraguplạ is of at least five acts, as inferred from the various quotations from the work made by Bhoja in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and by Rāmacanḍra in his Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa,[1] mentioning the names of Ḍhruvaḍevi, Canḍraguplạ, Māḍhavasenā. The plot of the play appears to be alluded to by Bāṇa in his Harṣacaritạ.

"In *Devichandragupta* the heroine Dhruvadevi when she was in her husband's camp with a small retinue who enjoyed their summer in the cool abodes of the Himalayan frontier, was carried away by an unprincipled foreigner a Saka by birth and was much tormented to accept his hand. A brother of Chandragupta II who was her husband in the disguise of a courtesan formed a dramatic company and approached the licentious Saka. By a series of political strategems Kumarachandragupta makes Dhruvadevi escape and takes her place in a female garb. When the Saka prince almost became mad of his love to Dhruvadevi and self-sufficiency blinded him to the probable dangers from an offended enemy, he allowed himself to meet in a secret chamber the enemy in the disguise of his favourite object which he sought for. He had his emoluments for his accumulated follies. He is no more pitied than Kichaka repaid by Bhima. In this the amorous adventure is entirely subsidiary."

Far beyond the Mudrārākṣasa, those fragments of splendid poetry and prose reveal a beauty of language and plot, not unequal to Bhāṣa's or Kāliḍāsa's. Is it possible that Visākhaḍeva was a contemporary of king Canḍraguplạ of the Gupta dynasty and he wrote a drama with

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1. For instance :

i तथा विशाखदेवकृते देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते माधवसेनां समुद्दिश्य कुमारचन्द्र गुप्तोक्तिः—

आनन्दाश्रुजलं सितोत्पलरुचोराबभ्रता नेत्रयोः
प्रत्यङ्गेषु वरानने पुलकिषु स्वेदं समातन्वता ।
कुर्वाणेन नितंबयोरुपचयं संपूर्णयोरप्यसौ
केनापि स्पृशताप्यधोनिवसनग्रन्थिस्तवोच्छ्वासितः ॥

ii. इयमपि देवी तिष्ठति, यैषा—

रम्यां चारतिकारिणीं च करुणाशोकेन नीता दशां
तत्कालोपगतेन राहुशिरसा गुप्तेन चान्द्री कला ।
पत्युः क्लीबजनोचितेन यदि तेनानेन पुंसः सतो
लज्जाकोपविषादभीत्यरतिभिः क्षेत्रीकृता ताम्यति ॥

For other quotations, see (*GOS*) p. 71, 84, 86, 118, 141, 193, 194.

his king as the hero and another with his namesake of the Maurya dynasty ? There is no record that directly conflicts with this attribution of that antiquity to Viśākhaḍeva, but the last verse of benediction on King Canḍraguptạ lends full support to it.

Rājaśekhara quotes a verse in which Canḍraguptạ's rescue of his wife caught in his enemy's camp[1] :

वृत्तेतिवृत्तः कथोत्थः—

दत्वा रुद्धगतिश्शकाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निववृते श्रीशर्मगुप्तो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणक्वणत्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥

Kāvyamimāmsā, p. 46.

635. ABHISARIKAVANCITAKA or Abhisārikābanḍhitạka is mentioned as Visakhaḍeva's play by Bhoja and Abhinavaguptạ and there are the references :

i. कदाचित्कामोऽनुत्पद्यमानः अङ्गलीलालक्षणात् विचेष्टितात् उपजायते । नष्टरागप्रत्यानयनं वा ततो भवति । यथा विशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकाबन्धितके वत्सेशस्य पद्मावती भट्टशबरी-वेषाद्याचारणरूपात् लीलाचेष्टितात् कामः प्रत्याख्यातः (प्रत्यानीतः ?)—

Abhinavabhāratī.

ii. क्रोधो यथा—श्रीविशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावञ्चिते वत्सराजः सम्भावितपुत्रवधायै पद्मावत्यै क्रुद्धः । तथा च अभ्यधात्—

प्रदुष्टोग्रग्राहां सरितमवगाढः श्रमवशा-
दुपालीनश्शाखां फलकुसुमलोभाद्विषतरोः ।
फणाली ... ...नार्भीत्युत परिचर्यां कौर्यनितरां
विषज्वालागर्भां चिरमुरगकन्यामनुसृतः ॥—*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.*

"These two extracts furnish us with some material from which we may make some surmises as to the significance of the title and the nature of the plot. It is well-known that Udayana was a love-hero of the *dakṣiṇa* type. It is also known how the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa lulled the king into the belief that Vāsavadattā was burnt, and persuaded him to marry Padmāvatī. In the same way a mischievous character in this play, might have, with the determined purpose of

1. See *IA*, (1923), 181 ; *JMy*, XV. 269.

bringing about an estrangement between the king and Pādmāvatī, set afloat the rumour that Padmāvatī killed Udayana's son and that she was a murderess. Udayana had many wives and we do not know whether Padmāvatī, as the rumour had it, killed the son of Udayana born of Vāsavadattā or somebody else; but we may hazard a guess, namely, that it might be Udayana's son through Vāsavadattā. Mutual jealousy and hatred are not unusual features where polygamy prevails and the capricious king probably gave full credence to the prevailing rumour. He lost his self-control. His deep love turned into deep hatred. Rage and fury took possession of him. He saw in Padmāvatī not the nymph of celestial beauty but a "serpent woman glowing with flames of poison". He rebuked Padmāvatī in menacing tones. Poor Padmāvatī, a victim to slander, found that she had lost the love of Udayana. She tried to regain it. To go and plead before the king and to vindicate her innocence would be useless and futile. Hence she hit upon the following plan. Dressed as a charming huntress she attracted the attention of the tenderminded Udayana. As time rolled on Udayana found himself completely enmeshed in her love. When Padmāvatī found that the love of the king was genuine she revealed her identity. Probably then she explained her innocence. Thus there is the नष्टरागप्रत्यानयन as said in the Abhinavabhāratī. This then explains the significance of the title. By a clever impersonation of a huntress Padmāvatī in the roll of an Abhisārikā decover the king and regains her lost love."[1]

636. Ramesvara was the son of Rāmaḍeva Ṭarkavāgīśa. He was a native of Vanga and flourished in the first half of the 18th century. His patron Ciṭrasena King of Mana. His CANDRABHI-SEKA is a drama in seven acts and describes the story of the destruction of Nandas by Cāṇakya and the coronation of Candragupṭa. The scene in the seventh act is interesting where Rākṣasa receives a letter that the Nandas are at the point of death owing to a burning fever produced by a Yoga commenced by Cāṇakya. The style resembles Viśākhadaṭṭa's as also the plot. But the tricks of policy, that are so amazing in the latter, are not so original or prominent in Rāmeśvara's work.

1. R. Ramamurti in *JOR*, Madras.
2. *CC*, I. 182.

637. Bhatta Narayana[1] or shortly Nārāyaṇa was of Śāṇḍilya family. He was surnamed Mṛgarāja. Traditionally he was one of the Brahmins that immigrated from Kanouj to Bengal at the invitation of Āḍisūra, king of Bengal[2] who reigned in the first half of the 7th century A. D. He is called Niśā-Nārāyaṇa by anthologists because of his beautiful description of the night (*niśā*).[3] In a manuscript[4] of the Nīvī, a commentary on Ḍharmakīrtī's Rūpāvatāra, it is stated that at the request of Bāṇa Bhatta, Bhatta Nārayaṇa became pupil of a Buddhist monk, learnt from him all the tenets of Buddhist philosophy and defeated Ḍharmakīrṭi and that Rūpāvaṭāra is the joint work of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa ane Ḍharmakīrṭi. It may tharefore be inferred that Bhatta Nārāyaṇa lived in the first half of the 7th century A.D.

638. In his Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā, Ḍandin praises Nārāyaṇa[5] as well as Bāṇa and Mayūra and refers to the former as having composed three works. It is quite likely that Ḍandin refers in this verse to Bhatta Nārāyaṇa :

व्याप्तुं पदत्रयेणापि यश्शक्तो भुवनत्रयम् ।
तस्य काव्यत्रयव्याप्तौ चित्रं नारायणस्य किम् ॥

A quotation in the Subhāṣiṭāvali appears to be the nānḍi of a drama with the sentiment of love in it :

1, See K. M. Shembavnekar, *The Gotra of Bhattanārāyaṇa*, *JCCJ*, I. 262, Nārāyaṇakavi, author of the drama Canḍrakalā (*CC*, I. 179) and Nārāyaṇa Bhatta. author of Jānākīpariṇaya *CC*, I. 206) are different. See A. E Gough, *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 27.

2. Āḍisura is supposed to have lived in 3rd century B.C. But Abul Fazl makes him the 23rd ancestor of Ballal Sen who reigned 158-1170 A D. (See V Smith, *EH* 403, 419 *JASB*. xlvii, 400. *Imp Gaz*. under Rampal ; N.N. Vasu, *Proc. of ASB*, (1902) 207 ; *Int. to Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, 15 ; *Arch. Survey. Mayurabhanja* (1911) I, lxiv note, and Ballālacarita, Bibl Ind) Writers on Brahminical geneology, particularly, Harimiśra and Eru Miśrā place Aḍisura shortly before the Palas and state that shortly after the arrival of the five Brāhmanas from Kanouj, the kingdom of Gour (Cap. Laknauti of Lakmanāvaṭi) became subject to the Pālas. See V. Smith, *EH*. 397 ; U. C. Batavyal, *JASB*, LXII, 411. This date of 6th century A.D. for Bhatia Nārāyaṇa is approved by Weber (*IL*, 207) and Grill, (*Lit. Cent BL*. (1872-612). The story current in Benares that he went from Kānyakubja to Vanga in Saka 999 seems to be incorrect.

3. See Jalhaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

4. This manuscript has been acquired for the Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras, and I am informed by M. Ramakrishna Kavi that the leaf is half lost.

5. This verse is not found in the printed edition of Subhāṣitāvali, but in a manuscript recently acquired from the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1916-9), 40. See para 373 *supra*.

किं किं मिथ्याप्रचण्डैरपि विषमरुषः कास्मिते यत्करोमि
ज्ञातं चेतस्त्वदीयं परिकलितदृढं चित्तमेतन्ममापि ।
प्रेमग्रन्थि विमूढं चरणनिपतनैर्घट्टयन्किं तनोषि
स्पृष्टोऽस्त्रीरित्युमायाः पुलकभुजलतालिंगितः पातु शंभुः ॥

639. His **Venisamhara**,[1] a drama in 6 acts, alludes to a sensational incident in the Sabhāparvan of Mahābhārața, viz., the forcible exposure of Ḍraupaḍi's hair and garment by Ḍuśśāsana in the public assembly of Ḍuryoḍhana's court and to the consequent vow of Bhīmasena that the locks of hair would not be braided again save by his own hands wet with the blood of the infamous king. The play takes through the battle of the Bhārața war and negotiations prior to it and culminates in the coronation of Yuḍhiṣṭhira.

Traces of Pāncarātra tenets are visible in the work and his ridicule of the Cārvāka doctrine of materialism shows the religious tendency of his age. As a heroic piece, with the ruling sentiment of valour (vīrarasa), the play is very popular among writers on rhetoric. For admixture of humour and pathos, in dignity of thought and ease of expression the last Act commands high appreciation.

Among the earliest writers, Ānanḍavarḍhana and Abhinavagupța quote Veṇīsamhāra as the most appropriate illustrations of canons of dramaturgy.[4]

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1. Called also Veṇisamvaraṇa. Tran. into English by S.M. Tagore (Calcutta) and by M. R. Kale (Bombay). See generally, G. Narasayya and N. Veeraraghavayya, *Bhārati*, VI. 403, 575, 578); Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 335; R.C. Dutt. *Civ*. II. 281; Muktaram Vaidyabagish, Int. to Edn. (Calcutta); L.B. Vaidya, Int. to Edn. (Poona); Keith, *SD*, 212; M. R. Kale (Int. to Edn.) gives date 7th or 8th century.

2. The vow is expressed thus :—

चञ्चद्भुजभ्रमितचण्डगदाभिघातसञ्चूर्णितोरुयुगळस्य सुयोधनस्य ।
स्त्यानावबद्धघनशोणितशोणपाणिरुत्तंभयिष्यति कचांस्तव देवि भीमः ॥

3. Ānanḍavarḍhana flourished in the court of King Avanțivarman (855-884 A.D.). This reference is sufficient to refute the identification of the author of Veṇīsamhāra with one Bhattanārayaṇa, the donee under a copper-plate grant of 840 A.D. (Khalimpur copper plate *EI*, IV. 252). Macdonell (*SL*. 366) and M. Duff (*Chronology*) rely on this plate and say Bhattanārayaṇa's son Adigai Ojha was patronised by king Dharmapāla who reigned about 800 and 840 A.D. (See V. Smith, *EH*. 398; Watters, II, 87; Beal, II, 82, 86 and *IA*, XV. 304, ibid. XX. 308. On this grant, see *IA*, XX, 108; ibid. XXI, 99, 254.

4. For quotations in Subhāṣiṭāvali etc. see Pet. Int. 50-51.

There are commentaries by Jagaḍḍhara,[1] Jaganmohana Ṭarkālankāra,[2] Ṭarkavācaspaṭi,[3] C.R. Ṭivari,[4] Ghanaśyāma,[5] and Lakṣmaṇasūri.[6] There is a summary in prose by Ananṭācārya.[7]

640. This play appears to have travelled to Java very early. In his introduction to *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (*GOS*, xxxiii.) S. Levi writes

"The Mahabharata was translated into (Old) Javanese at the end of the Xth century A.D. under the reign of King Sri Dharmmavamsa teguh Anantavikramadeva who was ruling in Eastern Java, and, rivaling the Sumatranese empire of Srivijaya, endeavoured to promote the study of Sanskrit literature. Only some parts of the whole translation have been preserved, and in Bali only. Kern had published, as early as 1871, a notice on the Adiparva with the text of the Pausyacarita (Verhand. K. Akad. Wet., Amsterdam, afd. Lett. dl. XI. 1877).

The Adiparva begins with three Sanskrit stanzas; the first is clearly an arya, the second stanza is rather unexpectedly the well-known benedictory verse of Bhatta Narayana's Venisamhara.

जयति स्तनाभिर्जगतां स्तनाभिरम्भोद्भवस्रगद्वीजः ।
दामोदरो निजोदरगह्वरनिक्षिप्तजगदण्डः ॥

The point is of a particular importance on account of its bearing to the origin of the Javanese shadow-theatre (Wayang). The first mention of the Wayang occurs just some years later than the Javanese translation of the Mahabharata, in the Javanese Arjunavivaha written under the great king Airlanga, who had succeeded Sri Dharmmavamsa. During the IXth and Xth centuries the connection between Bengal and Indonesia was very active; I refer here only to the Pala inscription at Nalanda (Epigr. Ind., 1924, 310-327). If the Venisamhara was known to the Javanese translator of the Mahabharata, it follows that the

1. Ed. Poona.

For his geneology given here, see also in also XXI. 8332. He was the son of Raṭnaḍhara, and grandson of Viḍyāḍhara all learned in the sastras. He held two umbrellas as a man of scholarship. His poetry is excellent as seen from introductory verses to his commentary on Vāsavaḍaṭṭā and Mālaṭimāḍhava.

2. Ed. Calcutta.
3. Ed. Calcutta.
4. Ed. Benares.
5. *HR.* III, (1905) xi.
6. Ed. Madras.
7. *Sah*, xix. 165.

Sanskrit theatre had reached Sri Dhammavamsa's court, and the Wayang may have been born under the influence of the Sanskrit plays."

641. Bhavabhuti[1] whose real name was Śrikantha was the son of Nīlakantha and Jaṭukarṇī. He was born at Paḍmapura[2] in the country of Viḍarbhas, the modern Berars, "somewhere near Chanḍa in the Nagpur territories where there are still many families of Mahrati Ḍeśastha Brahmins of the Black Yajurveḍa with Āpasṭamba for their sutras."[3] He gives us a short account of himself and his family in the prologues of his plays. His ancestors, were Brahmins surnamed Uḍumbara tracing their lineage from Sage Kāśyapa. They were "teachers of their charana, so learned and pure as to be fit to purify by their association those receiving purification, the keepers of the five sacrificial fires, faithful to their religious vows, drinkers of Soma, and students of theology." His grandfather Bhatta Gopāla performed the sacrifice of Vājapeya. Bhavabhūṭi therefore belonged to a family of Vedic scholars. He is a Vedic bard with Vedic ideas and expressions which unconsciously get in and abound in the writings.[4] Jnānaniḍhi was his guru, a name which looks as one assumed by persons of the monastic order. Unlike other dramatists he develops the marriage of Mālaṭi and Māḍhava on lines peculiar to his own study. He follows Gauṭama and holds the mind and the eye as the sole guide in the choice of a bride. The atheistic Sānkhya and theistic yoga philoso-

1. As Ghanaśyāma says the name Bhavabhuṭi was given to him from his composition साम्बा पुनातु भवभूतिपवित्रमूर्तिः (See *TC*, II. 1723)

or as the commentator Vīrarāghava says

गिरिजायास्स्तनौ वन्दे भवभूतिसितानानौ ।
तपस्वी कां गतोऽवस्थां इति स्मेराननाविव ॥

Two other poets Āluri Ṭirumalakavi and Raṭnakhetaḍikṣiṭa bore the title Abhinava-Bhavabhuṭi. On the description of Padmāvaṭi, see Khajaraho inscription *EI*, I. 149.

2. M. V. Lele in his book on *Malati-Madhava-rasavichara* (in Mahratti) at page 5 identifies Paḍmāvatī with the modern village Pavāya or Pola-pavaya north-east of Narvar in Gwalior state and Cunningham with Narvar (Nalapura) itself [*Arch. Rep.* (1862-5) II. 307]. Other identifications are (i) near Amaravati (ii) Karavirapura (Kolhapur) (iii) Ujjain (iv) Pampur in Kashmir. Belvalkar denies the identity of Paḍmāvaṭi and Paḍmapura (Introduction to Uttararamacharita, Harward Oriental serise). It must be said however that the oldest extant manuscript of the dated Nevari Samvat 276 (1156 A.D.) does not mention the province viz. "Viḍarbheṣu" [*Nepal*, (1905) No. 1473]. See Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XIX. 11.

3. Bhandarkar's Int. to Mal. note to Act I, line 31.

4. See A. B. Keith, *Bhavabhuti and the Vedas*, *JRAS*, (1914), 729.

phies were known to him. He was perhaps a wanderer in his youth intimate with actors and it is not improbable that he himself acted on the stage.[1] In his middle life he attached himself to the court of Kanouj, and there standing by king Yaśovarman in his vicissitudes followed him to Kashmir. On his way he visited Buddhist Vihāras and observed the variety of Pāṣanda worship and human sacrifices offered to Cāmuṇḍā to which he often alludes in his works.

As a poet he had his reverses in his early days and apparently his critics were severe on him. He slily refers to them when he says "As of women, so of compositions, people are malicious as to their purity.[2] That accounts for his pessimism which went so far as to flout the opinion of his contemporary world. He was conscious that his poetry was good and he left it for future generations to appreciate it. He wrote that a "spirit kindred to mine will some day be born; for time is endless and the world is wide."[3]

He was conscious of his merit and he expressed that "Goddess of speech attends on him as on Brahma like a submissive hand-maid."[4] Vākpaṭi describes the excellences of Bhavabhūṭi's compositions as shining like particles of liquid nectar of poetry.[5] Rājaśekhara fancies him as Vālmīki himself re-incarnate.[6] Bhavabhūṭi was an admirer of Kāliḍāsa. When the love-lorn Māḍhava wandered in quest of Mālaṭī or when the desperate Māḍhava sent a cloud as messenger to his beloved, Bhavabhūṭi had in his mind the distracted Purūravas and the Yakṣa. He was however not a mere imitator. He was the master of the sentiment of pathos[7] and his mode of dramatic composition was original.[8] Tradition couples the name of Bhavabhūṭi with that of

1. Belvalkar thinks (l.c. page 101 note) that Bhavabhuṭi played the part of Vālmiki in the Uttararāmacariṭra.

2. यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः ।

3. ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालोऽह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

4. Uttararāmacariṭa Act, I. 2 : यं ब्रह्माणमियं देवी वाग्वश्येवानुवर्तते ।

5. Gaudavaho, 799.

6. Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act I. 16.

7. According to him Karuṇa is the only rasa : एको रसः करुण एव ।

8. For a critical appreciation of Bhavabhuṭi's poetic merits, see Addanki Kumāraṭāṭācārya's *Bhavabhuṭi-bhāraṭi* (Madras) ; T. Suryanarayana Rao, *Bhava bhuti and his masterly genius* (Poona).

Kālidāsa. They are mentioned together in the Bhojacaritra of Ballāla along with others as the poets of Bhoja's court;[1] but Kālidāsa of the dramatic fame must have long preceded our poet.[2] Kalhaṇa mentions[3] Yaśovarman king of Kanouj as the patron of Bhavabhūṭi and Vākpaṭi[4] as a poet in the same court. Yaśovarman[5] was subdued by Laliṭādiṭya of Kashmir[6] who ruled between 699 and 735 A.D.

On Bhavabhuṭi generally, see K. M. Banerjee, *Bhavabhuti in English Garb* (*IA*, I. 143); Kale, *Int. to Uttararamacharitra* (Bombay); A. Borooah, *Bhavabhuti, his place in Sanskrit literature* (Calcutta); Bandarkar, *Bhavabhuti's quotation from the Ramayana* (*IA*, 123); Schuyler, *A Bibl. of Bhavabhuti* (*JAOS*, XXV. 189); Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 83-4; *CC*, I. 398; Peterson, *PR*, IV. lxxxv, 77-8; *Subh.* 77; F. W. Thomas, *Kav.* 60-2; Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 1-6; Macdonell, *SL*, 362.

1. On Ballāla's work see uuder Bhoja post and Index.

2. Belvalkar (*o. c.* p. xxxix) says that Bhavabhuṭi's name is grouped with others as the 9 gems of the court of the king Vikramāḍiṭya of Ujjain. This seems to be mistake, for in the well known stanza (see para 14 *supra*) the name of Bhavabhuṭi is not mentioned.

3. कविवाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ *Raj*, IV. 144.

"Yaśovarman on whom attended the poet Vākpaṭirāja, the illustrious Bhavabhuti and others became by his defeat (at the hands of Lalitaditya) a panegyrist of his (Lalitaditya's) virtues."

MaxMuller (*India, what can it teach us?* page 334) reads Rājaśrī separately as a distinct poet. He is obviously wrong, for Vākpaṭi is also called Vākpaṭiraja. See Prabhāvakacariṭa, IX. 465 'Sri' is prefixed to Bhavabhuṭi.

4. VAKPATIRAJA, son of Harṣadeva, otherwise known in Prakrit as Bappaira was the author of the Prakrit poem GAUDAVAHO (Ed. by S. P. Pandit, BSS No. 34 with the commentary of Haripāla with a valuable introduction). It is a historical poem apparently suggested by Ravanavaho or Setubandha of Pravarasena (or Kalidasa? See para 32 *ante*). It is divided into cantos and the extant work is a series of 1209 couplets. It is curious that the work as it is appears to be a prelude to the theme and the actual 'Slaughter of Gauda King' is yet to come. He describes the glory of King Yaśovarman and his expedition of conquest. He says in the introduction to the poem "that he was the poet laureate of the court of Yasovarman, a pupil of the poet Kamalayudha, a personal admirer of Bhavabhuti, and the works of Bhasa, Jvalanamitra, Kunthideva, of the author of Raghuvamsa, of Subandhu, and Harischandra, well read in the Nyaya sastra, the science of poesy, in the Puranas, and in the works of many poets." (verses 797-804). He refers to another poem of his not now available called 'Mahumahana-Viyayo' (verse 69; also referred to in Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa), See S. K. Belvalkar (*HOS*) *l.c.* iii; R. C. Bhandharkar, *Int. of Malati*, xiii.

5. According to Dutt (*Civ.* II. 264) Yaśovarman ruled 700-750 A.D. See V. Smith, *The History of the City of Kanauj and of King Yasovarman*, [*JRAS* (1908). 765-93]; *EHI*, 379. See also C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, (Poona), 208-214; 334-42; Belvarkar's (*o. c.* 43); M. Duff, (*Chronology*) gives Yaśovarman under date 690 A D. Lassen gives him A.D. 695-733.

6. According to Kathaṇa, Laliṭāḍiṭya ruled 695-732 A. D. Cunningham,

642. Bhavabhūṭi's works belong to a later period[1] when a new style of the period of Ḍandin, Subanḍhu and Bāṇa, all poets of a school to which Ojas (powerful expression) is the soul of elegant style. Bhavabhūṭi flourished about the close of the 7th century or in the beginning of the 8th century A.D.[2]

643. In the colophon to a manuscript of Mālaṭī-Māḍhava[3] it is stated that the drama was composed by 'a pupil of Bhatta Kumārila.' Kumārila was a professor of Mimāmsa and flourished between 590 650 A.D.[4] It has been said that the family of Bhavabhūṭi was renowned for sacrifices and vedic rites and study of Mīmāmsa is indispensable for an orthodox exegisis of the Vedas. It is possible therefore that there is some truth in the tradition that Kumārila was a teacher of Bhavabhūṭi.[5]

(*Ancient Geography of India*, 90-22) adopts a correction of 31 years after 696 A.D. and dates Laliṭāḍiṭya's accession in A.D. 727. Buhler follows this view and so does MaxMuller (*o. c.* 334 note 1). For a discussion of Cunningham's view, see S. P. Pundit's, *Int. to Gaudavaho o. c.* p. lxvii and lxxxi *et seq.* S. P. Pundit gives the date 695 to 732 A.D. For Cunningham's earlier view (693-729 A.D.), see *Arch., Survey of India*, (1873), III. 125 and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, II. 245. As to Laliṭāḍiṭya's date, see Bhandarkar, *Int. to Mal.* 9; Dutt (*o. c.* II. 178). See also Buhler's paper in *WZKM*, II. 328, Jacobi's paper in *Gottinger Gel. Anzeigen* (1888) No. 2 page 68 and *VOJ*, II. 332; Stein's *Int. to Raj.* and notes on IV. 126, 134; Levi and Chavannes, *Itineraire d'Oukong* [*JA*, (1895) 353], fix the date of Yaśovarman's defeat between 736 and 747 A.D. See also Prabanḍhakośa of Rājaśekhara (composed 1405-1349 A.D.), Prabhāvakacariṭa of Prabhācanḍra and Ṭirṭhakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri (composed 1364 1308 A.D.)

1. For a full account of these works, see J. K. Belvalkar (*HOS*) l.c Introduction.

2. Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 109; Bhandarkar's, *Int. to Mal.* iv and *JBRAS*, XVII. 572; Keith, *SD*, 186.

3. See Lele, *Mal.* (*o. c.* 84); S.P. Pundit, *Int. to Gaudavaho* (*o. c.* ccv); Bandarkar, *Mal.* (*o. c.* viii).

4. S.P. Pundit (*l.c.*) K.B. Pathak. (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 213) assigns Kumārila to 700 A.D.

5. K.T. Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 159) and Buhler (*VOJ*, II. 332) are against this view. Belvalkar (*o. c.* xli) remarks "Unfortunately the colophon to act vi complicates the matter by giving the name of that pupil as Umvekacharya. It follows either that this was an alias of Bhavabhuti or else that the Mal. Madh. is a composite work and that while the other eight acts are by Bhavabhuti, acts III and VI are by Umvekacharya, perhaps a substitution of his own version of these two acts in place of Bhavabhuti's original version which this pupil of Kumarila did not like. Obviously we are giving undue weight to the testimony of a single manuscript. A solitary manuscript of the Uttararamacharita gives Bhavabhuti's original name as Neelakanta instead of Srikantha and the oldest extant manuscript of the Mal. Madh. (A.D. 1156) says after the colophon to act X *Kritiriyam Mahakaver Bhugarbhasya.* Is Bhugarbha another alias of Bhavabhuti? Perhaps all this confusion means only that our poet was not so well and widely known as we might like to think."

Mandana became an ascetic and assumed the name of Sureśvarā-cārya. There is a controversy whether Mandanamiśra and Sureśvarā-cārya were identical. "In Madhava's Sankaravijaya, they are treated as synonymous and in the Vivaranaprameyasangraha, Madhava quotes from the Brihadaranyakavartika of Suresvaracharya (Ed. Vizianagaram, p. 92) but names the author as Viśvarupacarya. Madhava therefore considered them identical. (For further particulars on this identity, see T. Ganapati Sastri, Int. to Yagnavalkyasmriti, *TSS*, No. 74). There the statement is quoted भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणम्य तम् from the Vibhavana, the gloss of Visvarūpa's commentary on Yagnavalkyasmṛti. The learned Pandit has probably not noticed the passages in the Śankaravijaya and the colophons of the Malatimadhava about Umbeka and has therefore found some difficulty in explaining the meaning भवभूति in the compound भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यम् and he says 'The word Bhavabhūti prefixed to the name Suresvara, is, I think, used in the sense Śivabhūti.' If the line is read in its proper sense according to its tenor and in the light of the information about Umbeka, it may lead to the conclusion that Umbeka was Bhavabhuti, was Mandana-misra, was Viśvarupacharya and was Suresvaracharya.[1]"

In the colophon to a manuscript of the Mālatīmāḍhava[1] it was written at the end of Act III इति श्रीभट्टकुमारिलशिष्यकृते मालतीमाधवे तृतीयोऽङ्कः (composed by the pupil of Kumārila,[2] at the end of Act X इति श्रीमद्भवभूतिविरचिते (composed by Bhavabhūṭi); and at the end of Act VI, इति श्रीकुमारिलस्वामिप्रसादप्राप्तवाग्वैभवश्रीमदुंवेकाचार्यविरचिते मालतीमाधवे षष्ठोऽङ्कः the name of that pupil is mentioned as Umbeka. Umbeka is a very respected name in Mīmāmsa literature. Ha is quoted by Ānanḍapūrṇa in his commentaries on Khandana of Śrīharṣa, by Rāmakṛṣṇa in his commentary on Śāsṭraḍīpikā, by Nārāyaṇa in his commentary Vijaya on Ajiṭa, a commentary on Ṭanṭravārṭika, and by Parameśvara in his Gopālikā, a commentary on Kāśikā (which is a commentary on Sloka-vārṭika). He severely attacks Prabhākara who was Kumārila's adversary. In Ciṭsukha's Ṭaṭṭvapraḍīpikā (Ed. Bombay, 265) he quotes the poet Umbeka and commenting on that passage Praṭyagrūpabhagavān in his Nayanaprasāḍinī (Ed. l. c.) says उम्वेको भवभूतिः (*Umbeka is Bhavabhūṭi*). Umbeka has written a commentary on Kumārila's Ślokavārṭika up to Vanavāda and the rest of it is commented upon by Jayamiśra, son of Kumārila. If Bhavabhūti and his ancestors were, as he says in his

1. See D. C. Bhattacarya, *IHS*, VII. 302 where Maṇdana is said to be different.

prologues, learned in the Mīmāmsa, this is another indication that Umbeka and Bhavabhūṭi might be identical. Above all a strong proof of the identity of Umbeka with Bhavabhūṭi is furnished by commentary which begins with Bhavabhūṭi's well-known verse, ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञाम् ॥

In Māḍhava's Śankaravijaya (VII. 113-16) it is said that Umbeka was the name of Manḍanamiśra (also called there Viśvarūpa).

अयं च पन्था यदि ते प्रकाश्यः सुधीश्वरो मण्डनमिश्रनामा ।
दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशा विजेयो यस्मिन् जिते सर्वमिदं जितं स्यात् ॥
सदा वदन् योगपथं च सांप्रतं स विश्वरूपः प्रथितो महीतले ।
महाग्रही वैदिककर्मतत्परः प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रे निरतः सुकर्मतः ॥
निवृत्तिशास्त्रे न कृतादरः स्वयं केनाप्युपायेन वशे स नीयताम् ।
वशं गतं तत्र भवेन्मनोरथः तदन्तिकं गच्छतु मा चिरं भवान् ॥
उंबेक इत्यभिहितस्य हि तस्य लोकैरुंबेति बान्धवजनैरभिधीयमानम् ।
हेतोः कुतश्चिदिह वाक् सुरुषाभिशप्ता दुर्वासिसाजनि वधूर्द्वयभारतीति ॥

644. The works of Bhavabhūṭi have always been regarded as a standard for dramatic study, but only three dramas have come down to us. Stanzas are ascribed to him in various anthologies which are not traceable in the extant works.[1] It is therefore presumable that other work or works of his have now been lost to us. Guṇaratṇa, a treasury of thirteen verses, is ascribed to Bhavabhūti.[2]

645. Bhavabhūṭi is a worthy peer of Kāliḍāsa in merit and fame.[1] Kāliḍāsa is terse and brief in his expression and working upon the reader's feelings puts to exercise his full imagination. Bhavabhūṭi's language is comparatively diffused and a redundancy of ideas often makes a strong impression on the reader's mind. In short, Bhavabhūṭi expresses in the *vācya* sense what Kāliḍāsa does in the *vyangya* sense. In describing human emotions of Pathos and Heroism, Bhavabhūṭi surpasses his rival. Kāliḍāsa's style is graceful; Bhavabhūṭi's sounds grand. In delineations of nature and chivalry Bhavabhūṭi feels at home. "Bhavabhuti is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things and actions and in distinguishing the nicer shades of feelings. He is a master of style and expression and his cleverness in adapting his words

1. See Peterson, *Subh.* 77-78; Jalhaṇa's *Suk* for which see *PR*, (1887-1891) xxxv; also appendix II of Harward University Series Vol. xxiii (It is not known whether this volume has yet been printed).
2. Printed, Haeberlin. *SKC*, 282.

to sentiment is unsurpassed." Like Kālidāsa's, Bhavabhūṭi's language is full of melody and lyrical beauty. In religion Kāliḍāsa is a man of the city teeming with amorous intrigues. Bhavabhūṭi is rural. True to his lineage he would not loose sight of the minutest ceremony; his guest would not be allowed to depart without *maḍhuparka*.[1]

646. Malati-Madhava is a prakarana in ten acts.[2] "The scene is laid in Ujjain, and the subject is (a fiction and is) the love-story of Malati, daughter of a minister of the country and Madhava a young scholar of the city and son of the minister of another state. Skilfully interwoven with this main story are the fortunes of Makaranda, a friend of Madhava and Madayantika, a sister of the king's favourite. Malati and Madhava meet and fall in love, but the king has determined that the heroine shall marry his favourite, whom she detests. This plan is frustrated by Makaranda, who personating Malati goes through the wedding ceremony with the bride-groom. The lovers, aided in their projects by two amiable Buddhist nuns, are finally united."[3]

The poet displays here an all-round learning and developes the love of Mālaṭi and Māḍhava, as it were, to illustrate the tenets of Vāṭsyāyana's Kāmasūṭra.

There is an epitome of Mālaṭīmāḍhava in verse called Ṛjulaghvī by Maiṭhilaśarman[4] and commentaries on it by Ḍharānanḍa,[5] Jagaḍḍhara,[6]

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1. Here is a traditional verse, attributed to Kaliḍāsa himself:

अहो मे सौभाग्यं मम च भवभूतेश्च भणितिं
तुलायामारोप्य प्रतिफलति तस्यां लघिमनि ।
गिरां देवी साक्षाच्छ्रुतिकलितकल्हारकलिका-
मधूलीमाधुर्यं क्षिपति परिपूर्त्यै भगवती ॥

2. Ed. *BSS* by R.G. Bhandarkar, There are several other editions in different languages.

3. Macdonnel, *SL*. 364; Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 166. Schwyler, *Bibl*. 29, gives the translations in foreign languages. For a short sketch, see *SR*. II, 69; R. C. Dutt, *CI*. II. 264, 270 and M. Williams, *IW*. 503. Tr. into English by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 1-128 and by M. R. Kale, Bombay.

4. *CC*, I. 453.

5. *PR*, V

6. Ed. *BSS*. Bombay and elsewhere and by M. R. Telang (Bombay).

Ṭripurāri,[1] (Mānānka,[2] Rāghavabhatta, Nārāyaṇa, Prākṛṭacārya),[3] J. Viḍyāsāgara,[4] Pūrṇasarasvaṭi[5] and Kunjavihāri.[6]

647. Mahaviracarita describes in seven acts the life of Rāma as a wārrior. The plot follows Rāmāyaṇa with slight variations meant to show Rāma's heroism in relief. The last act describes the country traversed by Rāma and Sīṭā on their way to Ayoḍhya in the ærial car.[7]

" The situation and sentiment of the drama " says Wilson, " are of a stirring and martial description and the language is adapted with singular facility to the subjects from which it springs. It is sonorous and masculine, more vigorous than musical, and although highly elaborate and sometimes rigid is in general chaste and always classical and stately."

For long years the manuscript of the work beyond Act V, 46[8] was not available.[9] The lost portion was completed by Subrahmaṇya. Later

1. Ed. Madras. Ṭripurāri was the son of Parvaṭanāṭha of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. His commentary extended only to 7 acts and the rest is continued by his pupil Nānyaḍeva son of Haricanḍra of Salahabhattaya family. *SR*, II. 73. Nānyaḍeva has written a commentary on the whole drama too. (*TC*, II. 2220). He is probably identical with the king Nānyaḍeva of Tirhaut who is said to have been subjugated by Vijayasena of Bengal about 1200 A.D. and founded Simraun in 1097 A.D. and afterwards established a Kanātaka dynasty in the valley of Nepal. See V. Smith, *EH*, 418-19; S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, II. 198; Keilhorn, *EI*, I. 313, note 57. See also *IA*, XI. 188.

2. Mānānka was a royal author and flourished about the 13th century A D. He is quoted by Royamukuta in his commentary on Amara composed in 1431 A.D. His Bṛnḍāvanakāvya relates the life of Kṛṣṇa and Meghābhyuḍaya is a highly artificial poem. *PR*, III. 11, 291. In *BR*, II (1907) there is a commentary on it by Lakṣminarasa where author is called Sāyankeli. He wrote commentaries on Gīṭagovinḍa and Mālatīmāḍhava.

3. *CC*. I. 453; II. 104.

4. Ed. Calcutta.

5. *TC*, III. 4118.

6. Ed. Calcutta.

7. Macdonnel, *SL*, 364; Weber, *IL*, 207; Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 323-334; R.C. Dutt, *Civ*. II. 274; M. Williams, *IW*, 502.

8. दौरात्म्यादरिभिः etc.; the last time was made up by Mahāḍeva हन्त प्रत्युत दारुणं व्यवसितं धिक्सख्यमेवं विधम् । and by Muḍḍurāma हन्त प्रत्युत दुष्कृतं च सुमहत्कर्तव्यमुद्दीक्षितम् ।

9. There is a manuscript in the Tanjore Library No. 10703 (*Tanj*. VIII. 3454) in which it is said राजशेखरदग्धशेषे which indicates a tradition that Rājaśekhara had the manuscripts of Mahāviracarita destroyed. In *Tanj*. VII. 4433–5, it is said श्रीवश्यवाचा भवभूतिमहाकविना विरचितं महावीरचरितं नाम नाटकमेतावदेवास्मिन् देशे दृश्यते, शेषं तु राजशेखरेण दग्धमिति प्रसिद्धिः ।

however, the later portion was discovered.[1] SUBRAHMANYA was probably identical with the author of the drama Sītāvijavenḍirāpariṇaya,[2] which likewise in seven Acts describes the marriage of Rāma with Sītā. Subrahmaṇya was the son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kāśyapagotra. He lived in Southern India in the 17th century A.D.

This is a commentary on the play by Vīrarāghava.[3]

648. **Uttararamacaritra** describes in seven Acts the story of Uttarakānda of Rāmāyaṇa, that is, the abandonment of Sītā, her residence at the hermitage of Vālmīki, the birth of Kuśa and Lava and there the union of Sītā and Rāma. "The catastrophe is differently brought about," says Wilson "in the Ramayana and the Raghuvamsa, and the poetical account of Rama and his race closes in a different manner. Rama discovers his sons in consequence of their recital of the Ramayana at his sacrifice and Sita upon her innocence being recognised by the people is suddenly carried off by the goddess of Earth, and disappears for ever. The denouement is very judiciously altered to her reunion with her sons and husband in the play."[4]

This play holds a high place in the theatrical literature of the world. In the expression of genuine pathos (*Karuṇa*) and the description of wild scenery, it has rarely been surpassed anywhere.

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1. Ed. Bombay 1892 (in which both the versions are given), with the commentary of Vīrarāghava; Ed. Todarmall, Lahore; Ed. F. H. Trithen, (London); Ed. by A. Boorosb, Bombay with Com. and notes. Trans. into English by J. Pickford (London).

2. *DC*, XXI. 8512.

3. The manuscripts of Mahāvīracarita in South India (*e.g.*, *DC*, XXI, 8451) were found incomplete and stopped with V. 46. So it was that Vīrarāghava in his commentary could get at only the incomplete work and for the rest had to continue the commentary on Subrahmaṇya's supplement. Apart from the name Subrahmaṇya, this is another indication that Subrahmaṇya was a native of South India.

Vīrarāghava was son of Nṛsimha, a descent of Dāśarathi of Vāḍhulagotra and resident of Bhuśarapura or Tirumalisai near Poonamalli, Chengleput District. He was called Annāvappangār.

4. For an introductory account and translation see Wilson, *Theatre*, I. 275-331. Tr. into English by H. Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta), by C.H. Tawney (Calcutta), by K.K. Bhattacharya (Calcutta) by S.K. Belvalkar, Harward (*HOS*), by V.S. Patvardhan (Nagpur). For translations into other languages, see Schwyler, *Bibl.* 31. For a general account, see M. Williams, *IW*, 503 and R.C. Dutt, *Civ.*, II. 275. For a full critique see Venkataramasastri, *Sahridaya*, XXIV. 7 and K. Subbayasastri, Uttararamacaritarasavicara, *Bharati*, VI. Juy and the same by R. Venkataramaśastri, (*Jl. of Andh. Sāh. Par.* XXI. 81).

649. There are commentaries on the play by Vīrarāghava,[1] Āṭmarāma,[2] Lakṣmanasūri,[3] A. Borooah,[4] J. Vidyāsāgara, Abhirāma,[5] Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa,[6] Bhotajiśāstrin,[7] Ṭārākumāracakravartin,[8] Rāmacandra,[9] B.S. Ghate,[10] Ghanaśyāma,[11] Lakṣmīkumāra Tāṭācārya,[12] Rāghāvācārya,[13] Pūrṇasarasvaṭī,[14] and Nārāyaṇabhatta,[15] and one anonymous.[16]

650. Lakṣmikumara Ṭāṭācārya known as Kavibhūṣana was son of Ṭiruvenkata of Śathamarśaṇagoṭra. He was a High Priest and lived at Triplicane, Madras. He passed away in 1923. He wrote facile poetry and among his various poems are Bhavabhūṭibhāraṭī, Pāḍukāsṭuṭi, Subhāṣiṭaranjinī and Rāmabāṇa. Besides a commentary on Acyuṭaśaṭaka (prākṛṭ) he attempts to show in his commentary on Uṭṭararāmacariṭa, that the prevailing sentiment there is not Karuṇa but Vipralambha-ṣṛngāra.

Viraraghava popularly known as Aṇṇāvappangār, was the son of Nṛsimha and descendant of Ḍāśaraṭhi of Vāḍhūlagoṭra. He was born at Tirumalisai (Bhūsārapurī) in Chingleput District, Madras, about 1770 A.D. and lived for 48 years. He was much respected in Mysore and other provinces. He wrote a commentary on Mahāvīracariṭa, the drama Malayajāpariṇaya, a poem Bhakṭisāroḍaya and other philosophical works. He had no son and his daughter's grandson R. Alasingarāchari now lives in the same town. It is not known whether these works are now available there.

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1. Ed. Bombay.
2. *TC*, III. 1599, 1601. Āṭmarāma was father of Nilakanṭha Dīkṣiṭa and son of Accāḍikṣiṭa. He also wrote a commentary on Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara.
3. Ed. Kumbhakonam. About the author, see para 246 *supra*.
4. Ed. Calcutta.
5. *TC*, III, 2823.
6. Ed. Calcutta with a preface by E. B. Cowell.
7. Ed. Nagpure by V. S. Pattavardhan.
8. Ed. Calcutta, with a preface by B P. Mujumdar.
9. Ed. Madras.
10. Ed. Nagpur.
11. *TC*, III. 1720. Ed. Bombay by P. V. Kane. On Ghanaśyāma, see para 166 *supra*.
12. The manuscripts are with his son S. A. T. Singarācārya, Triplicāne, Madras.
13. *CC*, I. 63.
14. About the author, see index *post*.
15. See *Sah*. XX. 248. He was a Malabar Brahmin who wrote at the instance of Aluvancheri Tamprakkal (Neṭranārāyaṇa) Nambuḍri.
16. *TC*., III. 3503, 3836 ; *CC*, I. 63.

The story of Bhavabhūṭi's plays has been summarised by V. Ananṭācārya in Nāṭakakaṭhāsangraha.[1] Uṭṭararāmacariṭākāvya is a poem in 5 cantos on the theme of the later life of Rāma.[2] It is a sequel to Rāmapāṇivaḍa's Rāghavīya and was probably composed by Meppathur (Nārāyaṇa) Bhaṭṭāṭṭiri.

651. King Yasovarman wrote the play Rāmābhyuḍaya on the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. Śāraḍāṭanaya says it was in 6 acts,

षडङ्कं दृश्यते लोके रामाभ्युदयनाटकम् ।

and quotes incidents for illustration.[3] Abhinavaguptạ in his commentary on Ḍhvanyāloka mentions Yaśovarman as its author :

सन्ति सिद्धरसप्रख्या ये च रामायणादयः ।
कथाश्रया न तैर्योज्या स्वेच्छा रसविरोधिनी ॥

कथानामाश्रयाः इतिहासाः, तैः इतिहासार्थैः सह स्वेच्छा न योज्या । ...कथंचिद्वा यदि योज्यते तत् तत्प्रसिद्धिविरुद्धा न योज्या । यथा रामस्य धीरललितत्वयोजनेन नायिकानायकत्वं कुर्यादिति तु अत्यन्तासमञ्जसम् । यदुक्तं 'कथामार्गे न चाक्रमः' इति रामाभ्युदये यशोवर्मणा । " स्थितमिति (?) (स्थितिमति) यथा शय्याम् ॥" *Locana*, p. 148.

652. Rajasekhara was the son of Ḍurḍuka and Śīlavaṭī. His family name was Yāyāvara.[3] His father Ḍurḍuka was a high priest. His great-grand father Akālajalaḍa[4] was a great poet. He was married to Avanṭisunḍarī[5] an accomplished Rajaput princess, "the crest-jewel of the Chauhan family." She was proficient in poetics and Rājaśekhara quotes her views with regard.[6] He appears to have belonged to the Mahratta country i.e. the Viḍarbha and Kunṭala.[7]

1. Printed, Allahabad.
2. Ed. Annamalai University by K. R. Pisharodi. There is Uṭṭararāghavīya-kāvya (*DC*, XX 7694).
3. Rājaśekhara was himself called "Yāyāvara" or the Yāyāvara Kavi. He is so called in Ṭilakamanjarī and Uḍayasunḍarī. (See Int. to Kāvyamīmāmsā, Gaekwad's Oriental series, xii). He is also referred to as *Bālakavi* and *Kavirāja* (see *Karp*. I. 9).
4. His name is referred to in Jalhaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvāli and his verses are there said to have been plagirised by Kāḍambarīrama in his drama. For his verses in *Śārg*. see Peterson, *Subh*. 102. F. W. Thomas, *Kav*. 80.
5. On account of this marriage with a Rajput princess Durgaprasad and Konow doubt whether Rājaśekhara was a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya.
6. See Kāvyamīmāmsā, (O.C. 46, 57).
7. Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣiṭa in his commentary on Viḍḍhasālabhanjikā says that Rājaśekhara declared himself in the Bālārāmāyaṇa as a native of Mahārāṣṭra and that to a large extent he made use of the language of that country. In the colophon to the Bombay Edn. of Karpuramanjarī the poet is styled Mahārāṣṭracuḍamaṇi ; but in the Sukṭimukṭāvali, Surānanḍa and ancestor of Rājaśekhara is called Ceḍimandala-mandanam, that is the ornament of the country of the Cedis.

He must have travelled all over India[1] and his knowledge of south India is particularly remarkable.

In the prologues to his plays Rājaśekhara calls himself the spiritual teacher of King Mahenḍrapāla and that he was patronised by his son and successor Mahīpāla. The Siydoni inscription mentions Mahenḍrapala reigning in 903 and 907 A.D. and Mahīpāla in 917 A.D.[2] In Viḍḍhasālabhanjikā Rājaśekhara refers to Yuvarājaḍeva who is probably the Kālacuri being Keyūravarṣa Yuvarājaḍeva I, who had his capital at Tripuri, the modern Tewar near Jabbulpore.[3]

653. In the Śankaravijaya of Māḍhāvācārya Rājaśekhara is called a king of Kerala and it is stated that he presented three natakas of his own composition to the great Śankaracarya. In Saḍāsivabrahmenḍra's Jagaḍgururaṭnamālāsṭava composed in the latter half of the 16th century A.D., Rājaśekhara is said to have been easily cured of his blindness by Gangāḍhara, third in descent from Abhinavaśankara. In Trav. Arch. series II. 8-13, there is an inscription of king Rājaśekhara dated on paleographical grounds as of 9-10th century A.D. and a learned discussion on the identity of that king with the author of these plays. The conclusion there arrived at is that Rājaśekhara, the author of the dramas, was a successor of king Rājaśekhara of the inscription, very likely also his nephew.[4]

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1. V. S. Apte (*Rajasekhara and his writings*, *Poona*, 20) shows that Rājaśekhara is specially acquainted with southern customs and places and often alludes to southern rivers as the Kāveri and Ṭāmraparṇi. The stanza '*Karnati-dasanankito* etc,. in Kṣemenḍra's Auciṭyavicāracarcā (V-27) covers a range from Cambay to Cape Comorin.

2. *EI*. I. 162-79 ; IX, 1-10 Copper plates bearing dates 57? :f the Gupta era, that is 899 and 900 A. D. See also *EI* I. 173, 242, *IA* XII 190 *EI*, IX 1. 130 *EI*, II. 304 ; *IA*, XV 105 XVIII. 90 ; For all references to inscriptions, see *JRAS* (1909), 70-75. See also The Asni Inscription of Mahīpāla (*IA*, XVI 173) comes from a locality only 90 miles south east of Kanouj, which is now indentified with Mahoḍaya referred to in Rājaśekhara's dramas. It is dated Sam. 974—917 A.D.

3. See the Bilhari Inscription (*EI*, I. 251, 265) particularly verse 75 which refers to Rājaśekhara, *Vismiṭa-kavi-Rājaśekhara sṭuṭyā* and Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos. 186, 407, 416 and 419. E. Hultzsch justifies the identity by the fact that the hero of the Viḍḍhasālabhanjikā is called Karpuravarṣa, a name strongly reminding us of the name Keyuravarṣa. See also M. Duff, *Chronology*, 293; Konow (*Int. to Karpuramanjari*, *HOS*. Harward, IV) 186 suggests that he may be Yuvarājaḍeva, a contemporary of King Vākpaṭi of Malwa, See also *IA*, XXXIV. 177.

4. कृतसट्टकसत्त्रिनाट्यबन्धव्रतयायावर राजशेखरान्वयम् ।
हृतवन्तमनन्तमन्त्रशक्ति व्रतिगङ्गाधरमाश्रयेऽर्थसूक्तिम् ॥

On this the commentary of Āṭmaboḍhenḍrasarasvaṭī mentions the names of the plays.

654. Rājaśekhara praises Bhavabhūṭi as Vālmīki re-born,[1] and quotes the poet Vākpaṭirāja, and the rhetoricians Uḍbhata,[2] and Ānanḍavarḍhana.[3] He is referred to by Somaḍeva,[4] and Ḍhananjaya,[5] and eulogised by Soddhala.[6] From these references it appears safe to say that the poet flourished about 900 A.D.[7]

655. In the prologue to Bālarāmayaṇa, Rājaśekhara himself says that he wrote six works Four dramas are known and Raṭnamanjarī[8] a nātikā is probably also his work.[9] Hemacanḍra instances Rājaśekhara's

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1. Bālarāmāyaṇa, I.
2. Uḍbhata was the councillor of King Jayāpīda of Kashmir (779-813 A D.)
3. He flourished in the reign of Avanṭivarman of Kashmir (857-884 A.D.)
4. His Yaśastilakacampu was finished in 960 A.D.
5. He was in the Court of King Munja of Dhar (974-993 A.D.)
6. His Uḍayasunḍarī, was composed about 990 A.D.
7. As to the date of Rājaśekhara, opinions are various. FLEET (*IA*, XVI. 178), and KIELBORN (*EI*. I. 162, Nachrichten von der K. Ges. der. Wiss. Zu Gottingen, 1904. 204 ff.), give the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th Century A.D. AUFRECHT (*ZDMG*, xxv. 1-150) says he was the immediate predecessor of Jayaḍeva. See also (*CC*, I. 503 and III. 107). BHANDARKAR [*BR*, (1882-3), 44] called him preceptor of Mahenḍrapāla who flourished about the 10th century. A. BOAROAH (*OC*, 17) makes him contemporary of Śankara and assigns him to the 7th century A.D. Pischell (*Review of Candakausika*) gives the 10th or the 11th century A.D. PETERSON (*Subh.* 101) gives the middle of the 8th century A.D.: "This is established by the fact that Kṣīraswami who wrote a commentary on the Amarakosa and who was the teacher of Kashmir (750 A D.) quotes a verse from the Viddhasalabhanjika in his note on Amara I. viii, 4 and that King Mahendrapala to whom Rajasekhara himself refers as a pupil of his own was reigning in 761 A.D." This king Mahenḍrapāla is the one referred to in the Dighwa-Dubauli plate dated Harsha-Samvat 155 (=A.D. 761-2) edited *IA*, XV. 105. CUNNINGHAM adopts this view (*Arch. Sur*, IX. 85) AUFNECHT, on other hand (*ZDMG*, XXVIII. 104) states that Kṣīraswāmi must have lived in 11th century A.D. since he quotes Bhoja and is quoted by Varḍhamāna. FLEET discusses the Dighwa-Dubauli plate in *IA*, xvi. 175. DURGAPRASAD and PARAB (*Kavyamala* No. 4 *Int.*) gives the date 884-959 A.D. and H.H. WILSON (*Theatre*, II. 362) the beginning of the 12th century A.D. and Bhandarkar about the 10th century A.D. [*BR*, (1882-3). 44 and (1897), xliii]. MAXMULLER (*India, What can it teach us?* 328) confounds him with the younger Rājaśekhara, the author of the Prabanḍhakośa (1347 A.D.). A TE discusses all these views and places him between the 7th and the 10th centuries, probably the end of the 8th century. F. E. HALL in his paper on the "*Vestiges of the Three Royal Lines of Kanyakubja*, (*JASB*, XXI. 1) gives the dates V. Samvat 960, 964, 1005 and mentions two Mahenḍrapālas. See also *JBRAS* XVI. 177; *EI*, (1917 Part v. (on Partabgarh Inscription dated Samvat 1003), *JAOS*, XXVII. 1. Levi, *Theatre*, i247; Klein, *Gestiechte des Dramas*, III; Henry, *SL*, 313.
8. A. E. Gough. *Records*, 203.
9. See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1930), 78, by E, V. Vīraraghavacarya.

HARAVILASA[1] as containing the poet's *anka,* and for *asih,* Ujjvaladatta quotes from Haravilāsa.[2] Bhoja mentions an Aṣṭapaṭraḍalakamala as Rājaśekhara's.[3]

It is possible that many laudatory verses about poets quoted in Jalhaṇa's Sūṭimukṭāvali under the name of Rājaśekhra may be found in this lost treasure Rājaśekhara's knowledge of geography was embodied in a work called Bhuvanakośa.[4] Rājaśekhara belonged to a family of poets. From that family dawned[5] the great men Surānanda,[6] Ṭarala[7] and Kavirāja. He mentions Aparājiṭa[8] and Śānkaravarma,[9] as his

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1. i स्वनामाङ्कता यथा राजशेखरस्य हरविलासे ।

ii आशीर्यथा हरविलासे—

ओमित्यकाक्षरं ब्रह्म श्रुतीनां मुखमक्षरम् ।
प्रसीदतु सतां स्वान्तेष्वेकं त्रिपुरुषीमयम् ॥

iii सुजनदुर्जनस्वरूपो यथा हरविलासे—

इतस्ततो भषन् भूरि न पतेत्पिशुनश्शुनः ।
अवदाततया किंचिन्नभेदो हंसतस्सतः ॥

2. दशाननक्षिप्तखुरप्रखण्डितः
क्वचिद्गतार्थो हरदीधितिर्यथा ॥

3. राता वधाधिराज्याविसररस विद्व्याजवाक् क्षापकारा
राकापक्ष्माभशेषानयननयन स्वास्वयान्तव्यमारा ।
रामाव्यस्तस्थिरत्रातुहिननहितुः श्रीः करक्षारदारा
राधा रक्षास्तु मह्यं शिव ममवशिव्यालविद्यात्वतारा ॥
निर्दिष्टाष्टदलन्यासमिदं पादार्थभक्तिभिः ।
अस्पृष्टकर्णिकं कोणैः कविनामाङ्कमंबुजम् ॥

4. नदीनां मेखलसुता नृपाणां रणविग्रहः ।
कवीनां च सुरानन्दः चेदिमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥

5. Raṇavigraha is the title of a Cedi prince Śankaragaṇa who lived in 10th century. See Gaz. of Bombay Presy. I. 414.

6. Jalhaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

7. Rājaśekhara (l. c.) wrote

यायावरकुलश्रेणेर्मुक्तायष्टेश्च मण्डनम् ।
सुवर्णबन्धुरुचिरस्तरळस्तरळो यथा ॥

8. Karpuramanjarī (1-8) calls him 'Mṛgānkalekhākaiāra' Subhāṣiṭāvali gives 'Kṣuṭkṣāmeṇa etc.' (verse 1024) as his. Padyāvali quotes some other verses.

8. Mentioned in Jalhaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

contemporaries and Vasukalpa and Abhinanda[1] were also of the same age.

656. **Balaramayana** relates in ten Acts the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. The narration often deviates from Rāmāyaṇa and the effect of such deviation has had a good dramatic effect. Rāvaṇa is from the beginuing represented as a rival of Ramā for the hand of Sīta and his love and longing are more prominent than his ferocity.[2] In describing the tale of Rāma Rājaśekhara might call himself an incarnation of Vālmīki, Mentha and Bhavabhūṭi.[3]

There are commentaries by J. Vidyāsāgara,[4] and Lakṣmaṇasūri,[5] and one anonymous.[6]

657. **Balabharata** or Pracanda-Pundava is incomplete. The two acts now available describe with vividity the marriage of Ḍraupaḍī, the loas of kingdom at dice, the public insult of Ḍraupaḍī and the departure of the Pāndavas to the forest.[7]

658. **Viddhasalabhanikam,**[8] is a nātika in four acts. King Canḍravarman of Lāta having no sons tries to pass his daughter Mṛgānkavatī as a boy and sends her to the queen of King Viḍyāḍhara of the Keralas. This leads as anticipated to a real marriage in secret between the king and the princess and the confidence was suddenly disclosed by a messenger who brings news of the birth of a son to Canḍravarman.

There are commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa,[9] by Ghanaśyāma and by

1. This must be Gaudābhinanḍa the author of the Kāḍambarikathasāra, see para 60 *supra*.

2. Ed. by G. D. Sastri Benares. The Acts are all named in the Mahānātaka.

3. बभूव वल्मीकभवः कविः पुरा ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्ठताम् ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः ॥

4. Ed. Calcutta.

5. Ed. Tanjore.

6. *Tanj.* VIII. 535.

7. Ed. Strassburg and Bombay. See generally Wilson, *Theatre* II. 361 ; Macdonnel, *SL*, 366.

8. Ed. Benares by Vāmanācarya. The name has been rendered as *The Lady of the Statue*. On this play generally, see Levi, *TI*, 247. Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 354 *Henry*, *SL*, 313. Tr. into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOS*, XXVII. 1 ff).

9. Ed. Poona. He was the son of Ranganātha and lived in 18th century. He also commented on Mālaṭi-Māḍhava, Hanumannātaka and Vāsavaḍaṭṭo (*CC*, I 292). *Tanj*, VIII. 3664-6.

his wives Surḍarī and Kamalā,[1] by Saṭyavraṭa,[2] by J. Viḍyāsāgara,[3] and by a pupil of Karuṇākara,[4] and by Vāsuḍeva.[5]

659. Karpuramanjari,[6] a Śattaka (in prakrit), in 4 acts, describes the vicissitudes of the loves of King Canḍrapāla with a princess of Kunṭala. the jealousy of the queen with the consequent impediments, the secret meetings of the lovers and the final marriage. The drama was enacted at the instance of his patron king for the pleasure of his own consort Avanṭī.

There are commentaries by (Kāmarāja, Ḍharmaḍāsa, Pīṭāmbara, Ḍharmacanḍra),[7] Vāsuḍeva,[8] by J. Viḍyāsāgara.[9] Kṛṣṇasūri,[10] Nṛsimharāja,[11] and Ananṭaḍāsa.[12]

Ruḍraḍāsa's Canḍralekā is a similar Sattaka in four acts describing the story of the marriage between Canḍralekhā and Manaveḍarāja. He was pupil of Śrīkantha of Malabar.[13]

660. Jalhaṇa quotes Rājaśekhara's eulogies of Ṭrilocana, Gaṇapaṭi, Praḍyumna, Bhīmata, Māyurāja and Kāḍambarīrāma. These poets must have lived before the 6 or 7th century AD.

कर्तुं त्रिलोचनादन्यो न पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।
तदर्थश्शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥
अधोगणपतिं वन्दे महामोदविधायिनम् ।
विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कण्ठगर्जितम् ॥

1. See para 166 *supra*.
2. Ed. Calcutta.
3. Ed. Calcutta.
4. Anonymous. *DC*, XXI. 8518.
5. *TC*. III. 8870. He was also called Sāhityamalla and was resident of Malabar. He was pupil of Karuṇākara.
6. On this play, see Konow's Int. to Edn. (*HOS*, Harward) Tr. into English by C. R. Lanman. See Schuyler, *Bibl* 176-77. There is another play of this name by Rajanīvallabha (*CC*. I. 82).

In the colophon of two manuscripts the play is ascribed to a Vācanācārya, pupil of Jinasāgara who is styled the "sun in the sky of Kharatara." Jinasāgara was the first high-priest of a new branch of the Kharatara sect which was established in Samvat 1686 or 1630. A.D. (See *IA*, XI. 250).

7. *CC*, I. 82, II. 15, III. 18, *PR*, IV. 25, V, 423.
8. Ed. Bombay.
9. Ed. Calcutta.
1. *DC*, XXI. 8355.
11. *TC*, III. 382. He was the son of Samuḍrabanḍhayajvan who wrote a commentary on the Seṭubanḍha.
12. *TC*, III. 3936. He was pupil of Kṛṣṇaśankaraguru, probably of Malabar.
13. *OML*, R. No. 3207.

प्रद्युम्नाभ्नापरस्येह नाटके पटवो गिरः ।
प्रद्युम्नाभ्नापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि शराः खराः ॥
कालञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पञ्चनाटकीम् ।
प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥
मायुराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यः (मा?) कालचुरिः कविः ।
उदन्वतस्समुत्तस्थुः कति वा तुहिनांशवः ॥

661. TRILOCANA's verses quoted by Śārngadhara allude to Bāṇa and Mayūra.

हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रमः ।
भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥
तावत्कविविहङ्गानां ध्वनिर्लोकेषु शस्यत ।
यावन्नो विशति श्रोत्रे मयूरमधुरध्वनिः ॥

Extracts from his PARTHAVIJAYA, a play on the exploits of Arjuna, are given in Śṛngāraprakāśa and Nāṭyadarpaṇa. Ganapaṭi's Mahāmoḍa was probably a play. Praḍyumna's plays are lost. Kaḍambarīrāma is also unknown, unless he is identical with Kaḍambarī Rāma Kṛṣṇa, the author of the play Aḍiṭikundalāharaṇa.

662. BHIMATA or Bhīmaḍeva was king of Kalinjara, a place 100 miles north-west of Prayāg. He wrote five dramas, all of which are now lost. Among them are Svapnaḍaśanana, Praṭibhācāṇakya,[4] and

1. See *JOR*, II. 243, for an account of the plac by R. Ramamurti.
2. *CC*, I, 2.
3. These are mentioned by Bhoja and Abhinavagupṭa and Rāmacanḍra who gives extracts from the last. *ND*, p. 144
4. अलङ्कारशास्त्रालङ्कारभूता अभिनवगुप्ताचार्याः नाटकमिदं द्विः उदाहरणाय स्वीकुर्वन्ति स्वकीयायामभिनवभारत्याम् :—

"भवतु तनयं लोके जातापशब्दपरम्परा-
परिचयमयी वार्ता कीर्तिं निकृष्य निकर्तनी ।"

प्रतिभाचाणक्ये महाकविना भीमेन राजाऽपि विन्ध्यकेतुः भूयसा व्यवहृतः
(*P*. 343, *Vol. II*) अभिनवभारती ।

प्रवेशकाबाहुल्येन तात्रचापसवत्सराजप्रतिभाचाणक्यमुद्राराक्षसादिषु ...
(*P*. 459, *Vol. II*) अभिनवभारती ।

उदाहृतात् गद्यद्वयात् नाटकस्य द्वे नामनी विद्येते 'प्रतिज्ञाचाणक्यं' 'प्रतिभाचाणक्यं' चेति, नाटकमिदं भीमो नाम कश्चन महाकविः निबबन्ध इत्यपि चावगच्छामः ।
—R. Ramamurti, in *Udyanapatrika*.

Manoramā-Vaṭsarāja. His son Vasunāga wrote the play Praṭimāniruḍḍha.[1]

663. Mayuraja[2] (Māṭrarāja) Anangaharṣa was a Kālacūri king who ruled over Ceḍi country, with his capital Māhiṣmaṭī.[3] He was the son of Narenḍravarḍhana. The word Māyurāja seems to be a version of the prākṛt Mā-u-rāja (माउराज) and Soddhala refers to him along with Vākpaṭi and Viśākhaḍeva :[4]

" सामन्तैश्च वाक्पतिजमाउराजविशाखदेवप्रभृतिभिः

Ḍāmodaraguptа deplores the demise of Anangaharṣa a patron actresses[5] Murāri derides Māhīṣmaṭī and its king Anangaharṣa.[6]

Abhinavaguptа, Bhoja, Ḍhanika, Hemacanḍra, Rāmacanḍra, Kunṭaka and Sarvānanḍa refer to and quote from Māyurāja's plays Udāṭṭarāghava and Ṭāpasavaṭsāraja.[7]

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1. Mentioned by Rāmacanḍra in *ND*, (p. 115-6) and Abhinavaguptа in AB Chap. 19.

2. On Māyurāja see M. R. Kavi, *JAH*, I. 155, Bhattanathāwami, *IA*. XLI. 139. There are quotations by Viśvanāṭha in his *SD*, p. 265, 310.

3. Māhiṣmaṭi is "Mahesvara or Mahes on the right bank of the Warbuda, 10 miles south of Indore. It was the capital of Haihaya or Anupadesa, the kingdom of the myriadheaded Kartaviryarjuna of the Purana" N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, 56. Ceḍi country embraces Behar and North Central Provinces.

4. Later the capital was changed to Ṭripura, modern Tewar near Jubbalpore.

5. वयमपि देवनिकेतनमनङ्गहर्षे गते त्रिदिवलोकम् ।
आश्रितवन्तो गत्या तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन ॥ (777)
इह तु कदाचित्किञ्चिद्वृत्तिनिरोधाभिशङ्कया निरुत्साहा ।
रत्नवळयामेता विदधति करपादविक्षेपम् ॥ (77)

Kuttinimita.

See para 310 *supra*. Bur N. L. Mehta (*JBORS*, XIV 353) says that Anangaharṣa' is only a titular name given to Harṣa, anothor of Priyaḍarśikā from the verse :

अनङ्गोयमनङ्गत्वमद्य निन्दिष्यति ध्रुवम् ।
यदनेन न सम्प्राप्तः पाणिस्पर्शोत्सवस्तव ॥

6. See under Murāri.

7. पुनरारब्धविश्रान्ते रसस्याङ्गिनोऽनुसन्धिश्च यथा तापसवत्सराजे...*Abhinavabharati.*
शृङ्गारानन्तरं नियमेन करुणे व्याप्रियते । तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे–*Lūcana.*

In illustrating *anka* in poems, स्वाभिप्रायस्वनामेष्टनाममङ्गळाङ्कितसमाप्तित्वं in Kāvyanuśāsana (p. 335), Hemacanḍra gives illustration : तेष्वभिप्रायाङ्कता यथा धैर्यं मायुराजस्य, उत्साहः सर्वसेनस्य, अनुरागः प्रवरसेनस्य । स्वनामाङ्कता यथा राजशेखरस्य हरविलासे । इष्टनामाङ्कता यथा लक्ष्म्यङ्कता किराते भारवेः । श्रयङ्कता शिशुपालवधे माघस्य । मङ्गळाङ्कता यथा अभ्युदयः कृष्णचरिते, जयाः उषाहरणे, आनन्दः पञ्चशिखस्य शूद्रककथायामिति ।

Uḍāṭṭarāghava in based on Rāmāyana. Ṭāpasavaṭsarāja relates the story of the life of Uḍayana, king of Kausambi in Vatsas, the second half of it narrated in 2nd and 3rd Lambhakas of Kaṭhāsariṭ-sāgara. The first half is the story of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā and the second of Paḍmāvaṭi.[1]

"To strengthen the suggestion that *Tapasavatsaraja* might be an older work than *Ratnavali* arguments are not wanting. Before Sri Harsha, the themes of the marriages of Vāsavadatta and Padmāvati were exhausted by Subandhu, Sūdraka, Bhāsa, and probably Māyurāja and hence Ratnāvali who takes the place of Padmāvati in the original story of Udayana has been newly invented while the marriage of Padmāvati, the central theme of this work exists even in Bṛhatkatha. If the Kashmerian version is thought as an improvement upon later dramas in Sanskrit, the Nepalese version also contains it.

महाक्रोधनस्यापि भार्याबद्धिर्व्दये स्थिता (?)
तस्य वासवदत्तायां पद्मावत्यां च भूपतेः ॥

Udayana is the hero of a cycle of dramas and *kavyas* in early centuries of the Christian era both before and after, for Subandhu a contemporary of Bindusāra, introduced in his Vāsavadatta a series of inter-dramas, one in another. Bhāsa used the same theme in his *Svapnavasavadatta*. If the printed edition does not represent the real work of Bhāsa in entirety the story is the same and the author of

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Bhoja quotes a verse probably from *Udattaraghava* whose latter half coincides with the latter portion of a verse at the end of the first act in our drama. This shows that even if *Udattaraghava* is not his work there must be another yet not available to us.

सन्ध्याकान्तिकषायितेन नभसा प्रत्यक्षसन्नं शनै-
र्लीलावेश्मनि दीपरश्मिजटिलं नीलं तमो जृम्भते ।
वेल्लद्बाहुलताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित-
व्यापाराः प्रनियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ *Udattaraghava.*
प्रारब्धो मणिदीपयष्टिषु समं पातः पतङ्गैरितो
गन्धान्धैराभितो मधुव्रतकुलैरुत्पक्ष्मभिस्स्थीयते ।
वेल्लद्बाहुलताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित—
व्यापाराः प्रतियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥*Tapasavatsaraja.*

Under these circumstances on the strength of Sarvananda alone *Tapasavatsaraja* may be ascribed to Mayuraja, the author of *Udattaraghava*." —M. R. Kavi.

1. Edited by M. R. Kavi. Madras with an introduction. Hultsch says that the author is indebted to Buddhist sources for his plot. Nachrichten Wissenschaffin, 886. No. 7.

Natyadarapana quotes from it as भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते and Bhoja gives the explanation of the word Svapnavāsavadatta as

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थां द्रष्टुं राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः...वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श । स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे...

There is a drama called *Manoramavatsaraja* written by Bhimaṭa who according to Rājasēkhara was the author of five dramas in which *Svapanadasanana* is mentioned by Bhōja. We know that Manōrama was the handmaid of Priyadarśika who was set to put on the character of Udayana in the inter drama in it. Viśākhadēva, now assigned to the court of Chandragupta II, wrote three dramas (*Mudrarakshasa*, *Devīchandraqupta* and *Abhisarikavanchitaka*) and in the last of these Padmāvatī s characterised as murderess of Udayana's son. This terrible characterisation of Padmāvati was probably borrowed from the Buddhist *Jataka* stories where Mākandika or Anupama, an envious creature, dupes Udayana."[1]

664. **Saktibhadra** belonged to Dakṣiṇāpaṭha (Deccan). Beyond this general statement in the prologue[2] there is nothing to indicate the place of his birth or sojourn. He is held the high esteem in Malabar and his play Cūdāmaṇi is known to the Sakyars, professional players of Malabar along with some of the plays attributed to Bhāsa,[3] with which it exhibits similar peculiarities of dramaturgy.[4] Tradition says that he was a pupil of Śankarācārya. Leaving aside Ādi Śankara of pre-Christian period Śankarācāryas of equal fame flourished in the 8th and 9th centuries and if Śaktibhadra was a desciple of an Ācārya of that period, he might have lived about 800 A.D. The surprise expressed in the prologue that the south produced a dramatic work shows that other plays of merit had not been known then in Malabar and from this it is inferred that Kulaśekhara's plays of about the 10th century were of a later date. There is parity of idea and expression in some verses of Cūdāmaṇi and Bhattanārayana's Veṇīsamhāra which may show that Śakṭibhadra was well famiiiar with Veṇīsamhāra. These considerations

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1. M. R. Kavi, Int. to Edn, *o. c.*

2. आर्यें दाक्षिणापथादागतमाश्चर्यचूडामणिं नाम नाटकमभिनयाम्रेडितसौभाग्यमभिलषाम इति ।

3. In a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, *DC*, XX. 8382. Cudāmaṇi is found written along with Abhiṣeka and Praṭimā.

4. The play begins with नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः the word स्थापना in used instead of प्रस्तावना.

make the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century a likely date for Saktibhadra.[1]

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1. S. Kuppusami Sastri sums up these arguments in his introduction to edn.

R Vasudevasarma (Hindu 2nd Feb. 1927) thus summarises the views of S. Kuppusami Sastri, on the connection between Saktibhadra and "Bhasa's" plays and refutes them.

The arguments of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar are:—(1) That these plays are what are called "Chakkiar plays" and being such are relegated to the last place in the "Attaprakaram" where 14 plays are being treated of, the order adopted being 1 and 2 "Tapatisamvarana" and "Subhadradhananjaya" of Kulasekhara Varmn 3 "Nagananda" of Sriharsha 4 "Ascaryacudamani" of Saktibhadra, 5 "Kalyana-saugandhika" of Nilakantha, 6 an anonymous poet's Krishnacarita and 7 to 14 being eight plays ascribed to Bhasa, thereby indicating the contemporaneity or, may be, a chronology as evidenced by the order of mention;

(2) That the oldest Sanskrit play in South India was possibly "Ascaryacudamani" by Saktibhadra as in his "Sthapana" to that play Saktibhadra himself distinctly says "Sir! Novel indeed is it to hear that a dramatic composition should hail from the south! Likelier still that the horizon should burst to blooms and the sands yield some oil";

(3) That Saktibhadra announces himself as the author of an "Unmada-Vasavadatta and other works," that this play might be the same as the present "Pratignayaugan-dharayana;"

(4) That inasmuch as "Ascaryacudamani" was found written alongside of "Abhisheka" and "Pratimanataka" in manuscript they were all written by the same author, viz., Saktibhadra;

(5) That the departure from the injunctions of Bharata were not peculiar to these dramas, as in fact all the South Indian dramas exhibited the same characteristic (vide "Bhagavadajjukiyam". "Mattavilasaprahasanam". etc);

(6) That Bhamaha might have referred to Brihatkatha and not necessarily to the "Pratignayaugandharayana";

(7) That Kautilya is found quoting from a work called "Manugita" as is disclosed by Madhavayajvan's "Nayacandrika";

(8) That the quotation by Abhinavagupta beginning with "Sancitapakshma-kavatam" taken expressly from Svapnavasavadatta is not to be found in the Trivandrum drama;

(9) That there is no "krida" or sport in the 'Svapnavasavadatta" which according to Abhinavagupta's, "Abhinavabharati" should be characteristic of that drama;

(10) That quotations in anthologies ascribed to Bhasa by name are not to be found in the published plays;

(11) That "Carudatta" is but a crude abridgement of Sudraka's "Mricchakatika";

(12) That Mahasena's queen behaved much like a latter day Malayalee lady and used "Sambandham" in the sense of marriage (Pratigna p. 37 and 73) quite as they are used to-day in Malayalam;

(13) That "Avimaraka" uses "Vicaritam" in the vernacular sense of "enquired";

(14) and that 'the exceptional degree of solicitude and respect for 'matula" (uncle) shown in the duplicated "abhivadana" (salutation) betrays the influence of "Marmakkattayam custom."

In the play Ascaryacudāmaṇi,[1] the introduction of Āscaryacudāmaṇi and Adbhuṭānguliyaka to act as a charm to detect fraud and disguise in the creation of fictitious Rāma, Sīṭā and Lakṣmaṇa acts as the main proof of the sentiment.

" The seven acts which compose the play present in dramatic form episodes of the Ramayana—the coming of Surpanakha into Rama's hut, her mutilation by Rama, the rape of Sita by Ravana, his passion for her in Lanka, Hanuman's visit to Lanka, and the final scenes where Rama, after his victory over Ravana, ascertains Sita's purity by the fire-ordeal and a message delivered by Narada and it takes its name from the miraculous crest-jewel and ring given to Rama and Sita by the hermits."[2]

Here are some of his fine ideas:

क्वेदं वनं वनचरैरपि दुर्द्विगाहं केयं वधूः कुवलयच्छविचारुनेत्रा ।
हेमारविन्दमकरन्दरसोपयोगां कश्श्रधीत जलधौ कलहंसकन्याम् ॥

नियमाभिषेकजटिलं तपोवने दिनवल्लरीकुसुममात्रमण्डनम् ।
रचयामि देवि रथयानवेगतः श्लथितं शिरोरुहनिबन्धनं तव ॥

वसुदेवमहीभुजः प्रियेयं पतिरस्माकमपामिवैष राशिः ।
अनयोरयमन्तराभवन्ती मयकन्या क्षितिपालिनीव वेला ॥

अरुणे परिशीर्णमञ्जलौ निपतन्तो नयनोदबिन्दवः ।
शकलीकृतमौक्तिकत्विषो हिमलेशा इव पङ्कजोदरे ॥

The arguments advanced by Mr. Hirananda Sastri are much in the samo strain, additional reasons being:

(15) That the patron Rajasimha referred to by Bhasa might be some Pallava Prince of the 6th or 7th century A.D.

(16) That the Pratimagriha in the Pratimanataka might have been borrowed from the sculptured rocks of Mahabalipuram of the 6th century A.D.

(17) That the great resemblances, coincidences to the extent of expressions, and casts even, must be due to plagiarism.

(18) And that possibly there might have been two "Svapnavasavadatta natakas" and two "Balacaritas", the other unrecovered one being Bhasa's.

1. Ed. by S. Kuppusami Sastri Madras, with a valuable introduction where he incidentally says that the plays attributed to Bhāsa are not his.

On Śaktibhadra, see A. Krishna Pisharoti, *Bhasa's works* (Sridhara Press, Trivandrum) and A. Kishna Pisharoti and A. Rama Pisharoti, *Bhasa's works. Are they genuine?* (*Bull. of London Sch. of Or. Studies*, III. 107-117).

The prologue calls Śaktibhadra, author of Unmādavāsavadaṭṭa and other Kāvyas, but there are not now available.

See articles by T. K. Kishna Menon in *Annals*, VIII. 43.

2. F. Thomas, review in *JRAS*, (1927), 352.

The description of Kāñcī is enchanting :

देवि द्रविडमण्डलमौळिमण्डनमाणिक्यमणिस्तत्रकमिदं काञ्चीनामधेयमायतनं मनिकेतनस्य ॥

(सीतामपवार्य) इह हि—

खेदजलपिच्छिलाभिस्तनुभिर्यूनां च शिथिलमाश्लेषम् ।
विपुलं पुलकाशलाकपटलं घटिति प्रतिकरोति ॥ अपि च—
अभिमुखपतयाङ्कुभिर्ललाटश्रमसलिलैरवधूतपत्रलेखः ।
कथयति पुरुषायितं वधूनां मृदितहिमद्युतिनिर्मलः कपोलः ॥ vii 106 7

and so is the devout obeisance of Bhīmeśvara to the Sapta-Godāvari and to Māhākāla of Ujjain and to Gangā.

विभीषणः—देव प्रणम्यतामयमान्ध्रविषयलक्ष्म्याः सप्तगोदावरहारकलापिकनायको भगवान् भीमेश्वरः । रामः – (कृताञ्जलिः)

नृत्यारम्भपरित्रसद्गिरिसुतारिक्तार्थसम्पूर्तये
निर्व्यूढभ्रमिविभ्रमाय जगतामीशाय तुभ्यं नमः ।
यच्चूडाभुजगेश्वरप्रभृतिभिस्तादृग्भ्रमन्तीर्दिशः
पश्यद्भिर्भ्रमघूर्णमाननयनैश्शान्तोऽपि न श्रद्धधे ॥ vii. 104

विभीषणः— इहैवायमलकायाश्शाखानगरगौरवभाजि त्रिपुरदहनाधिष्ठानप्रतिष्ठो भगवान्महाकालनाथः । अयं हि

उद्दामभ्रमिवेगाविस्तृतजटावल्लीप्रणालीपतत्-
स्वर्गङ्गाजलदण्डिकावलयितं निर्माय तत्पञ्जरम् ।
सम्भ्राम्यद्भुजदण्डपक्षपटलद्वन्द्वेन हंसायित-
स्त्रैलोक्यव्ययनाटिकानयनरङ्गस्वामी जगत्त्रायताम् ॥

रामः—(प्राञ्जलिः)

नमस्तुभ्यं देवासुरमुकुटमाणिक्यकिरण-
प्रणालीसम्भेदस्नपितचरणाय स्मरजिते ।
महाकल्पस्वाहाकृतभुवनचक्रेऽपि नयने
निरोद्धुं भूयस्तत्प्रसरमिव कामं हुतवते ॥ vii. 112

रामः—(सहर्षम्)

गौरीविभज्यमानार्धसङ्कीर्णहरमूर्धनि ।
अम्ब द्विगुणगम्भीरे भागीरथि नमोऽस्तुते ॥

(सीतां प्रति) देवि, विन्दस्व ।

देवस्याम्बुजसम्भवस्य भवनादम्भोधिमागामुका
सेयं मौळिविभूषणं भगवतो भर्गस्य भागीरथी ।
उद्घातानपहाय विग्रहमिव स्रोतः प्रदीपानिव
स्रोतस्तीव्रतरत्वरा गमयति द्राग्ब्रह्मलोकं जनान् ॥ vii. 118-9

665. **Murari** was the son of Varḍhamāna and Ṭanṭumaṭī of Mouḍgalyagoṭra. On the age of Murāri, there is some uncertainty. Raṭnākara in his Haravijaya has a verse, where there is a punning reference to Murāri as a playwright,[1] and Raṭnākara was in the Court of King Avanṭivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.[2] In the course of Rāma's ærial car on his way back to Ayoḍhya, Murāri describes among other cities Māhiṣmaṭī, the capital of the Kalacuri dynasty and of the Cediterritory, and by the middle of the 8th century A.D. Kalacuri kings had left Māhiṣmaṭī and became settled in two lines at the capitals Tṛipurī and Raṭnapura. On these considerations Murāri may be assigned to the end of the eighth century A.D. and to the beginning of the 9th century A.D.[3]

666. His **Anargharaghava** in 7 acts is an elaborate play on the story of Rāmāyaṇa and for his merit and eloquence he has been called Bāla Vālmīki and from the beauty of a particular verse he is known as Indru Murāri. His diction is chaste and learned and though sometimes not very perspecuous displays an impressive scholarship. To a mind saturated with the conventional *similitudes*, **his** *similes*,

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1. अङ्कोत्थनाटक इवोत्तमनायकस्य
नाशं कविर्व्यधत यस्य मुरारिरित्थम् । xxxvii. 167.

2. इयं च कलचुरिनरेन्द्रसाधारणाग्रमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चेदिमण्डलमुण्डमाला नगरी । इह हि—

आश्लेषचुम्बनरतोत्सवकौतुकादिक्रीडादुरोदरपणप्रतिभूरनङ्गः ।
भोगस्तु यद्यपि जये च पराजये च यूनोर्मनस्तदपि वाञ्छति जेतुमेव ॥

It is not unlikely that Murāri is ridiculing Kalacuri king Anangaharṣa Māyurāja who was the author of Uḍāṭṭarāghava and is known by tradition, to have been enjoying the company of actors (and women). So it is said in Kuttinimaṭa. (see para 663 *supra*) If Anangaharṣa had lived just before the author of Kuttinimaṭa, Murāri may have been his contemporary.

See *EI*, VIII App. I. 16, 17.

3. If the allusions to Murāri (our author) by **Raṭnākara** and by Murāri to Mālaṭī-Maḍhava or Anangaharṣa cannot be accepted, it is certain he lived in the 11th century, because he is quoted by Mankha, Śāraḍāṭanaya and Kavīnḍravacana-samuccya and not mentioned by Bhoja or Abhinavagupṭa.

On Murāri generally, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*. XXVII. 74 ; XXXVI. 377-8 ; *CC*. I. 462 ; II. 106 ; Peterson. *Subh*, 91 ; PR. IV. xcvii ; Bhandarkar, *BR* (1897) xx, xl ; Durgaprasad's Int. to Anargharāghava ; Thomas, *Kav*. 71 ; Schuyler, 71-2 ; Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 375.

often original, strike as peculiar, but they are quite natural all the same.[1] Many of his verses show lyrical harmony, but his style must generally be characterised as magnificient. He is one of those poets whom European critics have been unable to appreciate, but the fault is on the side of the critics only, for none will agree with Wilson's thought that Hindu pandits have shown Murāri an unjust preference, for " the Hindus of these days are little able to estimate purity of conception, delicacy of feeling or brilliancy of fancy." But these are the very qualities with which Anargharāghava is replete. The play has been considered a standard for poetic criticism and grammatical learning. In his Siḍḍhānta-Kaumudi, Nagojibhatta cites Murāri's expressions as authority.[2]

There are commentaries on the play by Pūrṇasarasvaṭi,[3] Harihara,[4] Mānavikrama[5] Rucipaṭiḍaṭṭa,[6] Ḍharmānaṇḍa,[7] Kṛṣṇa, son of Varaḍa,[8] Lakṣmiḍhara *alias* Rāmānandāśrama,[9] Viṣṇupandiṭa,[10] Viṣṇubhatta, son of Mukṭinātha,[11] Lakṣmaṇasūṛi,[12] Jinaharṣagani,[13] (Śrīniḍhi, Puruṣoṭṭama, Ṭripurāri),[14] Naracanḍra,[15] (Abhirāma, by Bhāvanāṭhamiśra),[16] by Ḍhaneśvara, son Uḍaya and one annonymous.

1. So it is said मुरारेस्तृतीयः पन्थाः ।

मुरारिपदचिन्ताचेत्तदा माघे मतिं कुरु ।
मुरारिपदचिन्ताचे………… ॥
मुरारिपदचिन्तायां भवभूतेस्तु का कथा ।
भवभूतिं परित्यज्य मुरारिमुररीकुरु ॥

2. Here is a verse in praise of Murāri—

भवभूतिमनादृत्य निर्वाणमतिना मया ।
मुरारिपदचिन्तायामिदमाधीयते मनः ॥ *Śārngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi.*

3. *TC*, III. 3880.
4. *Tanj.* VIII. 3315.
5. *TC*, II. 2580.
6. Ed, Bombay. Of Khaukula family. Written at the instance of King Bhirava *alias* Harināṛāyaṇa, son of Narasimhaḍeva, probably of Orissa who ruled also 1236 A.D.
7. Son of Rāmabala of Bharatpur. *DC*, XXI. 8355.
8. *DC*, XXI. 8357. *Tanj.* VIII. 3322. *SR*, II. 67, 209. *TC*, II. 1450.
9. *DC*, XXI. 8359. *Tanj.* VIII. 3319.
10. *DC*, XXI. 8360.
11. *Ibid.* 8381.
12. Ed. Madras.
13. *PR*, IV 25.
14. *CC*, I. 15.
15. *Ibid. SKC*, 77.
16. Mentioned in Int. to Bombay Edn.

Lakṣmīḍhara was son of Yagneśvara and brother of Cerukuri Konḍubhatta. After he became sanyāśi, he was named Rāmānanḍa-swāmi. Kondubhatta's son Yagneśvara wrote Alankārarāghava, Alankārasūryoḍaya and commented on his son Venkateśvara's Ciṭrabanḍha-ramāyāṇa composed in Saka 1557 (1635 A.D.).[1]

667. **Mahanataka**[2] traditionally known as the work of Hanūman himself was for long lost, until fragments of it were washed ashore from the sea on inscribed slabs and restored during the reign of king Bhoja of Dhar. It is said that Vālmīki became alarmed that with the rival work of Hanūman his own poem would go to the shade and with the leave of Hanūman, cast off Mahānātaka into the sea.[3] Bhojacariṭra records an anecdote of some verses attributed to Hanūmān being discovered by a merchant engraved on rocks on the seashore and Bhoja deciphered on the spot a verse which is found in the present drama. In the form in which we have it, it is a voluminous work, more a poem than a play and often we discover verses of other authors freely imported into it. The sentiments are lofty and ideas fanciful.

A poet Hanūmān has written Khandapraśasṭi, a series of sṭoṭras on Visṇu's incarnation on which there are commentaries by Gāngaḍāṣa, Raghunāṭha, Jayasomagaṇi and Guṇavijayagaṇi.

Śāraḍāṭanaya who wrote Bhāvaprakāśa in 12-13 century A.D. instances (at p. 245) Mahāṇātaka as a drama of Samagra (full) type:

सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्नं सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ।
समग्रं तत्प्रतिनिधिः महानाटकमुच्यते ॥

We may therefore assign the composition of this play latest to the days of king Bhoja in the 10th century A.D.[4]

The work as it is, is found in two recensions[5] wholly different from each other, in contents and extent. Of these the one by DAMODARA seems to be the earlier.[6] It was probably made up during

1. See para 341 *supra*.
2. *Bhav.* pp. 200, 212, 232, 237. See article by R. Ramamurti in *Udyānapatrikā*.
3. Mitra V.
4 Śāraḍāṭanaya's approval of this play indicates that the recension he had with him was considered to be an original drama worthy of citation by a rherorician. It is therefore possible that verses of other authors found in the present editions might have been later interpolations.
5. Schuyler, *Bibl.* 35-7.
6. Ed. Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 363-73.

the reign of Bhoja himself and is quoted by name in his Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa.[1] Dāmodara was the compiler or restorer.[2] His work is in 14 acts dealing with the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa in it. With two verses of benediction the play opens and continues and there is not the prelude or the mention cf the Sūtradhārā.[3]

There are commentaries on it by Mohanadāsa[4] and by R. Siromani.[5]

The second recension is the work of MADHUSUDANA's.[6] It has only 9 acts and is short in narrative.

There are commentaries on it by (Candraśekhara, Nārāyaṇa)[7] and Mohanadása.[8]

Mahānātaka-Sudhānidhi is in the nature of an anthology of the story of Rāmāyaṇa, composed by king Immedi Devaraya V of Vijianagar.[9]

668. Hastimalla, son of Govinda of Śrīvatsagotra, became a Jain. Ayyapārya says in his Jinendrakalyāṇacampū composed in Sam. 1375 that Hastimalla was so named because he fought with an elephant. For this act of prowess he was eulogised by the Pandya King[10] in a hundred verses in open assembly. His father was a remote disciple of Guṇabhadra, the disciple of Jinasena who lived about Saka 705.

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1. See *JRAS*, (1897), 287 ff.

2. रचितमनिलपुत्रेणाथ वाल्मिकिनाब्धौ
निहितममृतबुद्ध्या प्राङ्महानाटकं तत् ।
सुमतिनृपतिभोजेनोद्धृतं तत्क्रमेण
ग्रथितमवतु विश्वं मिश्रदामोदरेण ॥

Dāmodara, author of the play Kamsavadha (*CC*, I. 77) and author Vāṇibhuṣaṇa (a work on prosody, *SKC*, 55) and Dāmodara son of Viśvanātha, author of Bhagavatprasādacarita (*SKC*, 371) are different. Schuyler (Bitt) makes the author of Vāṇibhuṣaṇa identical with the author of Mahānātaka.

3. Tr. into English by K. K. Bahadur (Calcutta)

4. Ed. Bombay,

5. Calcutta.

6. Ed. Calcutta. *DC*, XXI 8449

7. *CC*, I. 433, II. 100, 216.

8. Ed. Bombay.

9. *Tanj*. VIII. 3704; *TC*, I. 879: II. 2115. See *SII*, I. 110.

10. See para 259 *supra*. For discussion on the date of Sundarapāndya Jāṭavarman see *IA*, XXII. 219. On Pāndya rules see *IA*, XLII. 163, 221, XLIV. 165, 189, 245. K. V. Subramania Ayyar, *Earliest manuscripts of the Pandya country and their inscriptions.*

Hasṭimalla probably lived in the 9th century A.D. Besides the poem Āḍipurāṇa, Purucariṭa and Udayanarājakāvya, Hasṭimalla wrote several dramas of which the known are Arjunaraja,[1] Bharaṭarāja,[2] Meghesvara,[3] Maiṭhilīpariṇaya,[4] Subhaḍrāharaṇa,[5] Anjanāpavananjaya[6] and Vikrānṭa-kaurava.[7]

669. Ksemisvara was the grand nephew of Vijayaprakoṣṭha and votary of Śiva. He was a poet of the Court of King Mahīpālaḍeva who ruled at Kanouj (9–10th century A.D). His CANDAKAUSIKA, a play in 5 acts, describes the story of Hariścanḍra and his truthful stand against Viśvâmiṭra's persecutions. "The play presents a vivid picture of the workings of a curse uttered by an angry priest Kausika against an upright king who had innocently offended him. The king forfeits his realm, and loses his wife and child, the latter by death and his consort by being sold into slavery. Though tried to the utmost the job-like patience of the righteous monarch never fails and in the end he has his wife, his son and his kingdom restored to him by divine intervention so that all ends in happiness."[8] Kṣemīśvara was probably the author of the play Naiṣadhānanḍa on the story of Nala.[9]

670. Ksemendra[10] wrote some dramas two of which are quoted in his Aūciṭyavicāracarcā Of these Lalīṭaraṭnamālā has been noticed[11] and Ciṭrabhārata[12] is another.

1. *Op.* II. 316 ; *CC*, I 30.
2. *Op.* II. 325.
3. *Op.* II. 326.
4. Printed Bombay. There is a play Maiṭhilīnāṭaka by a Jain author mentioned in *Rice* 304.
5. *Mys.* 287. There is a Śrigaḍita of this name by Mādhavabhatta (Printed, Bombay). There are plays named Subhaḍrāpariṇaya by Raghunāṭhācārya (*Op.* 726, 2125) and a Cāyānātaka by Rāmaḍeva (*CC*, I. 728) and a play Subhaḍrāvijaya (*Op.* 3079).
6. *Mys. OML*, 272.
7. Ed. by Mohanlal, Bombay, with an introduction. *TC*, II. 1688.
8. Ed. Bombay, Mysore, Calcutta (with a commentary by Tarkālankāra and and again with a commentary by Viḍyāsagara.) On Kṣemīśvara and the play, see M. Schuyler, *Bibl.* 12, 66.

Other plays dealing with the story of Hariścanḍra are Hariścanḍrayaśaścanḍracanḍrikā of unknown authorship (*CCI*, 761) and Rāmacanḍra's Śatya-Hariścanḍra.

9. *PR*, III. 21, 340.
10. See para 69 *supra*.
11. See para 69 *supra*.
12. It is also quoted in Kavikanthābharaṇa p. 130,

यथा मम चित्रभारते नाटके—

नदीबृन्दोद्दामप्रसरसलिलापूरिततनुः
स्फुरत्स्फातिज्वालानिबिडबडवाग्निक्षतजलः ।
न दर्पं नो दैन्यं स्पृशति बहुसत्वः पतिरपा-
मवस्थानां भेदाद्भवति विकृतिर्नैव महताम् ॥

Kanakajānakī was also his play and is quoted in his Kavikanthābharaṇa (p. 131).

रसगतो यथा मम कनकजानक्याम्—

अत्रार्यः खरदूषणत्रिशरसां नादानुबन्धोद्यमे
मन्थाने भुवनं त्वया चकितया योद्धा निरुद्धः क्षणम् ।
सस्नेहास्सरसास्सहासरभसास्सभ्रूभ्रमास्सस्पृहाः
सोत्साहास्त्वयितद्गले च निदधे दोलायमाना दृशः ॥

671. Vigraharajadeva (IV) or Vīsalaḍeva, (Cahamana of Sakambhari or Sambhar was son and successor of Arnorāja.[1] He successfully waged war against Musalman invaders.[2] His play HARAKELI represents the story of the fight between Arjuna and Śiva (that is, Kirāṭārjunīya) and the gift of the mystical weapon, Pāśupaṭa. The play is inscribed on stone at Ajmere above date Samvat 1210 (1153 A.D.)[3] There is a verse of Vigraharājaḍeva quoted in Subhāṣiṭāvalī. In honour of this king, SOMADEVA[4] composed the plays Laliṭavigraharāja, also inscribed there in stone. It treats of the love of the king to Desalaḍevī, daughter of king Vasanṭapāla at Inḍrapura. There is a reference to the battle with Hammīra, but the battle does not take place.

672. Ramacandra[5] was the famous one-syed pupil of Hemacandra and lived in 12th century. "Two legends are connected with regard to this circumstance. According to them, Ramacandra was

1. This is according to Pṛthvirājavijaya, but according to Siwalikh pillar inscription, Dehli, (*IA*, XIX. 215) his father was Avellaḍeva.

2. See *IA*. XIX. 218.

3. For extracts and accounts by Kielhorn, see *IA*, XIX. 215; XX. 201-212 (at Ajmeer dated Sam. 1210—22nd Nov, 1153 A D); *Trubner's Record*, II. 65-66; *Got. Nach*. XIII. 552-570; *VOJ*, VII. 191.

4. Someśvara, author of Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara, was a different poet. So also Someśvaradeva, author of Rāmāyaṇanāṭaka (*CC*, I. 524).

5. Rāmacandra, author of Ainḍavānanḍa, a play in 8 acts on the story of Yāyāṭi (*Tanj*. VIII. 3354) was the son of Śrīharṣa and patronised by a Canda king of Bengal. Rāmacanḍra, author of Vāsanṭikā (*CC*, I. 556, III, 120) was a different author.

unruly and when taken before the sage Jayamna he made him have a single eye to the furthering of the Jain faith. On this Ramaçandra lost one of his bodily eyes.[1] According to the other legend the loss was the punishment for criticism passed by Ramacandra in spite of the warning of his teacher on a poem of Sripala's." He is reported to be the author of a hundred works,[2] of which only a few are now available. Of these some are dramas,[3] Nalavilāsa,[4] Raghuvilāsa, Rāghavābhyudaya, Yādavābbyudaya, Nirbhayabhīma, Vanamālikā, Mallikāmakaranḍa, Saṭyahariścanḍra,[5] and Kaumuḍīmiṭrānanḍa.[6]

Rāmacanḍra along with Guṇacanḍra wrote a treatise on dramas, NATYADARPANA. It is valuable in literary history for its quotations from various works of great merit, now lost to us.[7]

Of the several plays mentioned or quoted from are :—(1) Viśakhaḍeva's Ḍevīcanḍraguptam (2) Amāṭya Śankuka's Ciṭroṭpalāvalambiṭakaprakaraṇam (3) Puṣpaḍuṣiṭakam (4) Sri Sūkṭivāsakumāra's Anangasenā-Harinanḍinī-prakarana (5) Kṛṭyārāvaṇam (6) Chaliṭarāmam (7) Ṭāpasavaṭsarājam (8) Bālikāvanciṭakam (9) Pāndavānanḍam (10) Anangavaṭīnātikā (11) Kṣīraswamin's Abhinavarāghavam (12) Uḍāṭṭarāghavam (13) Bhīmaparākramam (14) Ḍharmapālam (15) Bhattaśrī Bhavanuṭacūḍa's Kośalikānātikā, (16) Māyāpuṣpakam (17) Inḍulekhā-nāṭikā (18) Bhejjala's Rāḍhāvipralambham (19) Ṭarangaḍaṭṭam (20) Bhīmata's Manoramāvaṭsarājam (21) Ḍariḍracāruḍaṭṭam (22) Pārṭhavijayam (23) Vilakṣa-Ḍuryoḍhanam (24) Bhāṣa's Svāpnavāsavaḍaṭṭam (the quotation made is not found in Ganapati Sastri's edition) (25) Prayogābhyuḍayam (26) Mallikāmakaranḍam and Vanamālā (27) Saṭyahariścanḍra (28) Rohiṇī-mṛgānkam (29) Kaumuḍīmiṭrānanḍam (30) Bhimāḍeva's Svapnāḍaśananam and Praṭimāniruḍḍham.

673. Devacandra was a pupil of Hemacanḍra Iu the Court of King Kumārapāla, he wrote the play Canḍralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa, in 5 acts, enacted at the spring festival of Ajiṭanāṭha. At the end of it is a praśasti mentioning Kumārapala's victory over Arṇorāja.[8]

1. *PR*, IV. 16, V. 144; Buhler's *Hemacandra*, 19, 46.
2. *PR*, IV. vi.
3. *CC*, III. 60, 104, 107, 102, I. 293.
4. Anarghanalacarita is a play on Nala's story by Suḍarśanācārya of Pancanada (Tiruvadi, Tanjore District).
5. Printed, Bombay. Ed. by Mario Valladri at Florence with an Italian translation.
6. Printed, Bhownagar.
7. Ed. *GOS* with an elaborate introduction.
8. *Jes. Cat.* 64.

674. Jayadeva[1] was the son of Mahādeva and Sumitrā of Kauṇḍinya gotra and pupil of Harimiśra. He was probably a native of Viḍarbha in Northern India. For the excellence of his poetic composition, he was called Pīyūṣa. Though a Śaiviṭe in religion, he was an ardent devotee of Rāma. Among his works are Sītāvihāra,[2] Prasannarāghava and Candrāloka.[3] In the prologue to his play Prasannarāghava, Jayadeva eulogises Bhāsa, Kāliḍāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra and Cora.[4] Verses from this drama are quoted in Jalhaṇa's Sūkṭimukṭāvali (composed on 1247 A D.).[5] Seeing that Bhoja does not mention this work, it may be safe to assign its composition to the 12th century A.D. The tradition current in Bengal on the identity of this Jayaḍeva with the logician of that name who bore the title Pakṣaḍhara may be true.[6]

"In the Prologue, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama, that he objected to being called 'prince of players' owing to the fact that his elder brother was living, that the title should be conferred on the latter and that he wrote a drama called Haracaparopana which was acted at the court of a king called Ratijanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor. A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated the fame to himself. Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukantha and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of Southern India.

While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying off Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadiksita's modification of the Candraloka and commenting upon the work. Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the court of a king of

1. See Peterson, *Subh*. 37. Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXVII. 207 identifies this Jayaḍeva, with the author of Gīṭagovinḍa. This is a mistake apparent from the names of their respective parents.

2. See Peterson, *l.c.* 39.

3. *DC*, VIII. No. 3998. *CC*, I. 723.

4. I. 22. Cora does not mean Bilhaṇa as has been commonly supposed.

5. See S.M. Paranjpe, Int. to Edn. Poona.

6. Jayaḍeva is described as a logician in the prologue to this drama. His Āloka is the earliest commentary on Ṭaṭvacinṭamaṇi of Gangeśa. Gangeśa lived about 1120 A.D. for Gangeśa mentions Uḍayana, Nyāyalīlāvaṭikāra (Vallabha) and Śrī Harṣa. These dates make the identity probable.

Southern India where Appayyadiksita was living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled."[1]

675. Prasanna-Raghava is a drama in seven acts, embracing the story of Rāmāyaṇa. The author has introduced several alterations in the original story to give to his work an extraordinary dramatic effect. The first act is very amusing where the demons Bāṇa and Rāvaṇa are brought together as Sītā's suitors and ridiculed. The last act introduces a pair of Viḍyāḍharas, who describe the battle and the purification and restoration of Sīṭā. The return in the ærial car and the coronation of Rāma conclude the story[2]

There are commentaries on it by Lakṣmīḍhara,[3] by Venkatārya,[4] by Raghunanḍana,[5] by Lakṣmaṇa,[6] by Narasimha or Rājarāya.[7]

676. Prahladana was the son of Yaśoḍhavala and brother of Ḍhārāḍhavala, of the Paramāra dynasty of Mt. Abu whose capital was at Canḍrāvaṭī. When Yuvarāja under his brother he distinguished himself as a man of arms as well as letters. He assisted Vasṭupāla in repelling the attack of armies from Delhi an independently too put to work the forces of Kumārapāla and Pṛṭhviraj.[8] He predeceased his brother and could not ascend the throne.[9] He was working as Yuvarāja in Sam. 1220 and was living till Sam. 1265. He built the city of Palanpur, the capital of the state of that name in Gujarat.[10] As a poet famed for felicity and lucidity of expression Prahlāḍana is praised in Kīrṭikaumuḍī[11] and is quoted in Sūkṭimukṭāvali.[12]

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1. *SR*, II. 68.
2. Ed. Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Banares, etc. For an account of the drama, see *SR*, II. 68; S. N. Paranjape and N. S. Panse, Int. to Edn. (Poona), S. R. Khopakar, Int. to Edn. (Bombay). Translated into English by Ganganath Jha, Benares.
3. Same as the commentator on Gīṭagoviṇḍa and Anargha-Rāghava.
4. Ed. Bombay.
5. *CC*, II. 81, 211; *IOC*, VII. 4158.
6. *TC*, III. 3220. He wrote a commentary on the Gīṭagovinḍa, where he gives his patron's genealogy.
7. *TC*, III. 3394. He was son of Suramāṭya of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. The work was composed at Raṭnapuri probably in the circars in the year Hevilambi.
8. See Suraṭhotsava XV. 32 and Mt. Abu Lunigavasati Prasasti, 38.
9. See Upaḍeṣaṭaranginī; Prasasti of the Aṭimukṭacariṭa of Purṇabhaḍra, composed in Sam. 1283; Somasaubhāgya 13-15 and Hīrasaubhāgya (I. 69-128).
10. He is consequently known as Yuvarāja Prahlāḍana.
11. These verses are collected and printed in the GOS. (No. 4) appendix.
12. I. 14-15.

His PĀRTHAPARĀKRAMA, a Vyāyoga[1] of one Act, describes the exploits of Arjuna in rescuing the cattle of the Virāta from the hands of the Kaurava Army—the story of the Gograhaṇa in the Virāta Parvan of the Mahābhārata, and was enacted on the occasion of the festival of the investiture of Acaleśwara, the literary God of the Pārmāras at Mt. Abu, with the sacred thread.[2]

677. The same story has also been dramatised in the Ḍhananjayavijaya, likewise a Vyāyoga by Kancanācārya, son of Nārāyaṇa of the race of Kappimuni. Owing to his skill in composing plays, he was patronised by king Jayaḍeva of Kanoj[3] whom he mentions in the prologue and who flourished in the 12th century A.D. The mode of narration is however indirect and the spectacle of the battle is described in a dialogue between Inḍra and his attendants. The drama was enacted before an assembly of the learned, presided over by a great Gaḍāḍharamiśra.

The model of Prahlāḍana's play was adopted by Vyāsa Mokṣāḍitya in his drama, Bhīmaparākrama.[4] He was the son of Bhīma and pupil of Harihara and composed his work in Sam. 1385 (1328 A.D.)

678. Madana was the preceptor of King Arjunavarman[5] of Paramāra dynasty. His Pārijātamanjarī, a nātikā of extreme beauty, of which only two acts are now available in fragments, was inscribed on stone at Ḍhārā in 1213 A.D.[6] It describes the loves of Arjunavarman and a damsel Pārijāṭamanjarī, long kept secret from his queen Sarvakalā. The heroine was the daughter of a Calukya king of Gujrat whom Arjunavarman defeated, who having given up her life in the struggle was born as a cluster of Pārijāṭa flowers, which became afterwards transformed into a beautiful woman Pārijāṭamanjarī.

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1. Schuyler (*Bibl.* 97) confuses this Yuvarāja Prahlādana with Yuvarāja alias Rāmavarman of Cranganur, the author of Rasasaḍanabhāna.

2. Edited with an elaborate preface by C. D. Dalal, *GOS*. No. 4.

3. Printed Bombay. There is a commentary by Rāmakṛṣna (*CC*. III. 58). For a short account, see Wilson's *Theatre*, II. 374. It is quoted in the Rasārṇavasuḍhākara of the 14th century A.D.. See *SR*, I. 6, 10. There is Dhananjayavijaya of Yaśoḍhana (*CC*, I. 266).

4. *Cat. S. Mss. of Br. Museum.* It is called by Schuyler (*Bib.* 71) as Bhīmavikrama.

5. Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman and grandson of Vindhyavarman. His grants are dated Samvat 1267, 1270, 1272 (See *JAOS*, VII. 25, 32; *JBAS*, V. 378). See also for a discussion of these grants by Kielhorn, *IA*. XIX. 341; Colebrooke's *Mis. Es.* II. 297-314 and *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, I. 230-239. Arjunavarman wrote a commentary on Amaruka. Jalhaṇa in Sukṭimukṭāvali quotes a verse of his. See Peterson, *Subh.* 5.

6. Ed. by Hultsch, Leipzig. See *IA*, XXXV. 236.

679. Ramabhadra or Rāma, the Jaina monk and poet, was the desciple of Jayaprabhasūri who was the desciple of Vādiḍevasūri according to Prabhāvakacaritra. Vāḍiḍeva died in *Sam.* 1226 (1272 A.D.) His play Prabuḍḍha-Rauhiṇeyam[1] was enacted at the festival of Śrīyugāḍiḍeva in a temple constructed by Chahamana chiefs Yaśovīra ane Ajayapāla, sons of Pārśvacanḍra, whose munificence is recorded in inscriptions bearing dates *Sam.* 1242, 1268.[2] The poet therefore flourished about the last quarter of the 13th century A.D.

680. Ravivarma Sangrāmaḍhīra of Jayatunganāḍu was born in A.D. 1266-7. He was the son of King Jayasimha Vīrakerala and Umāḍevi and belonged to the Yāḍava family. "After defeating his adversaries, he married a Pandya prncess and when 33 years of age took possession of Kerala (which he ruled as he did his town of Kolamba). He defeated a certain Vīrapāndya, made the Pāndyas and the Colas subject to the Keralas and at the age of 46 (about 1312-3) was crowned on the banks of the Vegavaṭī (at Kānci). He made munificient donations to temples and upheld religion. He was a poet himself and patronised learning. He was an expert in the science of music. He was called Ḍakṣiṇa-Bhoja.[3] Samuḍrabanḍha, the commentator on Alankārasarvasva, was a poet of his court.[4] His PRADYUMNA-BHYUDAYA is a drama[5] in five acts describing the destruction of Vajranābha, king of Vajrapura, and the marriage of Praḍumna with the princess Prabhāvaṭī. The interdrama Rambhābhisaraṇam is interesting and shows a nice device for the first aspect of the lovers at a theatre.

681. Rudradeva *alias* Praṭapa-Ruḍraḍeva was the king of Ekacila (Warrangal) and ruled over an extensive country in 1268-1319 A.D.[6] He was a great patron of poets and a poet himself of a high order. His name has been commemorated in the most popular work on Rhetoric, Praṭaparuḍra-Yaśobhūṣana of Viḍyānātha (Agasṭya). Agasṭya's nephew Visvanāṭha was in his court. Of his writings, only

1. Printed at Bhownagar, with an introduction.
2. *Ibid.* Introduction. See inscription at Jalordurga, printed in Prachina-Jainalekha-sangrahā.
3. *Tr, Arch. Series*, II. 53 IV. 89 and inscriptions, in *EI*, IV. 145-52, VIII. 8
4. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum.
5. *Ibid.* It is not known whether the manuscript in *CC*, I. 363 is the same work. Praḍyumnavijaya of Śankaraḍikṣiṭa and Praḍyumnānanḍa of Venkaṭāḍhvarī have the same theme.
6. On Kakatiya History, see K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar "Historical sketches of ancient Deccan." Andhra Patrika Annual Number (1922-23); Tailor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts (Madras) 32; "Veerabhadrarow's" History of the Andhras.

two[1] have survived to us, a nātikā, Uṣārāgoḍaya,[2] relating the loves of Uṣā and Aniruḍḍha and Yāyāṭicariṭa,[3] a drama in 7 acts describing the loves of Yāyāṭi and Śarmiṣṭhā as her servant with a thousand other female attendants. "Devayani married the king Yayati. At the time of her marriage Sukra obtained the king's promise that he would never take Sarmiṣtha to his bed; but after some interval the king met her, fell in love and espoused her privately. The intrigue continued secret, until Yayati had two sons by Devayani and three by Sarmishtha, when it was discovered by the former, and excited her resentment as well as that of her father. The violation of the king's promise was punished by premature decay, as denounced upon him by Sukra, with permission, however, to transfer his infirmities to any one who would accept them. Yayati appealed to his sons of whom the youngest alone, Puru, consented to assume the burden. After a sufficient period Yayati took his decrepitude back again, and left the sovereignty of the world to Puru in reward of his filial piety. All the sons of Yayati were the founders of the distinguished races. Yadu gave birth to the Yadavas, Turvasu to the Yavanas, Druhya was the ancestor of the Bhojas, and Anu of the Mlechchhas. The Pauravas were the descendants of Puru, in whose line the Kaurava and Pandava families were comprised."[4]

682. The same story has been handled by other poets. VALLISAHAYA of Vaḍhūlagoṭra lived at Virincīpuram near Vellore. He wrote a biography of Śankara styled Ācāryāḍigvijaya.[5] His Yayāṭi-Ṭaruṇānanḍa is a drama in five acts was enacted at the vernal festival of God Margasahāya at Virincīpuram.[6] His Rocanānanḍa is a fragment of a drama probably in five acts, describing the loves of Aniruḍḍha and Rocanā.[7]

Yayāṭi-Ḍevayānīcariṭa is an anonymous play, having the same plot but with no division into acts.[8] Śarmiṣṭhā-Yayāṭi and Yayāṭivijaya are mentioned in Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa. There is a play Śarmiṣṭhā-Yayāṭi

1. This is a commentary on the Prabodhacandrodaya by Rudradeva (*CBod*, 281).
2. *CC*. I. 71. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*. II. 388; Mitra's *Notices*, III. 192.
3. Probably the same as Śarmiṣṭhayāyāṭi mentioned in Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa. Mitra's Notices, III. 192.
4. Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 388.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8307.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8477.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8489.
8. *DC*, XXI. 8479.

composed by Bhāgavaṭa Kṛṣṇa Kavi.[1] Śarmisṭhāvijaya of Nārāyaṇa Śāsṭrin will be noticed elsewhere.

683. Manika, son of Rājavarḍhana, was the pupil of Nateśvara, an expert in dramaturgy. His BHAIRAVANANDA is a secular drama, the hero being Bhairava and the heroine Maḍanavaṭī, a celestial damsel cursed by a Ṛṣi to become human. The drama was enacted at the marriage of Jayaḍharma Malla Ḍeva, the son of Jayasṭhiṭi Malla and Rajalla Ḍevī. "He came apparently from Miṭhila, a place of learning, and so he had cultivated a fine literary taste for the display of which his new position as king of Nepal afforded him ample opportunities. The birth ceremony of his son, the same Dharma Malla, was celebrated by the performance of a four act Ramayana. Ḍharma Gupṭa, son of Rāmaḍasa, wrote a four act Rāmāyaṇa, probably Rāmānkanāṭaka in 1310 A.D., and was probably a king of Simraon as the epithet used is Surakikulakamalākaravikāsanaikabhāskara, i.e., he helped in the establishment of the Surki dynasty of Jaunpore. The troubles in the then eastern (Shurq) dominion of Delhi commenced at the end of the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah of Delhi, 1368, and Yutha Simha appears to be one of those Hindu Rajas who helped Malik Sharwar, a Khauja, to establish himself as Malik-us-shurb. Yutha Simha seems to have been a comtemporary and a relative of Jayasthiti who, by marrying Rajalla Devi, made himself master of Nepal."[3]

684. Jayarana Malla Deva was the husband of Nathalla Devi, the rightful heir to the throne of Nepal and the son of Vijaya Malla. His PANDAVAVIJAYA, also called Sabhāparvanāṭaka, represents the events of that part of Mahābhāraṭa.[4]

685. Jyotirisvara, surnamed Kaviśekharācārya, was the son of Ḍhīreśwara and great-grandfather of Viḍyāpaṭi. He was the lord of the village of Pallijanma. He was a friend of king Harisimha of Simroan who ruled about 1324 A.D. and at the conclusion of his war with a Muhamadan Sultan wrote a prahasana, Ḍhūrṭasamāgama,[5] which

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1. *CC*, I. 638. The identification may not be correct. Kṛṣṇa Kavi may be identical with Śeṣakṛṣṇa, who flourished during the reign of Emperor Akbar.
2. About this king and his literary tastes, see Appendix by Bendall, p. 11-14.
3. Bendal's, *Cam. Cat.* 87.
4. Bendal's Preface, 19, 115.
5. Ed. by C. Cappaller (Jena). Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 408. For other editions and translations in France and Italy, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 43-44. Maheśvara's Dhurṭavidambana is a similary play.

was staged at the victory festivals. " Viswanaguru, Jangama or mendicant of a particular class, quarrels with his disciples for the possession of Anangasena, a courtezan. They refer the case to Asajjati-Misra, a Brahmin, who lives by solving knotty points of law, and he decrees that until it can be decided to which the damsel belongs, she shall remain under the protection of himself as umpire."

In his Pancasāyaka,[1] a work on erotics in five parts, of exquisite lyrical beauty, he purports to epitomise all that is said in the standard works on Kāmaśāsṭra.

Munḍiṭaprahasana, a farce in 3 acts,[2] is probably his work.

686. Bhaskara s[3] Unmaṭṭa-Rāghava[4] was composed to entertain an assembly of learned men met together to pay homage to Viḍyāraṇya. If this latter were identical with the famous scholar of Vijianagar, then the work must be assigned to the middle of the 14th century. This piece of a single act describes the maddened soliloquies of Rāma on the sudden disappearance of Sīṭā in the recesses of a shady garden, where, on account of the curse of Ḍurvāsas, blossom-collection was prohibited on pain of the trespasser being turned to a deer. Agasṭya understands the mistake and restores Sīṭā to Rāma, freed from the

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1. Ed. Lahore. *PR*, II. 110; *TC*, III. 4035.

2. The author's name is given as Śivajyoṭirīśvara, most probably identical with this poet. *PR*, II. 122.

3. He is different from Bhāskara of Kerala who wrote Śṛngārāṭilakabhāṇa. He was a poet of the Court of Vikramaḍeva, *TC*, III. 3881. Printed *Jl. Sam. Sah. Par.* Calcutta, XVII.

4. Printed Bombay. This work is different from one of that name quoted by Hemacanḍra in his Kāvyānuśasana (page 97).

अप्रियदर्शनश्रवणावेगो यथा उन्मत्तराघवे—

चित्रमायः—(ससम्भ्रमम्) भगवन् कुलपते रामभद्र, परित्रायतां, परित्रायताम् (इत्याकुलतां नाटयति) इत्यादि ।

पुनः चित्रमायः—

मृगरूपं परित्यज्य विधाय विकटं वपुः ।
नीयते रक्षसा तेन लक्ष्मणो युधि संक्षयम् ॥

रामः—

वत्सस्याभयवारिधेः प्रतिभयं मन्ये कथं राक्षसाः
त्रस्तश्चैष मुनिर्विरौति मनसश्चास्त्येव मे सम्भ्रमः ।
मा हासीर्जनकात्मजामिति मुहुस्स्नेहाद्गुरुर्याचते
न स्थातुं न च गन्तुमाकुलमतेर्मूढस्य मे निश्चयः ॥

effects of the unconscious curse. The story is a close imitation of the fourth act of Vikramorvaśī.

687. **Gangadhara**,[1] was the son of Agasṭya's[2] sister. He is said to have composed a play visualising the story of the Mahābhāraṭa.[3] He was probably also the author and the two plays Canḍravilāsa,[4] Raghavābhyuḍaya.[5] The former has an imaginary story on the union of Canḍra and Kumuḍinī. Gangāḍhara had two sons Narasimha and Viśvanāṭha.

688. **Narasimha** dramatised the story of Kāḍambarī in his Kāḍambarīkalyāṇa[6] in eight acts, as related by Bāṇa in his famous romance. The poetry is very imaginative and excels in the description of nature and pathos. An Anṭarnāṭikā is introduced in the 5th act to bring Kāḍambarī in the presence of Canḍrāpīḍa.

689. **Visvanatha** lived at Warrangal under the patronage of Pratāpa Ruḍra Ḍeva (1294-1325 A.D.) Lefṭ as an orphan while yet a child, he was educated by his maternal uncle Agasṭya. Called upon to entertain an assembly of Pandits at the Warrangal durbar, he wrote

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1. Gangāḍhara, father of Lakṣmaṇasuri (*DC*, XXI.8263) and Gangāḍhara, son of Daṭṭāṭreya of Uḍaya family were different persons. The latter wrote the Maḍrakanyāpariṇayacampu celebrating the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Lakṣmī, daughter of Bṛhaṭsena, King of Madras (*DC*, XXI. 8265). So also was Gangāḍhara, the author of Gangāḍārapraṭāpavilāsa, a play in 5 acts, on the life of King Gangādhara Bhuvallabha Praṭāpaḍeva of Campakapura (Champanir) in Guzerat. It takes us to the Court of King Sultan Muhammad of Ahmadabad (1443-1451 A.D.). *IO*, VII. 1508-14; analysed in *ibid.*. 4194).

2. See para 126 *supra*.

3. So says Gangāḍevī :

स्तुमस्तमपरं व्यासं गङ्गाधरमहाकविम् ।
नाटकच्छद्मना दृष्टां यश्चक्रे भारतीं कथाम् ॥

Maṭhurāvijaya, I. 15.

4. *CC*, II. 36.

5. *CC*, II. 36. There are other dramas of this name by Bhagavanṭarāya (*CC*, II. 117), by Rāmacanḍra (*CC*, III. 107) and by Venkateśvara (*CC*, I. 500).

6. *TC*, III. 3489. This work is quoted in the Sāhiṭyachiṭāmaṇi by Vemabhupāla (about 1400 A.D.) See also M. Ramakrishnakavi, *Andhara Patrika*, *Annual Number* (1918), 101. The 1st verse of this play bears a close resemblance to the first verse in Kanakalekhā of Vāmanabhatta Bāṇa and this leads S. Kuppusami Sastri to suspect whether the real name of Vāmanabhatta is Narasimha. See his report of tour (1919). Narasimhamiśra, the author of the play Śivanārāyaṇabhanjamahoḍaya, (*CC*, III. 134) is a different author.

his Saugaṇḍhikāharaṇa.[1] Occupying but a short interval, the dramatic piece has only one continued scene, forming a long vehement altercation between Bhīma and Hanūmān. The plot is based on the story of Mahābhāraṭa, wherein Ḍraupaḍī, enamoured of the beauty of the flower brought by a Ganḍharva, requests Bhīma to fetch some more and when the incognito brothers were about to come to blows, Kubera intercedes and squares up the feud by explanation and by direct presentation of a cluster of flowers to Yuḍhisthira. The speeches are throughout very vigorous and insinuating. Gangaḍevī, author of Maṭhurāvijaya, was his pupil.[2]

690. Jivarama Yāgnika describes in Murārivijaya of 5 acts the early life of Kṛṣṇa as related in 10th section of Śrī Bhāgavaṭa. It was probably composed in Samvat 1541 (1485 A.D.)[3] There is another play of the same name and theme by Viśvarūpa Kṛṣṇabhatta, son of Nṛsimha.[4]

691. Ramanandaraya was a follower of Caiṭanya. By order of King Praṭaparuḍra of Orissa (1480 A.D.) he wrote Jagannāṭhavallabhanātaka in 5 acts, in which the main theme is the curbing of the spirit of Rāḍhā.[5] Govinḍavallabha is probably his work. It is a play in 5 acts describing the youthful sports of Kṛṣna, "designed like the Parsian plays of Europe, to place the early life of the deity as an attractive spectacle."[6].

692. Sesa Narasimha lived near the Godāvarī and later in his life settled at Benares about the 1st half of the 18th century[7] under the

1. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay.

There is a Saugaṇḍhikāharaṇa (pariṇaya) vyāyoga mentioned in Sāhiṭyaḍarṛaṇa (*CC*, I. 727), Viśvanāṭhabbatta, son of Mahāḍeva, author of Śṛngāravāpikā (*CC*, I. 661; II. 158; Analysed *IO*. VII. 4196) and Viśvanāṭha, son of Ṭrimalaḍeva, author of Mṛgānkalekhānātikā (CC, I. 465; Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II. 391; Printed Sarasvati Bhavana Series) are different authors.

2. She says

चिरं स विजयी भूयाद्विश्वनाथः कवीश्वरः ।
यस्य प्रसादात् सार्वज्ञ्यं समिन्धे मादृशेष्वपि ॥ *Maṭhurāvijaya*, I 16.

3. *CSC* (1903), 148.

4. *PR*, III. 21, 342

5. Ed. Murshidabad. *Mitra*, IV. 1565; *CC*, I. 196.

6. Ibid. 1672. *CC*, I. 169.

7. See S. P. V. Ranganathaswami '*On the Seshas of Benares*' (*IA*, XLI. 245). Śeṣa Kamalākara and Śeṣa Rāṭnākara who commented on Gīṭagovinḍa, Śeṣa Govinḍa who commented on Amaruśaṭaka, and wrote Vinaṭānanḍavyāyoga and Gopālalīlār-

patronage of king Govinḍacanḍra of Tandava. At his instance he wrote Govinḍārṇava, a work on Ḍharmaśāsṭra. He was a great grammarian and originated the famous Benares School of Grammar, to which Bhattoji and Nagoji[1] belonged.

Narasimha had two sons, Cinṭāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa. Cinṭāmaṇi wrote the play Rukminiharaṇa[2] the Rasamanjarī-Parimala.[3] Kṛṣṇa had two sons Vīreśvara and Nārāyaṇa.[4] Of these Vīreśvara was the tutor to Panḍiṭarāja, Bhattoji and Annambhatta.[5]

KRSHNA's patron was Govarḍhanaḍhāri, son of Todar, "the ornament of the race of Tandava and disciple of Girdharinath." Todarmal was the famous finance minister of Emperor Akbar who died in 1586 A.D.[6] Girdharinath was the grandson of Vallabha who founded the Gokulasṭha goswamins early in the 16th century A.D.[7] His works are many. Kamsavaḍha, enacted at the festival of Viśveśvara at Benares in seven acts, embraces the story of the destruction of Kamsa as related in the 10th Skanda of the Bhāgavaṭa and ends with the coronation of Ugrasena, father of Kamsa in the sovereignty of Maṭhurā.[8] He wrote the plays Murārivijaya,[9] Mukṭācariṭa,[10] Saṭyabhāmāpariṇaya,

ṇavabhāṇa (*CC*, I. 103, 676) and Śeṣa Rāmacanḍra who commented on Naiṣaḍha belong to the Śeṣa family. (See *IA*, XLII. 252).

1. See Belvalkar, *l. c.* 46–50. Nageśa wrote commentary on Aḍhyāṭma Rāmāyaṇa ascribed to his person his 1714 A.D.

2. *CC*, I. 527.

3. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 77.

4. He was author of Sukṭiraṭnākara, a rare commentary on Mahābhāṣya.

5. See Dec. College Mss. No. 183, (1882-3),

6. It is not known whether Kṛṣṇakaviśekhara, who wrote Kuvalayāvaṭīnāṭikā before 1643 A.D. was identical with this author (*CC*, III, 25 ; *IO*, VII. 4194).

7. In Sam. 1687 (1631 A.D.) Kṛṣṇa's pupil Jayanṭa wrote an abridgment Ṭaṭṭvacanḍra of Kṛṣṇa's Prakriyākaumuḍī which was composed for the benefit of Prince Kalyāṇa, son of a petty chief of Patrabunja in the duab between Ganges and Jumna. Prakriyāprakāśa gives the genealogy of the kings of Anṭarveḍi with capital Patrabhunja for five generations ending with Kalyāṇa. See Belvalkar's *Sys. Sk. Gr.* 45.

8. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II, 400. There is an anonymous commentary on it, *CC*, I. 77 ; II. 15 ; III. 17. There is another play of this name by a poet Dāmoḍara, *CC*, I. 77. The first play of this name is mentioned by Paṭanjali, see para 554 *supra*.

9. *CC*, I. 462 ; II. 106 ; *PR*, III. 21 ; App. 337.

10. *PR*, IV. xxi.

the campūs Pārijāṭaharaṇa,[1] Uṣāpariṇaya and Saṭyabhāmāvilāsa,[2] Kriyāgopanarāmāyaṇa.[3]

693. Gokulanatha was the son of Umāḍevī and Pīṭāmbara, a brahmin of Phanadaha family of Miṭhila of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He flourished in the court of king Fatteh Saha of Śrīnagara in the 16th century A.D. At the king's instance he composed Ekāvali, a work on metrics and there he says

वृत्तसागररत्नानां सारमुद्धृत्य निर्मिता ।
एकावली फतेसाह तव कण्ठे लुठत्यसौ ॥

His only daughter Kāḍambarī was drowned, when yet a child, in the Ganges and in her memory he composed the poem Kundakāḍambarī. There he wrote

आरम्बात्र प्रकृतिकृपणा बाधिभिर्बाध्यमानैः
विक्रोशारः करुणवचनं पुत्रि कादम्बरीति ।
कोऽयं लोकः क इव विषयः किं पुरं को निवासः
यस्मिन्नस्मद्विमुखहृदया त्वं निलीय स्थितासि ॥

At a ripe age of 90, he passed away at Kāśī. Besides a gloss of Kāvyaprakāśa and the poem Śivasṭuṭi,[4] he wrote the plays MUDITAMADALASA in 7 acts on the marriage of Maḍālasā, daughter of Viśvāvasu and Kuvalayāśva,[5] and Amṛṭoḍaya, an allegorical play illustrating the ills of Samsāra.[6]

694. Laksmanamanickyadeva was ruler of Noakhāli during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.)[7] He was a poet and patron of letters. He is said to have written several dramas, but only two are now available, Kuvalayāśvacariṭa on the loves of Kuvalayāśva and Maḍālasa, and Vikhyāṭavijaya[8] in six acts depicting the battle between Nakula and Kauravas.

1. Ed. Bombay. This was written at the instance of king Naroṭṭama, brother of king Ṭāndavapura near Kāśi.
2. *Opp.* II. 2888.
3. See para 346 *supra.*
4. Printed, Bombay.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8444, 8446 (where there is an anonymous commentary).
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. *CC*, III. 25. Other dramas on the subject are by Vamśamaṇi and Kṛṣṇadaṭṭa (*CC*, I. 113 ; *CC*, III. 33). On Vamśamaṇi, see para 299 *supra.*
8. *CC*, III. 120; *HSR*, (1904).

MAHESVARA PANDITA, flourished in the Court of Bahadur Shah of Guzarat (1526-1537 A.D.). In his play Svarṇamukṭāvivāḍa, he describes a dispute between gold and pearl and king Balabhaḍraḍeva of Śrīnagarī acts as referee.[1]

695. Balakayi lived in Mullandrum in N. Arcot District. He was son of Kālahaṣti of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. He must have been related to Dindimas.[2] In the prologue to Nalacariṭanāṭaka, Nīlakantha has praised him. He was a comtemporary of Uḍḍanda.[3] He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Cochin, who abdicated in 1537 A.D. in favour of his brother Goḍāvarman (1537-1561 A.D). This story of the abdication and pilgrimage to Benares is described in his Rāmavarmavilāsa, and in the play Raṭnakeṭūḍaya he traces the fortunes of that king till the abdication.[4]

Goḍāvarman appears to have ruled along with Ravivarman. After them came Vīrakeralavarman (1561-1565 A.D.) In his court flourished the poet NILAKANTHA. He was probably the same as Nīlakantha of Sangamagrāma (Kūḍalur) in Nāreri near Paṭṭāmbi in Malabar and of a well-known Nambudri brahmin family.[5] In his Kamalinīkalahamsa, a play in facts, he describes the marriage of Kamalinī with Kalahaṁsa.[6]

696. Vilinatha was son of Kanakasabhāpaṭi and grandson of Yagnanārāyaṇa of Kauśikagoṭra. He lived in Visṇupuram in Tanjore District and in the court of King Acyuṭa (1577-1614 A.D.) was enacted his play Maḍanamanjarīmahoṭsava.[7] It describes the destruction of king Canḍravarman of Pāṭalīpuṭra by Ruḍra in mortal form to help his devotee king Parākrama Bhāskara of Pāncāla. The following is typical of his style and orthodoxy:

(प्राचीमालोक्य) आः कथमुदयन्नेव भगवानखिलानामपि द्विजानामाचारमुपदिशतीत्र कर्मणैव कर्मसाक्षी । तथा हि—

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1. *TO*, 1623.
2. See para 134 supra.
3. See para 169 supra.
4. *JOR*, V- 141.
5. Nīlakantha of Mukṭisṭhala who commended on Vāsuḍeva's Śaurikaṭhā (*DC*, XXI, 8464) is different.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8390. For his commentary on Mahāviracarita, see *DC*, XXI. 8497.
7. *Tanj*. VIII. 3447. Printed *Sah*. XXVI. Madras. The manuscript breaks off in 5th Act.

स्नातः प्रातः पयोधौ द्रुतविधुततमाः स्वीकृताच्छाम्बरोऽयं
धूलीपालीतुषाधिष्ठितदलसमिधो दीप्तिधाराधमन्या ।
उत्क्षिप्य क्षिप्रमञ्जाकरशुचिसदने कर्णिकाहव्यवाहं
कुर्वन्सर्वङ्कषामं कुसुमरसघृतैर्दीप्यते येन देवः ॥

(विमृश्य) ईदृशानामपि तेजसां विलसितमीश्वरानुग्रहनिय-
न्त्रितमिति विचिन्त्य ममाऽऽनन्दमन्थरमिदमन्तःकरणम् ।

697. **Bhudeva Sukla** was the son of Śukadeva and pupil of Śrīkanthadīkṣita. He lived at Jambūsaras in Kashmir about the beginning of the 17th century A.D.[1] In Dharmavijaya, a play in 5 acts, he demonstrated the merits of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and meant it as a corrective of the several lapses from religion rampant during the time of Emperor Aurangazeb and his successors.[2] His Rasavilāsa is a work on poetics.[3]

698. **Sathakopa** was a famous Pontiff of the Ahobila Mutt of Southern India. He was seventh in apostelic descent from the founder of the Mutt of a like name and was the immediate successor of (Saṣṭha) Parānkuśa, who was a contemporary of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijianagar. He himself lived in the days of Śrī Rangarāja of Vijianagar. He was the son of Śrinivāsācārya of Bhāradwajagotra of Elankādu (Balavana) village. His original name was Tirumala and bore the title Kavitārkikākanthīrava. His Vasantikaparinaya is a drama in five acts of splendid poetry, describing the marriage of Ahobila Narasimha with Vāsantīkā, a wood nymph. He was capable of dictating poetry to 100 persons at a time and was praised by a poet Vāhinīpati.[4]

699. **Kumara Tatacarya** (Śatakrātu) was son of Venkatācārya and grandson of Śrinivāsa of Śathamarṣanagotra. He was a descendant of Śrīśailapūrṇa the preceptor of Rāmānuja. Śrīśailapūrṇa's line branched off over various parts of the Madras Presidency. Lakṣmīkumāra Tātācārya[5] represents the line that stayed in Kāncī and there are other lines at Kumbakonam and the Circars etc. This poet belongs to the family that settled itself at Tirupati and its progenitor is

1. Printed Bombay and Benares. See Mitra's *Notices*, I. 37. There is a commentary on it by his desciple Bhavānīśankara (10. VIII. 4183).
2. See Int. to Edn. *Sarasvati Bhavan Series*.
3. *CC*, I. 496, II. 116, III. 106. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 414.
4. *Sources of Vizinagar History*. He was adored by Mukundadeva, a Gajapati prince of the 16th century. *DC*, XXI. 8500%.
5. See para 212 supra.

called Ṭolappācārya. Kumāra was the High Priest of Raghunātha Naik and Vijayarāghava Naik of Tanjore who ruled from 1614 A.D.[1] His Parijāṭanāṭaka in five acts is based on the story of Pārijāṭaharaṇa.[2]

700. Jagannatha, son of Pīṭāmbara, was a Brahmin of Miṭhila and contemporary of Gokulanāṭha. To delight the feudatory chiefs who were assembled at the court of Fateh Shah, he composed the play Aṭanḍracanḍrikā, early in 17th century A.D.[3]

701. Mathuradasa was pupil of Kṛṣṇaḍāsa. He was a Kāyasṭha of the city of Suvarṇaśekhara on the banks of the Jumna. His Vṛṣabhānuja is a nāṭikā describing the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rāḍha, daughter of Vṛṣabhānu.[4]

702. Madhusudana, son of Nārāyaṇa of Śānḍilyagoṭra and desciple of Kṛṣṇasarasvaṭī, wrote play Kṛṣṇakuṭūhala,[5] and is different from the famous Maḍhusūḍana Sarasvaṭī.[6]

703. [MADHUSUDANA (SARASVATI) whose original name was Kamalanayana was a Gauda Kanojia brahmin of Kāśyapagoṭra. He was the son of Puranḍara. Yāḍavānanḍa was his brother. It is said that Yāḍava's son Māḍhava, contemporary of Praṭāpāḍiṭya (16-17 century A.D.), bore the title of Avilambasarasvaṭi,[7] for extempore poetry. With his two sons, Puranḍara once went to the Court of Māḍhava Pāśa in Barisal District,[8] and exhibited the extraordinary faculties of Maḍhusūḍana. The chief was delighted but refused to grant a site on which Puranḍara wanted to build a hut. Maḍhusūḍana was much grieved and took his father's leave to renounce the world.

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1. The statement in para 146 and the footnote (3) there that Kumāra Ṭāṭācarya was a resident of Kanci is an error, due to the confusion between his name and that of Lakṣmikumāra Ṭāṭācārya. Kumāra Ṭāṭācārya *alias* Aparyāptamṛṭa who commented on Campubhāraṭa (*TC*, III. 3532) was the great-great-grandon of Lakṣmikumāra of Kānci. See also *DC*, XXI. 8204.
2. *TC*, II. 2374 ; *SVH*. 254.
3. *PR*, II. 22.
4. Ed. Bombay. See Mitra's *Notices* (1875).
5. *CC*, I. 119, There are poems Kṛṣṇakrīdiṭa by Keśavārka (*Oxf.* 349), Kṛṣṇakauṭrīhala, anonymous (*CC*, I 119) and Kṛṣṇakuṭuhala by Rāmacanḍra Bhatta (*Pandit*, VI. 108).
6. See P. C. Divanji's Int. to Siddantabindu (*GOS*, Baroda p. xi) ; Abhayankara's Int. to Siddhantabindu (*Govt. Or. Series*, Class A No. 2, p. 27).
7. See under Ciranjīva *post*.
8. The kingdom was called Candraḍvipa and kings Canḍra kings (See *EI*, XII. No. 12).

He went to Benares and was initiated into Brahmaviḍyā by Viśveśvara Sarasvaṭī. There he composed his famous Aḍvaiṭasiḍḍhi. Ṭulasīḍāsa, the poet to whom we owe the Hindi masterpiece Rāmacariṭamānasa, was his friend, whom he praised thus:

आनन्दकानने काश्यां तुलसीजङ्गमस्तरुः ।
कवितामञ्जरी यस्य रामभ्रमरचुम्बिता ॥

In Kotalipara near Faridpur in Eastern Bengal there is still a village known as Puranḍarāvātikā and a shrine attached to it of Śrī Ḍakṣiṇāmūrṭi and Kālikā said to have been built by Puranḍara. In Bhavabhūmivārtā or history of Kotalipara, composed by Raghavenḍra Kaviśēkhara says Maḍhusūḍana was brother of Puranḍara and not the son. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) invited Maḍhusūḍana to his Court and after pleasant disputations held with the learned men of that court he was well honoured there. Maḍhusūḍana[1] must therefore be referred to the 16-17th century A.D. Besides several works[2] on Bhakṭi cult and Aḍvaiṭa philosophy he wrote commentaries on Veḍasṭuṭi, Mahimnasṭoṭra,[3] probably Bhāgavaṭa,[4] and Harilīlā,[5] and a poem Ānanḍamanḍākini[6] on Kṛṣṇa.]

704. Ramanuja was the son of Śaranammacārya and grandson of Rāmānuja of Vāḍhūlagoṭra and lived at Trivellore, Chingleput District. They trace descent from Ḍāśaraṭhi or Mudaliyandan. Saranammacārya was the fourth in descent from Rangarāja who was honoured by Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijianagar (1509-1529 A.D.). Rámānuja wrote the Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa[7] on the marriage of god Ranganātha

1. See Iśvarachandra's int. to Harilīlāviveka, where he takes the information, from Vaiḍikavāḍavimarśa, a family chronicle of the Western Vaidika brahmins of Kāśyapagotra. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*, 420, Prahlad C. Divanji's *Madhusudana Sarasvati, his life and works*, *Annals*, VIII, 149, IX. 313, and Int. to Siḍḍhanṭabinḍu (*GOS*), Kshetresacandra Chattopadhyaya, *Ibid*, VIII. 425; S. N. Tadpatrikar, *A work on Arthasastra, by Madhusudana*, *Ibid*. VIII. 33; Cintaharan Chakravarti; *Ibid*. IX. 304.

2. *CC*, I. 427.

3. Printed, Bombay and Calcutta.

4. Printed, Bombay. His commentary on the 1st verse (printed, Brindavan) is classical. There is another interpresation of this verse in 100 meanings by Vamśiḍhara (Printed, Bombay).

5. Calcutta Oriental Series, Calcutta. Harilīlā is ananukramāṇī by Bopaḍeva for Bhāgavaṭa. R. Krishnaswami Sastri, *Madhusudanasarasvai* (*Annals*, XI. 192; *JOR*, II. 9). K. T. Telang, *Note on the date of Madhusudana*, (*JBRAS*, XXX. 368).

6. Printed Bombay. See Gopinath Kaviraj on his date, *Saras. Bhav. Series*, VII. 177.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8504.

with Vāsulakṣmī, well known as Goddess Urayur Nachiyar and was enacted at the vernal festival of Vīrarāghava at Trivellore. His other works are Vīraraghavakanakavallīvivāha, Vedapāḍarāmāyaṇa,[1] Rāmāyaṇacampū, Vārḍhikanyāpariṇaya. He must have lived early in the 17th century A.D.

Rāmānuja's brother was Bhāvanārāyaṇa.[2] His son Rāmānuja wrote the Rāmānujacampū on the life of Rāmānuja.[3] Rāmānuja's paternal uncle was Varaḍaguru. His pupil was Kumāra Venkatārya of Āṭreyagoṭra and his son Varaḍārya wrote bhāṇa Anangabrahmavidyāvilāsa intended to be enacted at the festival at Triplicane.[4]

705. Ramabhadra's Diksita's Janakiparinaya is very popular. It is framed as a comedy of errors. "Two sets of characters are brought to action, the one genuine and the other disguised, so that a confusion arises among themselves when they are made to meet each other. Vidyujjihva, Ravana and Sarana appear respectively as Kausika, Rama and Lakshmana and so do Tataka and Sita. The marriage of Rama and Sita comes up not at Mithila but at the hermitage of Visvamitra. Most noteworthy is an inter-drama, enacted at Ravana's Durbar. The sub-plot begins with Rama's search for Sita and closes with Vali's warfare. The last act brings up the culmination of the mischief of the Rakshasas. Surpanakha shows herself to Bharata in the disguise of a Tapasi and leads him to a misapprehension of Rama's death. Just when Bharata was prepared to mount the funeral pile, Rama's arrival is announced and all ends happily with the coronation of Rama." The drama must be considered a masterpiece of Rāmabhaḍra. The style is learned and amusing. The poetry is not intricate and the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa is run over with rapidity without omitting reference to any important detail.[5]

706. Venkatesvara[6] was the son of Ḍharmarāja of Naiḍhru-

1. Printed, Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.
2. *DC*, XXI. 8275.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8275.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8345.
5. Ed. Madras and Bombay. For a critical account, see *Sah*. XXII. On the author, see para 160 *supra*.
6. In *CC*, I. 696, Sabhāpativilāsa is wrongly given as the work of Dharmarāja. This mistake is copied in Schuyler, 34. There is a drama called Nilāpariṇaya (*CC*, I. 303, Levi. *App*.. 16) by Dṛghavat. It is not known whether Venkateśa, author of the drama Rāghavābhyuḍaya (*CC*, I. 500) and Bhānuprabanḍha Prahasana, (*Tanj*. VIII. 3625, VI. 2805), and Venkateśa, author of Venkateśaprahasana (*DC*, XXI. 8525) are different.

vakāśyapagoṭra of Manalur and lived in the Court of Kings Shahaji and Serfojee of Tanjore (1684-1710, 1711-1728 A.D.). Besides Bhosalavamśāvali, a history of that royal dynasty,[1] he wrote the dramas[2] Rāghavānanḍa, Nīlāpariṇaya and Sabhāpaṭivilāsa and a prahasana Unmaṭṭakavikalasa.[3]

707. Sankara (Ḍīkṣiṭa) was son of Bālakṛṣṇa and grandson of Dhunḍirāja, probably the same as Vyāsayajvan, who lived about 1713 A.D.[4] He wrote the play Praḍyummavijaya for performance at the coronation of Sabhāsunḍara, Raja of Pannah, the grandson of the celebrated Chitrasal of Bundlekand.[5]

Ḍhundhirāja's pupil Viśvanāṭha wrote the naṭikā Śṛngāravāṭikā on the loves of Canḍrakeli, king of Avanṭi and Kānṭimaṭī, daughter of king of Campāvaṭī.[6]

708. Jagannatha was the son of minister Bālakṛṣṇa and Laksmī and pupil of Kameśvara. He was in the Court of King Serfojee of Tanjore (1711-1728 A.D.). His Raṭimanmaṭha[7] is a drama on Raṭi and Manmaṭha, and Vasumaṭīparinaya[8] is another drama on the marriage of Vasumaṭī.

Rāmacanḍraśekhara performed Paundarīkayāga and was proficient in grammar. At the behest of King Tulaja of Tanjore (1765-1787) he wrote the play Kalānanḍaka on the story of the separation of Kalāvati and Nanḍaka and their reunion. Nanḍaka is said to be a prince born of a royal pair as a gift of Rāmabhaḍra, the deity of Bhaḍrācala.[9]

709. Krsnadatta was the son of Saḍārāma and Ānanḍaḍevi. He was the brahmin of the village of Tramatiya in the Vajjada district in Miṭhila, and lived about the middle of the 18th century.[10] His Puranjanacariṭa, a drama in five acts, relates the story of Puranjana

1. See para 163 *supra*. *Tanj.* VII. 3287.
2. *Tanj.* VIII. 3496, 3518, 3415.
3. *Tanj.* VIII. 3616. Otherwise called Lambodaraprahasana (Printed Madras).
4. See para 163 *supra*. Śankaramiśra, who wrote the play Gauriḍigambara (*CC*, III, 37) is different.
5. *CC*, I. 352. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 402.
6. *IO*, 274.
7. *Tanj.* VIII. 3490.
8. *CC*, I. 557.
9. *Tanj*, VIII. 3361.
10. *PR*, IV. xxi; Schuyler, *Bibl*, 63 gives first part of the 17th century A.D.

of Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa,[1] his Kuvalayāsvīya,[2] a drama in seven acts, relates the loves of a vedic student and a maiden Māḍalasā, and Sānḍrakuṭūhala[3] is an entertaining farce. In his Rāḍhārahasyakāvya he relates the amours of Rāḍhā and Kṛṣṇa, in 22 long cantos, and it is accompanied by his own commentary. He wrote a commentary on Gīṭagovinḍa and a poem Gīṭagaṇapaṭi in imitation of it.[4] Canḍīcariṭacanḍrika is also attributed to him.[5]

710. Visvanatha, son of Ṭrimalaḍevā, originally lived on the banks of the Godāvarī and subsequently migrated to Benares where he composed the nāṭikā Mṛgānkalekhā which was enacted at the festival of Viśveṣvara about the end of 18th century.[6] In four acts it describes the marriage of Mṛgānkalekhā and Karpūraṭilaka. "Mrigankalekha is the daughter of the king of Kamarupa, or Assam, she has been beheld by Karpuratilaka, king of Kalinga whilst hunting, and the parties are mutually enamoured. The obstacle to their union is the love of Sankhapala, a demon, to oppose whose supernatural agency the minister of the king of Kalinga, who alone is aware of the circumstance, invites to the palace a benevolent magician, Siddhayogini, and Mrigankalekha is also lodged in the palace as the friend of the queen Vilasavati. Notwithstanding these precautions, she is carried off by Sankhapala to the temple of Kali, when the Raja wandering disconsolate beyond his garden bounds comes to the spot, rescues her and kills Sankhapala. He is then united to Mrigankalekha in the presence of her father and brother, and with the consent of his queen, killing also, before the conclusion of the rite, the brother of Sankhapala, who comes to revenge him in the form of a wild elephant, but is encountered and slain by the king."[7]

Though imitating Raṭnāvalī in plot, the poet has an enchanting style and fancy :

कावेरीजलसङ्गशीतलशिलापृष्ठे लुठन्तः क्रमा-
दान्ध्रीपीनपयोधरोच्चशिखरप्रोद्धारसञ्चूर्णिताः ।

1. *CC*, I. 339. It was composed in Śāka 1701 :
शाकाब्दे धरणीत्रियन्मुनिधरासंभासमाने शुभे माघे मासि ...
2. *CC*, I. 113.
3. *PR*, III. App. 359, 362; *CC*, I. 707. In the prologue he mentions king Dharmavarman as dead.
4. See para 298 *supra*.
5. *CC*, 120.
6. *CSC*, (1903), 152. Printed, Sarasvati Bhavan Series, Benares.
7. Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 391.

चोर्लीलोचनलालिताः कुचतटेलाटीभिराश्लिष्टिता-
दूता एव मनोभवस्य भुवने चञ्चन्ति चैत्रानिलाः ॥

711. **Kisnanatha** Sārvabhauma, Bhattācārya, was son of Ḍurgāḍāsa Cakravarṭi. His ANANDATILAKA, in 5 kusumas, is really a collection of poetry, descriptive and narrative interspersed with dialogues and quasi-stage directions. He probably lived in Guzarat in the 18th century.[1]

712. **Devaraja** was son of Śeṣāḍri and belonged to a brahmin family that migrated from Pattamadai in Tinnevelly District and settled at Āśrama, a village near Śucīnḍram in Travancore which was gifted to twelve brahmins in 940 M. E. He was a poet of the Court of King Mārṭāndavarman (1729-1758 A.D.) of Travancore. In his play BALAMARTANDAVIJAYAM[2] in 5 acts, he describes the victorious marches of his patron, acquisition of wealth and the renovation of the shrine of Śrī Paḍmanābha at Trivandrum. In the prologue he mentions his name by means of a conundrum:

परस्परादेशतया प्रयुक्तहल्वर्णकत्वाद्धृतवेदरूपम् ।
स्वकीयनामाद्यपदं वहन्तं बाले कविं वेत्सि हि राजचूडम् ॥

and the series of royal presents with which he was honoured:

एका भूषणभूषितेयमितरा माणिक्यहारोज्ज्वला
कौशेयाम्बरधारणीयमपरा चामीकराढ्या परा ।
एषा पेटचतुष्टयी मणिमयी सम्मानिता ते मया
धीमन् मामकपद्मनाभचरिताख्यातुः प्रबन्धात्मना ॥

713. **Ramavarma Vanci Yuvaraja** known as Aśvinī Mahārāja was the then Yuvarāja of Tavancore and lived in 1757-1789 A.D. He wrote the plays Rukmiṇīpariṇaya[3] and Śṛngārasuḍhākara[4] and campūs Kārṭavīryavijaya[5] and Sanṭānagopāla[6] and Vancīśasṭava.

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1. *IO*, 243. He wrote also Rāmāyaṇasāra. For his other works see *CC*, I. 121. There is one Ānanḍaṭilakabhāṇa (*Opp*. 1824). Kṛṣṇanāṭha Pancānana who commented on Sakunṭalā (*Opp*. 8382) is different.

2. Printed *TSS*, Trivandrum. His commentary on Bhāravi is printed partly in *Jl. Sam. Sah. Pt.* Calcutta.

3. Printed, Bombay.

4. *Trav*, 79. There is Śṛngārasunḍarabhāṇa by Iśvaraśarma (l. c.)

5. Printed, Bombay. *Trav*. 80

6. *Trav*. 81.

714. **Godavarman Yuvaraja**, or Yuvarāja merely, was a prince of Cranganore and lived in 1800-1851 A.D. Besides the poem Rāmacarita, he wrote the bhāṇa Rasasaḍana, and poems Srīpāḍasaptaka, Muraripustoṭra, and Suḍhānanḍalaharī.[1]

715. RAMAVARMAN (Yuvarāja) known as Kavisārvabhauma Kochunni Ṭampurān[2] was a younger member of the royal family of Cranganoor and lived in 1858-1926. He had five brothers versed in all the sciences. He was the recipient of a *killut* from the Prince of Wales on the eve of his visit to India. His poem Ṭripuraḍahana shows exquisite poetry. His Anangavijaya and Vitarājavijaya[3] are bhāṇas replete with pleasant sentiments. Among his other works are Vallyuḍbhava, Viprasanḍeśa, Ḍevaḍeveśvarasaṭaka, Uṭṭararāmacariṭa and Bānayuḍḍhacampū. He completed Rāmacariṭa which was left unfinished (up to Āranyakānda) by Rāmavarman (Godavarman?) He wrote a summary of Ḍevīsapṭaśaṭi ot Mārkandeyapurāṇa.[4]

Closely related to him was another Rāmāvarman, known as Mahākavi Kunjikuttan Ṭampurān of Cranganore (1865-1913). He wrote vyāyogas, Kirāṭārjunīya and Jarāsanḍhavaḍha.[5]

716. Another RAMAVARMAN was the nephew of *Ravivarman*, Raja of Kollam and Keralavarman. His Canḍrikākalāpīdam is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Candrikā and Kanḍarpaśekhara. The drama was to be enacted at the Caiṭra festival of Nīlakantha in Cellur in Malabar.[6]

In Subālāvajraṭunda, a drama in 5 acts, Rāmakavi, a royal prince of Malabar, describes the story of the killing of a serpant called Raktāngaḍa by a rat named Vajraṭunda for having carried off his beloved Subālā, as his prey.[7]

1. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bombay. See introduction there for other works. See para 177 *supra*. Rāmavarma M.A. a young member of that family, born 1904 February, has written Kaumuḍi, a poem in 9 sargas, (an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Hermit*) and Devipāḍāḍikeśasṭoṭram in about 500 ślokas. He informs me that this author's name was Godavarman and not Rāmavarman.

2. See para 180 *supra*.

3. Printed, Trichur.

4. *DC*, XX. 7845. See para 177 *supra*.

5. Printed, *Sah*. Madras.

Ravivarmakulaśekhara, son of Umāyamma Rāṇi, wrote a poem Rāmāyaṇasangraha (*Trav*. 91).

Mānavikrama Kavirājakumāra wrote poems Viśakhavijayollāsa, Mandanopasambāra, Raṇasingarājacariṭa and lived about 1900 A.D. *Trav*. 191, 188.

6. *TC*, III. 3959.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8554.

717. Venkatasubramanya was the son of Venkateśvaramakhin and was the fifth in descent from Śrikanthādhvarin, son of Appayadīkṣita. In honor of his patron king Rāmavarman of Travancore (1758 to 1798), he composed a drama Vasulakṣhmīkalyāṇām, describing his marriage with Vasulakṣmī, a Sindhu princess, to secure a political alliance.[1]

718. Varada Acarya was son of Ghatikāśaṭa Sudarsāna. He lived at Kancī and was a contemporary of Rāmabhadra Ḍīkṣita[2] in the latter half of the 18th century. He was fifth in descent from Nadādūr Ammāl (Varada) who was grandson of Sudarśana, nephew of Rāmānuja. To vie with Rāmabhadra's Śṛngāraṭilaka called Ayyā Bhāṇa, Varada wrote Vaṣanṭaṭilaka[3] called Ammāl Bhāna,, wherein there are descriptions of magic shows, snake charmers and the like. His Vedānṭavilāsa or Yatirājavijaya, a play in 6 acts, describes the life of Rāmānuja.[4]

719. Perusuri was the son of Venkata of Kauśikagoṭra. His Vasumangalanāṭaka with an anonymous commentary on it is in five Acts and describes the marriage of Uparicaravasu and Girikā, daughter of Marut Kolāhala, and was to be staged at the festival of Mīnākṣī in Madura. The prologue refers to his other works, Rāmacandravijaya, Bharaṭābhyudaya, Venkatabhāna and Cakorasandeśa. He lived in 18th century A.D.[5]

720. ARTHAPANCAKANATAKA in five acts of unknown authorship describes how Manmaṭha was reborn as the son of Saurirāja, the deity that is worshipped at Kṛṣṇapuram (Tirukkannapuram), Tanjore District, how as an infant he was cast into the sea by Śambarāsura, how the servants of Śambara found the infant in the belly of a fish and how Rāti, the daughter of Śambara, enamoured of him, had him tended well, and in the end he married her after killing Śambara.[6]

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1. *Trav.* 78. For a description, see *Trav. Arch. Series*, V 22-25 wherein the genealogy of the author is also given. Vāsalakṣmīkalyāṇa of Rāmānuja is a different work (*DC*, VIII. 8504).
2. See para 160 supra.
3. Printed Madras, Keith, *SD*, 263.
4. *DC*, XXI, 8580. Printed Madras.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8497.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8877. It is called Arṭhapancaka because it embodies five things:

चिन्ता योगस्समारम्भो व्यापारो हेतुदर्शनम् ।
अमीष्टलाभ इत्यर्थपञ्चकं नाटकीकृतम् ॥

721. **Sundararaja Acarya**, son of Varāḍarāja of Āṭreyagoṭra, was a native of Elathur Agraharam in Travancore. He was born in the year Plava in Kollam year 1016 (1841 A.D.) and lived on for 63 years. He had the control of Mārūṭimanṭra with which he was able at will to command the presence of the energies of Hanumān in predicaments of distress. Venkatalakṣmī was his wife. He was proficient in all Śāsṭras and was a born poet. He was patronised by the rulers of Travancore and Ettiyapuram and was a friend of the royal poet Keralavarman of Travancore. His writings are many. Among Campūs are Goḍāpariṇaya, Kamsavaḍha, Rāmabhaḍravijaya and Śrīnivāsaḍikṣiṭenḍracariṭa. Among poems are Niṭirāmāyaṇa, Rāmabhaḍrasṭuṭi and Kṛṣṇāryāsṭuṭi. Among dramas are Paḍminīpariṇaya, Vaiḍarbhīvāsuḍeva, Snuṣāvijaya, Hanumaḍvijaya and Rasikaranjana. He wrote commentaries on Keralavarman's Kamsavaḍhacampū, Swāmiḍīkṣiṭa's Vallīpariṇaya and Goḍāpariṇaya.[1] His brother's grandson Varaḍarāja wrote his biography in a campū.

722. **Vaidyanatha Vacaspati Bhattacarya** lived at Nuddea about the middle of the 19th century A.D. He wrote his Caiṭrayagna in five acts at the instance of Īśvaracanḍra, Rajah of Nuddea. It depicts the legend of Ḍakṣa's sacrifice in all its details, the assemblage and reception of the Gods and the ceremonial of the sacrifice.[2]

723. **Viraraghava** was the son of Iśvara and Kāmākṣī and of Kaundinyagoṭra. He lived in Sahajimahārājapuram (Tiruvasinallur) and was patronised by a King called Sivendra, Sivaji of Tanjore (1835-1865 A.D.)[3] His Rāmārājyabhiṣeka is a drama in seven Acts describing the story of the Rāmāyana, and Vallīpariṇaya[4] is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Vallī and Subrahmaṇya.[5] Pārvaṭisṭoṭra is a lyric in praise of Pārvāṭi.[6]

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1. These books have been printed in different manuscripts in Travancore, Ettiyapuram and Madras. I am indebted for this information to Mr. A. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Vyākhānasa Pancānana, Akalamannadu, Kistna District.

2. CC, I. 187. Analyzed by Wilson, *Theatre* II. 412-415. Vaiḍyanāṭha, author of Kṛṣṇalīlānātikā (*CC*, I. 123,; II. 24, 195), Vaiḍyanāṭha, author of Miṭhyācāraprahasana (*CC*, I. 455) and Vaiḍyanātha, author of Saṭsangavijayanātaka (*CC*, I. 690) are different persons and are themselves probably not identical.

3. See Subrahmanya Iyer's *History of Maharatta Kings of Tanjore*, 33.

4. *DC*, XXI. 8484.

5. Ibiḍ. 8492.

6. *DC*, No. 9608.

724. Sundaraviraraghava was the son of Kasṭūriranganāṭha and grandson of Vīrarāghava of Vāḍhūlagoṭra. He lived at Bālakingṛhapura (Siruvallūr) in the South Arcot District. In Bhojarājānka he describes the domestic conspiracy at the Court of King Munja against the life of Bhoja.[1] His RAMBHARAVANIYA[2] is a drama describing the rape of Rambhā by Rāvaṇa and the consequent curse by Nalakūbara, her lover, that Rāvaṇa's head should split into thousands, if he should outrage any woman. It was intended to be staged at Śrīrangam at the Caiṭra festival. His play Abhinavarāghava[3] describes the story of Rāmāyaṇa.

His father wrote Raghuvīravijaya,[4] a samavākāra in 3 acts describing the marriage of Rāma and Sīṭā. At the end the following dates are given for Rama's birth, marriage, banishment and coronation :

जातो वर्षे विलम्बिन्यजनुषि मिहिरे जाग्रतीन्दौ नवम्यां
सौम्येऽब्दे मासि मीने जनकनृपसुतां पूर्णिमायामुदूह्य ।
दुन्दुभ्यब्दे च चैत्रे विपिनमधिगतो मासि मीने युवाब्दे
हत्वा शत्रून् स धातौ खलु मधुसमये राघवो राज्यमाप ॥

725. Vallisahayakavi of Vāḍhūlagoṭra was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa and lived at Virincipuram in North Arcot Dt. in the middle of the 19th century. Vedapurīṣāḍhwarin, the author of Mārgasahāyacariṭa, belonged to the same family. His Yayāṭiṭaruṇānandam[5] is a drama in five acts on the loves of Śarmiṣṭhā and Yayāṭi who regained his youth by exchanging his old age with his son Puru.[6] His Rocanānanḍam is probably five acts describes the marriage of Aniruḍḍha, son of Praḍyumna and Rocanā, daughter of Rukmavarman.[7] His Ācāryāḍigvijaya is a campū on the life of Śankara.

726. Padmanabha was the son of Kāmaśāsṭrin of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra, a Telugu brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari District. On the occasion of the festival of Someśvara at Kotipalli he composed his Ṭripuravijayavyāyoga,[8] celebrating the conquest of Ṭripura by Śiva.

1. *TC*, II. 2413. See para 515 *supra*.
2. *TC*, II. 2386
3. *TC*, III. 3283.
4. *TC*, II. 2444.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8477. Another Drama Yayāṭi-Devayānicariṭram seems to have been composed with some songs for staging. *DC*, XXI. 8479.
6. *Ibid*. 8489.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8037.
8. *TC*, III. 3370.

He visited Benares and on that occasion wrote his **Līlāḍarpaṇadhāṇa**, a piece of erotic narration.[1] He lived in the 19th century.

727. **Narayana Sastrin** lived at Nadukāveri in Tanjore District. His brother Śrīnivāsa was a great authority in the Ḍarśanas and edited the Journal called Brahmaviḍyā. Nārāyaṇa was a born poet. He bore the title of Bhatta Śrī and Bālasarasvaṭī. He was an impressive lecturer and gave the benefit of his lectures on the Gīṭā to many an assembly in Madras He passed away in the year Sāḍhāraṇa (1911 A.D.) at the age of 51. His learning was versatile and in the field of poetry his authorship was prolix and he can well rival in volume and quality any other writer of the world. He wrote 92 dramas with themes embracing almost all Indian mythology as well as imagination. Of these ten are in print.[2] His Myṭhilīyam in 10 acts relates the story of Rāmāyaṇa, Śarmiṣṭhavijayam in four acts treats of the marriage of Yayāṭi and Śarmiṣṭhā, and Kaliviḍhūnanam In 10 acts describes the story of Nala. Two other plays are Jaiṭrajaivaṭṛkam in 7 acts and Sūramayūram in 7 acts.

He wrote Sunḍaravijaya, a long poem in 24 cantos, Gaurīvilāsa-campū, Cinṭāmaṇi an Ākhyāyikā in 3 parts and Ācāryacaritra, a prose narrative in 2 parts on the life of Śankara. In rhetoric, he wrote Nāṭakaḍīpikā in 12 parts, Vimarśa in 6 parts and Kāvyamimāṃsā in 2 Adhyayas.[3]

The following are his other dramas:

मैथिलीयम् (10), शर्मिष्ठाविजयम् (4), प्राज्ञसामन्तम् (5), सामन्तसौविदल्लम् (7), चितिनि-सुदतीसमितिञ्जयम् (7), मुष्टपाथेयम् (5), मुग्धबोधनम् (9), भामाभिषङ्गम् (7), शरभविजयम् (1), ग्रहम् (7), लिबदरम् (5), चित्रदीपम् (10) त्रिपुरविजयम् (12) शरभविजयम् (1), भट्टभामीयम् (9), बिल्हणीयम् (5), बालचन्द्रिका (9), (10), गूढकौशिकम् (7), मदालसा (7), मन्दारिकाविलासम्, महिलाविलासम् (7), रत्नमाला (7), भीमरथी (5), मुग्धमन्थरम् (6), प्रसन्नपार्थम् (5), वरगुणोदयम् (7), तरङ्गिणी (3), स्वैरचारः (3), राजीविनी (6), कान्तिमती (5), हारहैमवतम् (7), मुक्तमन्दारम् (10), कलिविजयम् (7), कृतकयौवतम्, (10), मुक्ताप्रवाळम् (7), मधुमाधवीयम् (10), शशिशारदीयम्,

1. *Ibid.* III. 3177.
2. Printed Madras and Chidambaram
3. The manuscripts of his works are said to be with his son at Alampallam village near Kollengode. My attempts to get at them have been of no avail and my better to the Curator, Oriental Manuscript Library giving the information seems to have been of no effect too in getting then preserved. Some of these plays are with Nangavaram Rajappa Iyer of Trichinopoly.

(6), धूतध्वजम् (5), भग्नाशोकम् (7), रक्तसारसम् (8), मञ्जुळमन्दिरम् (6), अयश्रणकम् (7), दृष्टरोहितम्, अवकीर्णकौशिकम् (10), काममञ्जरी (6), कनकाङ्गी (7), भट्टराजीयम् (5), काञ्चनमाला (7), माकन्दमकरन्दम् (10), मणिमेखला (1), शोभावती (2), अमृतमथनम् (8), महिषासुरवधम् (1), मृकण्डुमोदम् (9), सुभद्राहरणम् (6), मुक्तकेशी (1), प्रौढपरन्तपम् (7), मन्दारमाला (6), मूढकौशिकम् (5), मारुतिमै रावणम् (7), मैथिलीविजयम् (8), पुष्करराघवम् (6), लवणलक्ष्मणम् (7), सीताहरणम् (5), क्रूरसापत्न्यम् (6), स्तब्धपाण्डवम् (5), क्रान्तकौन्तेयम् (7), क्लिष्टकीचकम् (5), प्लुष्टखाण्डवम् (5), धृष्टधौरेयम् (5), शिशुविनिमयम् (6), निरुद्धानिरुद्धम् (5), व्यत्यस्तवक्त्रम् (7), श्येनदूतम् (5), शिवदूतम् (6), विश्ववीरव्रतम् (8), विद्धवेधनम् (5), विजययादवम् (7), वीरवैश्वानरम् (8), विष्टब्धचापलम् (5), विद्राणमाधवम् (6), द्रुतवीरम् (5), मुक्तावळी (4), मनोरमा (5), मधुविधूननम् (3), बद्धबाडवम् (5), बहुळबालिशम् (3), बालप्राहुणिकम्, (6) ब्रह्मविद्या (10), मुक्तमन्दरम् (5).

728. Ramacandra was son of Lakṣmaṇa and Subbamā of Korāda family and Kaundinyagoṭra. He was Pandit in Noble College, Masulipatam. He lived at Idipalle near Masulipatam late in 19th century. Among his works are Kumaroḍayacampū, Ḍevīvijaya, a long poem and a bhāṇa Śṛngārasūḍhārṇava.[1]

729. Parthasarathi (Rompivarla, Bhattar) is the son Koḍandarāmācārya. For proficiency in grammar he bore the title Vaiyākaraṇa-Pancānana. He was patronised by the Zamindar of Nuzvid Venkatadri Apparao who like Bhoja was himself a poet and patron of poets in the 19th century. Besides Ārtiṣṭava and Svāpapraṭyaya, a didactic poem, he wrote Maḍanānanḍabhāṇa.[2]

730. Eecambadi Srinivasacarya was the son of Veḍāntacārya of Kaundinyāgoṭra of Ṭiruvahinḍrapuram in South Arcot District. He lived in 1848-1914 A.D. His exposition of Kāliḍāsa's works, particularly of Sākunṭalā, was unique. He was professor of Sanskrit in the Government College, Kumbakonam. Himself a poet, he had a high standard of poetic excellence. He wrote a bhāṇa Śṛngāraṭarangiṇi and a play Uṣāpariṇaya and a poem Hamsavilāsa in 6 cantos which is allegorical.[3] Among his prose pieces[4] are Śrī Kṛṣṇalīlāyiṭa (partly published on Sahṛḍaya) and Śārngakopākhyāna.

1. Printed, Masulipatam.
2. Printed Nuzvid. See Chapter on *Alankara* post on this Zamindar and Index.
3. Printed, Madras.
4. The manuscripts are with Mr. T. R. Sundararaghavachariar, M. A. L. T. Thiruvendipuram and Mr. T. E. Satagopachariar, Advocate, Cuddalore.

His proficiency in music was manifested in the poem of songs, Amṛtamaṭhana[1] on the style of Gīṭagovinḍa and on the same he has left an incomplete poem. He wrote commentaries on Nāgānanḍa and Mṛṭchakaṭikā.

Among poets of Ṭiruvahindrapuram there were others equally great. Aṣṭāvadhānam Ananṭācarya, whose *extempore* composition of Samasyas and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of rāgas, e.g.

चिकुराळी तु वराळी वदनं तव भाति शङ्कराभरणम् ।

Ḍeśikabhakṭa Kavi Venkatācārya talked in verses to his last breath and some of them are now remembered locally.[2]

731. **Sonthi Bhadradri Ramasaststrin** (1856-1915) was, a Velanāti Vaidiki Brahmin of Pithapur in Godāvari District. He was the son of Gangāramayya of Gauṭamagoṭra. A great Samskrit scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Śrī Rāmavijayakāvya, and Sambarāsuravijaya-campū, he wrote a play MUKTAVALI.

732. **Padmanabhacarya** was an advocate at Coimbatore and passed away about fifteen years ago. He wrote the plays Ḍhruvaṭapas and Govarḍhanavilāsa.[3] They are divided into scenes and do not follow the rule about Ankas (acts).

733. **Sankara Lala** was the son of Maheśvara of Bhāraḍvāja-goṭra. His mother was Monghibai. He belonged to the family of Prashmora Nagar Brahmins of Kathiawar. He was born in 1844. He was proficient in Avaḍhāna. He was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Morvi at the age of 21. He then wrote Rāvajirājakīrṭivilāsa, a poem on the royal fnmily of Morvi State. He wrote the Kaṭhas, Anasūyābhyuḍaya, Bhagavaṭībhāgyodāya, Canḍraprabhācariṭa, Maheśa-prāṇapriyā, a long poem Bālacariṭa and minor poems Pāncalīcariṭra, Arunḍhaṭivijaya, Prasannalopāmuḍra, Keśavakṛpāleśalaharī, Bhogavāti-bhāgyoḍaya, Kailāsayaṭrā, Bhrānṭibhayabhanjana, Meghaprārṭhanā and several sṭoṭras and praśasṭis. Among his dramas are Sāviṭrīcariṭa,

1. For instance

उदिताम्बुजसदनात् उदिता शशिवदना ।

2. I am indebted for this information to Mr. Chetlur T. R. Sundararaghava-chariar, M. A., L. T.

3. Printed at Coimbatore with English translation.

Dhruvābhyudaya, Bhadrāyurvijaya, Gopālacintāmaṇi, Kṛṣṇacandrābhyudaya, Vāmanavijaya and Parvatīpariṇaya. He was made Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1914 and passed away in 1916. In his memory, his admirers have founded Śankarāśrama, where sanyāsins are invited to deliver discourses on religion.[1]

734. Narayana Sastri of Raḍhāmangalam was the son of Vaidyanātha. He was Professor in tha Sanskrit College, Trivadi near Tanjore and died in 1932. He says he wrote more than 108 works, of which 24 were dramas. Among them are Maheśvarollāsa, Udārarāghava and Mukunḍamanoraṭha, the last of which is on the sports of Kṛṣṇa.[2] The rest are not known.

735. Srinivasacarya son of Kṛṣṇamācārya, was born in 1863 near Tiruvadi, Tanjore District. He was Sanskrit Pandit in the Board School of Rājamadam. He wrote two plays, Ḍhruva and Kṣīrābḍhiśayanam which were staged in the school there. He passed away in 1932.[3]

736. Srisaila Tatacarya son of Venkatavarada, of Śathamarṣaṇagoṭra lived at Conjeevaram in 1862-1925. Besides a small play Yugalānguliya, he wrote Veḍānṭaḍesikacariṭa on the model of Sankalpasūryoḍaya on the merits of Visiṣṭādvaiṭa philosophy.[4]

737. Peri Kasinatha Sastry (1857-1918) was the son of Venkata Sastry of Gauṭamagoṭra. Ānanḍa Gajapaṭi (1851-1897) Maharajah of Vizianagaram was his paron. He was a professor of Grammar and Rhetoric in the Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram. Besides minor poems, Gangāsṭava, Goḍāvarisṭava and

1. Many of these works have been published and further particulars can be had from the poet's grandson Bhatt Shukdeo Khelsankar (S. K. Bhatt) Kathiavar.

2. Printed in *Samskrita Kamadhenu.* Some verses on a maiden's ball play are fine:

अंसस्रंसितकेशपाशमसकृत्संस्पृष्टकांचीगुणम्
मुक्ताहारविघूर्णनाविगळितश्यामांशुकैकस्तनम् ।
उत्क्षेपभ्रमणावपातनगळत्स्वेदांबुगण्डस्थलम्
तन्वंग्या ललितप्रकारबहुळं तत्कन्दुकक्रीडितम् ॥
कुचकम्पिभिरुच्चलद्दुकूलैः मुहुरुद्वर्तनविक्षिपत्कटाक्षैः ।
कबरीकृतकङ्कणानुबन्धैः कुरुते कन्दुकविभ्रमैर्विनोदम् ॥

3. The manuscripts are with his son R. S. Krishnamachariar, Rajamadam.

4. Rangasāmi Tātācārya wrote a poem Deśikābhyuḍaya on the life of Veḍānṭadeśika. See para 122 supra.

Ḍurgāsounḍāryaśaṭaka he wrote the plays Pāncālikārakṣaṇam and Yāminīpurṇaṭilakā.

To the same place Vizianagaram belonged JAYANTI VENKANNA (1864-1924). He was a vakil but devoted his time to Sanskrit learning. Besides poems of melodious verse Abhinava-Rāmāyaṇa. a summary of Rāmāyaṇa in 700 slokas (printed in Telugu script), Mukunḍānanḍalaharī (in imitation of Śivānanḍalaharī of Śankarācārya) and Lakṣmīpaṭiśaṭakam, he wrote Prahlāḍacampū on the story of Nṛisimhāvaṭāra.

738. Mulasankara Maneklal Yagnik of Gauṭamagoṭra was born on 31st January 1886 at Nādiad in the Vadnagra Nagar Brahmin community from which came some of the celebrities of the Gujarati literature and the ablest Dewans of Native States of Gujarat and Kathiawar. He studied in the Baroda College and graduated in the year 1907. After some service in the Indian Specie Bank, he became Principal of Rājakīya Sanskrit Mahāviḍyālaya of Baroda. He was initiated into the cult of Śrīviḍyā by His Holiness Abhinava Sacciḍānanḍa Bhāraṭī, Śankarācārya of Śivaganga Pīth in 1916. His proficiency in music is apparent from the Geya Padas of his Sanskrit dramas. His Vijayalaharī is a minor poem. In the field of historical research, he prepared genealogical tables of Solar and Lunar dynasties with a map of Jambūḍvipa and wrote a lucid prose summary of Viṣṇupurāṇa. His dramas are three, all with a historical grounding referable to standard works on medieval Indian history. CHATRAPATI-SAMRAJYA in 10 acts describes the reign of Sivāji; PRATAPAVIJAYA in 9 acts depicts the life of Śrī Mahārāna Praṭāpa Sinha of Mewar; and SAMYOGITA-SVAYAVARA exhibits the amorous intrigues of Pṛthvīrāja Chauhan, the last Kṣaṭriya Emperor of India. For melody of diction, for grace of expression, for choice of scenes, Mūlaśankara's poetry is much appreciated. The introduction of songs that can be set to lyre and sung on the stage makes the plays very realistic.[1]

739. Pancanana Ṭarkavāgīśa (Mahāmahopāḍhyāya) of Bhatpura (24 Parganas) was born in Bengali year 1273 and was son of Nanḍalāta Viḍyāraṭha of Gautamagoṭra. He is one of the greatest living erudite scholars of Bengal and he lives in Benares City. Besides a poem PARTHASVAMEDHA published in the Viḍyoḍaya journal (now defunct) he wrote the play Amaramangala on the life of Rāna Amarasimha, son of Rāna Praṭāpa, in Śaka 1835. Among his illustrious ancestors was Alla Bhatta of Kānyakubja.

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1. All his works have been printed in Baroda.

740. **Cantrakanta Tarkalankara** (Mahāmahopāḍhyāya) was son of Rāḍhākānṭa and was professor of Philosophy and Rhetotric in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1883-1887. Besides Saṭīpariṇaya and Canḍravamśa, poems in limitation of Kumārasambhava and Raghuvamśa and Alankārasūṭra on rhetoric he wrote the play Kaumuḍīsuḍhākara.[1]

741. **Haridasa**, Siḍḍhānṭa-Vāgīśa[2] was the son of Viḍhumukhī and Gangāḍhara Viḍyālankāra of Kāśyapagoṭra. He was born on 7th Kartick 1798 Śaka (1876 A.D.) at Unashia near Kotwalipara in Faridpur District, East Bengal, a place described traditionally as "Second Kāśī where Brahmins worship a hundred thousand idols of Śiva." Gangāḍhara's father, Kāśicanḍra Vācaspaṭi was an eminent scholar and was ninth in descent from Yāḍavānanḍa Nayācārya.[3] Among his ancestors was the famous Maḍhusūḍana Sarasvaṭī.[4]

Hariḍasa was renowned from boyhood for his piety and before he was 13, he had acquired high proficiency in Sanskrit literature. At 14, he composed a play Kamsavaḍha and a campū Kamsavaḍha, at 16, the poem Śankarasambhava in 5 cantos, at 18, the play Jānakīvikrama, and at 20 a poem Viyogavaibhava.

He was a pupil of Jīvānanḍa Viḍyāsāgara. Later, he wrote the plays Virājasarojinī, and Vangīyapraṭāpa, a poem Rukmiṇīharaṇa and a romance Saralā. He also composed commentaries with historical introductions on Naiṣaḍha, Māgha, Kāḍambarī, Ḍaśakumāracariṭa and Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa and on the poems and plays of Kāliḍāsa and Bhavabhūṭi.[5]

He was professor of Sanskrit in the Tol of Zamindar of Nakipur His present undertaking, an edition of Mahābhārata with a Bengali translation, has been highly appreciated and Āḍiparvan and part of Vanaparvan have been published. It is hoped that the learned scholar will live long to complete the edition.

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1. This information was kindly forwarded to me by Saṭish Kumara, Managing Director, Bareilley Corporation Ltd.

2. He bears titles Kāvyatīrṭha, Vyākaranaṭīrṭha, Smṛṭiṭīrṭha, Sānkhyaraṭna, Purāṇaśāsṭra, Śabḍacārya and Mahopaḍeśak.

3. The earlier history of the family has been furnished to me by Jogescanḍra Bhaṭṭācārya, manager, *Karmasachiv* to whom I am indebted for varied information on modern Bengali authors.

4. See para 704 *supra*.

5. Most of these have either been printed at Calcutta or are in course of publication.

742. **Deviprasada Sukla**, Kavicakravarṭi, of Benares is a scholar of renown. He wrote a poem Lakṣmīnārayaṇa and a play Nalacariṭa.[1]

743. **Kalipada Tarkacarya** is the editor of Samskritasahitya Parishat Patrikā, Calcutta. Besides commetaries on many poems and plays he wrote the plays Syamanṭakoḍḍhāra and Nalaḍamayanṭīya and an account of Kāvya literature called Kāvyacinṭā.[2]

744. **K. S. Ramaswami Sastri** is the son of K. Sundarama Iyer and Campakā Lakśmī lives at Kumbakonam. Rāmaswāmi recenty retired as District Judge. His appreciation of Sanskrit poetry is at once critical and æsthetic. His Raṭivijaya is a small play in five acts, suggested by Kāliḍāsa's story of Raṭi in Kumārasambhava. and aims "at presenting the rebirth of love under a new inspiration and with true loyalty to Ḍharma and to God and at giving a new interpretation to an ancient and beautiful story and its underlying *motif* i.e. the Lord's sentiment in the Giṭa : धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु काम्योऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ।

745. **V. Krishnan Tampi, B.A.,** Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum, has written some short plays for amateur dramatic entertainment with scenic directions, Laliṭā, Praṭikriyā, Vanajyotsnā and Ḍharmasyasukṣmāgatiḥ.[3]

746. **Makalinga Sastri (M.A., B.L.)** is an advocate of the High Court of Madras. He is the son of Yagnaswāmin, great-grandson of Ṭyāgaraja (better known as Rāju Sastrigal),[4] and 12th in descent from Appaya Ḍīkṣiṭa. He was born in July 1897. Love of Sanskrit has rightly been his heritage and young as he is, his writings are many and of merit. There are his minor poems such as Vanalaṭā, Naḍīpūra, Vyājokṭiraṭnāvali, Arthāntaranyāsapancāśaṭ, Bhāraṭīviṣāḍa, Bhramarasanḍeśa, Ḍurjanahṛḍaya, Laghupāndavacariṭa, Laghurāmacariṭa, and Ḍrāvidāryāsubhāṣiṭasapṭaṭi. Besides short stories like Kalipraḍurbhāva, he has an abridgment in prose of Bhāsa's dramas, Bhāsakaṭhāsāra, which has been widely appreciated by the Universities.[5] There are his plays Uḍgāṭriḍaśānana, and Praṭirājasūya. The latter dramati-

1. Published in Suprabhāta.
2. Published in *Jl, Sam. Sah. Pt.*
3. Printed, Trivandrum.
4. Raju Sastrial was a famous authority on Dharma Sastras and in the field of philosophy was an unrivalled professor.
5. Some are printed in Uḍyānapaṭrikā, Trivadi. Other minor poems have been collected under the title Kinkiṇimālā. The manuscripts are with the author.

ses the anecdotes of Vanaparvan of Mahābhāraṭa.[1] In Kaundinya-prahasana the hero is a complacent glutton and his inevitable raids on the kitchen become impossible to thwart. It is said that appetite is "presented here as the root cause of fiction between the two classes of men--the owner and the trespassers" and appetite stands for all the incomitable animal cravings in man.

747. R. Shama Sastrin, B.A., Ph.D., has translated the play of German poet Lesing, Amelia Galaṭṭi in 11 scenes.[2]

SECTION 5.

Allegorical plays

748. Personification of inanimate beings and personal qualities or senses, shortly called, allegory, is as old as the vedic literature. The comparative superiority of the various organs and senses was often illustrated by dialogues and action. Such, for instance, are the controversies between *vāk* (speech) and *manas* (mind) and the *prāṇa* (life) and the five indriyas (senses).

अहंभद्रकारं वाक्च मनश्चार्तीयेतां, अहं देवेभ्यो हव्यं वहामीति वागब्रवीत्, अहं देवेभ्य इति मनः ॥ तौ प्रजापतिं प्रश्नमैतागृम् । सोऽब्रवीत् प्रजापतिर्दूतीरेव त्वं मनसोऽसि, यद्धि मनसा ध्यायति तद्वाचा वदति तत्भटः तुभ्यं । न वाचा जुहुवन्नित्यब्रवीत् । तस्मान्मनसा प्रजापतये जुह्वति ॥

Kṛṣṇayajus, II. v. xi. 4.

The following story is in Bṛhadāraṇyakopanisaṭ, Adhyaya, VI.

ते हेमे प्राणा अहंश्रेयसे विवदमाना ब्रह्म जग्मुः, तद्धोचुः, को नो वसिष्ठ इति । तद्धोवाच यस्मिन्व उत्क्रान्त इदं शरीरं पापीयो मन्यते स वो वसिष्ठ इति ॥ 7.

वाग्घोच्चक्राम, सा संवत्सरं प्रोष्यगत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुः यथाकलाः, अवदन्तो वाचा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह वाक् ॥ 8.

चक्षुर्होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्यथान्धाः, अपश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेशह चक्षुः ॥ 9.

श्रोत्रं होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकतमदृते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्यथाबधिरा, अशृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह श्रोत्रम् ॥ 10.

1. Printed, Madras.
2. Printed *Jl. of Mys. Sanskrit College*, VII. 116.

मनो होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति। ते होचुर्यथा-मुग्धाः, अविद्वांसो मनसा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति। प्रविवेश ह मनः ॥ 11.

रेतो होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति तेहोचु र्यथा-क्लीबाः, अप्रजायमाना रेतसा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, विद्वांसो मनसैवमजीविष्मेति। प्रविवेश ह रेतः 12.

अथ ह प्राण उत्क्रमिष्यन् यथा महासुहयः सैन्धवः पड्वीशशङ्कून् संवृहेदेवं हैवेमान् प्राणान् संववर्ह, तेहोचुर्माभगव उत्क्रमीः, नैव शक्ष्यामस्त्वदृते जीवितुमिति। तस्योमेबलिं कुरुतेति तथेति ॥ 13.

सा ह वागुवाच, यद्वा अहं वसिष्ठास्मि, त्वं तद्वसिष्ठोसीति। यद्वा अहं प्रतिष्ठास्मि त्वं तत्प्रतिष्ठोसीति चक्षुः। यद्वा अहं संपदस्मि त्वं तत्संपदसीति श्रोत्रं। यद्वा अहमायतनमस्मि त्वं तदायतनमसीति मनः। यद्वा अहं प्रजातिरस्मि त्वं तत्प्रजा रसीति रेतः * * * 14.

749. In the fables like Pancatantra, animals are humanised and their dialogues impart ethical precepts. In Aśvaghoṣa's Sāriputraprakaraṇa, Buḍḍhi, Kīrṭi, Ḍhṛṭi are personified and at the end of their dialogues, Buḍḍha appears. This is adopted by Kavikarṇapūra in his Caiṭanyacanḍroḍaya, in which Caiṭanya takes the place of Buḍḍha.[1] Later literature has abundantly made use of this dramatic artifice to represent with vividness, tenets of particular schools of philosophy and other questions of religious controversy.

750. Krsnamisra[2] was an ascetic of the Hamsa order. He was a follower of Śankara and missionary for the propagation of Aḍvaiṭa doctrines. It is said that among his several disciples there was one who was averse to the study of philosophy. To put him in the way, the ascetic composed the play Prabodhacanḍroḍaya on the plan of Puranjanopākhyāna of Sri Bhāgavaṭa.[3] With the apparent exterior of erotic ideas, it dramatises the supreme truth of Aḍvaiṭa Veḍānṭa and ridicules the tenets of other schools of philosophy. The characters are personifications of abstractions. "The Evil king Error appears on the scene, as ruler of Benares surrounded by his faithful adherents, the Faults and Vices, while Religion and the noble king Reason, accom-

1. Ed, *Bibl. Ind.* Calcutta.
2. Kṛṣnamisra, author of the Vīravijaya Ihamṛiga (*CC*, I. 595) is probably different.
3. III. 25–28.

panied by all virtues have been banished. There is however a prophesy that Reason will some day be reverted into Revelation; the fruit of the union will be True knowledge, which will destroy the reign of Error. The struggle for this union and consummation, followed by the final truimph of the good party, forms the plot of the piece."[1]

751. The prologue to the play mentions the victories of king Kirṭivarman,[2] and his general Gopāla over the armies of Karṇaḍeva,[3] as the occasion of immediate rejoicing and the enactment of the drama, recently composed, as an item in the programme of festivities. Kirṭi-

1. Ed. Bombay. Tran. into Germ. by Goldstucker, Koingsburg (gives end of 12th century); by Herzel, Zurich; into English by Taylor, Bombay. On this drama, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 12, Macdonell *SL.* 366-7; Weber, *IL.* 207; S. Levi, *TI*, 229-35. H. Brockhaus, Int. to Edn. (Leipsig); M. Williams, *IW*, 508; *Jl. Tel. Ac.* III. 408-22; Keith, *SD.* 251. (This contains a very full and critical account of the play and its time). *SR.* II, 67. For quotations in the anthologies, see Peterson, *Subh.* On the Bibliography of Kṛṣṇamiṣra, see *JAOS*, XXV. 189.

VENKATESH VAMAN SOVANI, discovers a long metre at the end of Act IV, a passage forming a magnificent hymn of Ādikeśava at Benares :

अमरचय (चमू) चक्रचूडामणिश्रेणिनीराजितोपान्तपादद्वयाम्भोजराजन्नखद्योतखद्योत-किर्मीरितस्वर्णपीठ स्फुरदद्वैतविश्रान्तिसंतानसंतप्तवन्दारुसंसारनिद्रापहारैकदक्ष क्षमामण्डलोद्धार-संमारसंघट्टदंष्ट्राग्रकोटिस्फुरच्छैलचक्रक्रमाक्रान्तलोकत्रय ।

प्रबलभुजबलोद्धृ (द्धृ) तगोवर्धनच्छत्रनिवा (वा) रिताखण्डलोद्योजिताकाण्डचण्डाम्बु-वाहातिवर्षत्रसद्गोकुलत्राणविस्मापिताशेषविश्वप्रभो ।

विबुधरिपुवधूवर्गसीमन्तसिन्दूरसन्ध्यामयूखच्छटोन्मार्जनोद्दामधामाधिप त्रस्तदैत्येन्द्रवक्ष-स्तटीपाटनाकुण्ठभास्वन्नखश्रेणिपाणिद्वयस्रस्तविसा (स्ता) रिरक्तार्णवामग्नलोकत्रय ।

त्रिभुवनरिपुकैटभोद्दण्डकण्ठास्थिकूटस्फुटोन्मार्जितोद्दामदोर्दण्ड खण्डेन्दुचूडप्रिय प्रौढदो-र्दण्डविश्रान्तमन्थाचलक्षुब्धदुग्धाम्बुधिप्रोत्थितश्रीभुज(जा)वल्ली (ल्लि) संश्लेषसंक्रान्तपीनस्तनाभोग-पत्रावलीलाञ्छितोरस्थल स्थूलमुक्ताफलोदारहारप्रभामण्डल(प्र)स्फुरत्कण्ठ वैकुण्ठ भक्तस्य लोकस्य संसारमोहच्छिदं देहि बोधोदयं देव तुभ्यं नमः ।

2. According to the Mahoba inscription, the king Kirṭivarman here referred to was a Chandella king who with his general Gopāla defeated Karṇa, king of Ceḍi. There is, however, some difference between the accounts given in the inscription and the play. Kirṭivarman is mentioned as the friend of Gopāla in the drama, whereas in the inscription, the latter is said to have been the general of Kirṭivarman.

3. Karṇaḍeva, son of Gangayaḍeva, was the king of Cedi (1040-70 A.D.) who joined Bhīma, king of Gujarat in crushing Bhoja, the king of Mālwa, about 1060 A.D. V. Smith, *EH*, 392; Bendall, *History of Nepal* (*JASB*, (1903), 18); S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, II. 202 note. R. D. Banerji, *Palas of Bengal*, (*JASB*, *Memoirs*, 1913). M. Duff (*Chronology*) gives the date about 1090 A.D.

varman ruled between 1049 and 1100 and his victory over the Karṇadeva was about 1065 A.D.[1]

The geneologies[2] of the Kamakoti Pītha record that Mankha and Kṛṣṇamiṣra were contemporaries of Canḍraśekhara Sarasvaṭī the 47th occupier of that seat (1097-1165 A.D.)

752. There are commentaries on the play by Ruḍraḍeva,[3] Gaṇeśa,[4] Subrahmanyasuḍhī,[5] Rāmaḍāsa,[6] Saḍāṭmamuṇi,[7] Ghanasyāma,[8] Maheśvara Nyāyālankāra,[9] R. V. Dikshit,[10] Ādhyanāṭha,[11] and Govinḍāmṛṭa.[12]

753. Venkatanāṭha's Sankalpasūryoḍaya is an answer to Kṛṣṇamiṣra and in culcates Viśistāḍvaita philosophy.[13] Venkatanāṭha is Veḍanṭaḍeśika.

[GOPALACARYA was the son of Rangācārya of Vaḍhūlāgoṭra and lived at Mannārgudi and Pudukotta in 1881-1907. Rangācārya's father

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1. Hulszch (*EI*, I. 220) shows that the play was composed between 1050 and 1116 A.D. and refers to coincidence between the passage relating to Kirṭivarman and a passage in Mahoba inscription. See Grierson, *JRAS*, (1908), 1136.

2. मङ्ख श्रीजयदेवकृष्णसुहलप्रेष्ठैर्महिष्ठैर्वृतः
विद्वद्भिः परितः क्षितिं विरचयन् यात्रां विजैत्रां कृती ।
विद्यालोककुमारपालनृपतेस्संसत्समुच्चंसितं
हेमाचार्यमपि व्यपाकृतगिरावागष्टकन्याकृतम् ॥

Puṇyaślokamanjari, 20-

See also N. K. Venkatesa, *Sankaracharya and his Kamakoti Peetha* (Kumbakonam), 28.

3. *Cal. Bod.* 281. Ed. Bombay with Candrikā.

4. *CC*, III, 75.

5. *DC*, XXI. 8429. *Tanj.* VIII. 3436. He was son of Venkateśa and Venkalāmbā of Ponduri family.

6. *Trav.* 77. He was son of Vināyaka. Ed. Madras, Leipzig and Pooṇa. A manuscript is dated 1545 A.D.

7. *CC*, II. 78, 211. His original name was Gaḍāḍhara. The Ms. is dated Śāka 1436 (1571 A.D.)

8. *Tanj.* VIII. 3432.

9. Ed. Calcutta, Leipzig.

10. Ed Poona.

11. Ed. Shibpur.

12. *TC*. III. 3318. Printed *ISS*, Trivandrum. He was apparently an ascetic and disciple of Prakāśatirtha.

13. See para 120 *supra*. There are commentaries on it by Ahobila, by Kauśika Śrīśaila Ṭāṭārya (Ed. Conjeevaram), by Nārāyaṇa, and by Rāmānujā (*CC*, II. 163, 232).

was Gopālācārya, the well known scholar of eminence of Mannargudi under whom Mahāmahopāḍhyāya Raju Śasṭrigal studied. While yet very young, Gopālācārya was master of all the śasṭras and for his special proficiency in poetry and poetics he was honoured by then Maharaja of Pudukottah. In 700 verses in Arya metre called Arya Sapṭaśaṭi apparently named after Govarḍhana's work he wrote a biography of Veḍānṭadeśika, replete with devotion and poetic beauty. Parts of the book were published in Pudukotta Sanskrit Journal and will, I am told, be completely edited by his younger brother R. Srinivasachariar, State Vakil of Pudukotta, who has himself composed a short poem on the Lord. His elder brother is R. Krishnamachariar, the present Assistant Administrator of Pudukottai.

On Veḍānṭaḍeśika, there are also the poems Ḍeśikasṭoṭraraṭnamanjūṣā and Srīsūktiraṭnakara and Cetlur Śrīnivāsācārya's Abḍamālikā.]

754. The attempt of Kṛṣṇamiśra to establish the truth of particular tenets of religion by allegorical representation has been fruitful in the production of similar plays covering also the range of theology and ceremonial.

755. **Gokulanatha** was a poet of the court of Fatteh Sāha of Śrīnagara, and contemporary of king Rāghavasimha of Miṭhila who ruled in 1615 A.D. His Amriṭoḍaya[1] treats the story of the Jīvāṭman from creation to annihilation. His Maḍālasā is a play on the marriage of Madālasā.[2] His Rasamahārṇava is a treatise on rhetoric and Śivaśaṭaka a lyric in praise of Śiva.[3]

756. **Yasappala** was the son of Ḍhanaḍāḍeva and Rukmiṇī of the Moḍha family and himself minister of king Ajayaḍeva. His MOHAPARAJAYA[4] is an allegorical play in 5 acts celebrating the support given by king Kumārapala to the Jain religion. The play was first enacted at Tharapadra, probably the capital of Marwar. Yasafpāla was one of the eminent men who heard the first reading of Muniraṭna's Amāmasvāmicariṭa at the temple of Sānṭināṭha at Patan in Sam. 1252 (1306 A. D.)[5]

1. Ed. Bombay. See S. K. De, *SP*, 291. See para *supra*.
2. *CC*, II. 97. There are Maḍālasāpariṇaya (anonymous) and Maḍālasā by Rāmabhatta, *CC*, I. 426.
3. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay.
4. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda.
5. *PR*, IV. xcix. III. App. 89, 208. Keith, *SD*, 263.

757. **Samaraja** Ḍīkshita, son of Narahari Bindu Purandara, lived at Maṭhura in the latter half of the 17th century. Ānandarāya Chief of Bundelkhand was his patron. His Ṭripurasundarīsṭoṭra is in praise of Pārvaṭī[1] and Kāvyenḍuprakāsā is a work on poetics.[2] Besides a farce Ḍhūrṭanarṭaka he wrote Śrīḍāmacariṭa,[3] a play in five acts in 1681 A. D. describing the elevation of Śrīḍāman or Suḍāman, companion son of Kṛṣṇa, to sudden affluence. "The opening of the piece is in the style of our ancient moralities, and in the first Act Poverty and Folly are said to assail Sridaman, who is abnoxious to Laxmi for his attachment to Saraswati or, in other words, who prefers learning to house and lands; for Fortune, it is said, will not even glance upon the pious and wise but flies from them in proportion as they are devoted to philosophy and virtue. On the other hand, Krishna or Vishnu employs the same agents to recover those whom fortune has corrupted. Folly, entering into their hearts, prepares the way for Poverty, and when reduced to distress, their minds are weaned from wordly affections and they are fitted to heaven. These allegorical personages effect their purpose with Sridaman, by demanding the rites of hospitality, and being accordingly admitted into his dwelling."

His son Kāmarāja wrote the poem Śṛngārakalikā,[4] his grandson and great-grandson, Vrajarāja and Jivarāja composed commentaries on Rasamanjarī and Rasaṭarangiṇi.[5]

758. In Ḍharmavijaya,[6] BHUDEVA ŚUKLA deminstrates, in five acts, the advantages of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and lived in 16th century A.D. He also wrote Rasavilāsa.[7]

759. **Bhuminatha** called Nallā Ḍīkṣita was son of Bālacanḍra of Kauśikagoṭra.[8] He was pupil of Rāmabhaḍra Ḍīkṣiṭa and wrote Ḍharmavijayacampū on the life of king Shahaji of Tanjore (1684–1710

1. Ed. Bombay.
2. *BR* (1887-21), No. 601.
3. *CC*, II. 63; III. 142, with a commentary also. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 404–6. See also S. K. De, *SP*, 320.
4. Ed. Bombay.
5. See under Bhānuḍaṭṭa, Chapter on Alankara *post*.
6. *IO*, VII. 1598. Printed, Bombay and *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares. See Mitra's *Notices*, I. 37. There is a commentary by his desciple Bhavaniśankara (*IO*, VII. 4183).
7. Printed, *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares.
8. See para 162 *supra*.

A.D.)[1] Besides the play Subhadrāpariṇaya[2] and Śṛngārasarvasvabhāṇa[3] he wrote the allegorical plays Ciṭṭavṛṭṭikalyāṇa[4] and Jīvanmukṭikalyāṇa.[5]

760. **Jagannatha Sighrakavi** was a poet of Kathiawar and lived in the 17th century during the days of Nānā Fatnāvis. His Śaubhāgyamahoḍayanātaka represents all alankāras as courtiers in the Durbar of Maharajah Vakhatsinji of Bhownagar recounting their functions.[6]

761. **Anandarayamakhin** describes the marriage of Jīvāṭman or the individual soul and Viḍyā or spiritual wisdom. The real author of this play VIDYAPARINAYA was VEDAKAVI and by him it was attributed to his patron Ananḍarao Peshwa, minister of Sārabhoji I and Tukkoji, kings of Tanjore in the 18th century. Ānanḍarāya[7] is referred to by Vancīśvara in his Mahiṣaśaṭaka.[8] Veḍakavi also wrote Jivānanḍanātaka, a play of similar import.

762. **Jatadevas** of Viśvāmiṭragoṭra performed Soma sacrifice and became an ascetic. He lived in Malabar about 1800 A.D. His Pūrṇapuruṣārṭhacaadrodaya,[9] represents the union of king Ḍaśāsva or Āṭman possessing ten horses (representing ten senses of man) and Ānanḍapakvavallī. The various systems of thought are introduced as demons and are vanquished, and Suśraḍḍhā, and Subhakṭi bring about the union.

763. **Mallari Aradhya** was the son of Śarabhaṇāraḍhya of Chaganta family probably of the Kṛṣṇa District. His Śivalingasūryoḍaya in five acts is intended to establish the supremacy of Vīra-Śaiva religion. He composed it for the delectation of Basaveśvara of Kandukūri family, probably a local chief of Kalyāṇapura of the 18th century A.D.[10]

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1. *Tanj.* VII. 3269.
2. Probably *CC*, I. 726.
3. *Tanj.* VIII. 3609. Printed Bombay.
4. *CC*, I. 186.
5. *CC*, I. 207.
6. *Mod. Rev.* XVI.
7. *Trav.* 79. See para 165 *supra.*
8. See para 163 *supra.* A similar satirical poem is Kākāśaṭaka, censuring one Kakaji, a courtier of King Ekoji of Tanjore (*Tanj.* VII. 2938).
9. *DC*, XXI. 8417.
10. *TC*, III. 3125.

764. NṚSIMHA'S Anumitipariṇaya explains the Nyāya doctrine of inference. Anumiti, the daughter of Parāmarśa, marries Nyāyarasika. Nṛsimha was son of Venkatakṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagotra and lived in Triplicane in the beginning of the 18th century A.D.[1]

GHATTA ŚESACARYA, son of Rāmanuja of Vādhūlagotra, belonged to Kavitārkika family and lived about the beginning of the 19th century A.D. at Manchalagadda, Madras Presidency.[2] His Prapannasapindīkaraṇanirāsa established that for Prapannas there cannot be Sapindīkaraṇa.

KRSNANANDA Vācaspati has lessons on grammar in the form of a dramatic entertainment in his Nātyapariśiṣta or Antar-Vyākaraṇa-Nātyapariśiṣta.[3] Rameścandra's Saralacitsukhīsarā is a similar work.[4] Narasimha's Śivanārāyaṇamahodaya is a philosophical play in honor of a prince of Keonjhor.[5]

765. **Madabhusi Venkatacarya** was son of Anantācārya of Naidhruvakāśyapagotra. His play Suddhasatva inculcates Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrines.[6] He lived in Samarlakota about 1860 A.D.

766. **Rani Mahagni Cinna Narasimha Kavi,** popularly known as Rani Cayanulu was born in 1862 in the village of Yenugumahal of Godavary District. After spending sometime with Ānanda Gajapaty Raj, Maharaja of Vizianagaram, he became an ascetic. He was a mathematical prodigy and died very recently at Bezwada. His drama Citsūryaloka is allegorical[7] and his two works Kālamānopapatti and Tithimanjarī indicate his astronomical scholarship.

767. Harihara's Bhartṛharinirveda,[8] Ghanaśyāma's Pracandarāhūdaya, Nārāyaṇaśāstrin's Brahmavidyā have been noticed. Besides these

1. *DC*, XXI- 8362.
2. *Ibid.* 8424.
3. Printed Calcutta.
4. Prinfed, *Jl. Sam. Sah.* XVIII.
5. *CC*, III. 134.
6. The manuscript is with P. V. Subramanya Sastri, Sanskrit Pandit, Razole. Gedaveri District.
7. Mr. P. L. Narasimham, Advocate, Vizagapatam, tells me that this play is different from the one of the same name (printed, Vizianagram) by Mudumbai Narasimhacārya and that he had seen another old play of the same name elsewhere.
8. See para 263 *supra*. Ed. Bombay. Analysed by Gopinatha in his edn. of Satakas, Bombay. Translated into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOS*, XXV. 1. It is doubtful whether he is identical with Harihara, the author of Prabhāvatīpariṇayanātaka (in *Mitra* VII. No. 2395, Levi. II. 77, 88 ; *CC*. I. 354, 762). Schyuler (*Bibl*)

plays there are the following allegorical plays:—Jnānasūryodaya of Vādicandra,[1] Satsangavijaya of Vaidyanātha,[2] Śaṇmaṭanāṭaka of Jayanta-bhatta,[3] Muktipariṇaya of Sundaradeva,[4] Bhaktivaibhava of Jīvadeva,[5] Vivekacandrodaya of Śiva,[6] Vivekavijaya of Rāmānuja,[7] Śāntirasa of Vaikunṭhapurī,[8] Vedāntavilāsa of Varadācārya,[9] Mithyājnānakhandana of Ravidāsa,[10] Śivabhaktānanda,[11] Gairvaṇavijaya of Bālakavi,[12] Svānubhūtyabhidhā of Anantarāma,[13] Jīvanmuktīkalyāṇa of Mallā Somayājin[14] and probably Śukleśvara's Pramāṇādarśa.[15]

768. **Ramadeva** or Vāmadeva is known better by the pet name Ciranjīva. He was son of Raghavendra Bhattācārya, who was a renouned Śatāvadhāni[16] and grandson of Kāśīnātha, the great palmist

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treats them as identical. Bhartṛhari's fourth Paddhati Śāntipaddhati is found mentioned in *Int. to Cat. C.P.*

1. Printed Bombay. *CC*, I. 210. Composed in 1580 (?)

2. *CC*, I. 690. Probably Mithyācāraprahasana (*CC*, I. 455) and Kṛṣṇalīlanātika (*CC*, I. 123; II. 217) are his works.

3. *PR*, V. 437.

4. *Tanj.* VIII. 3465. He probably wrote Vinodarangaprahasana (*CC*, I, 577).

5. He wrote on the Court of Pratapasimha Gajapāti of Orissa about 1500 A.D. He also wrote Bhaktibhāgavata. This is Kṛṣṇabhaktirasāyana (play) noted in Kavindrācārya's List (*GOS*), Baroda, No. 1967.

6. *Gough*, 106.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8521.

8. *CC*, II. 152. See on the author's othec works *CC*, I. 591, where he is called also Viṣṇupurī He verses are quoted in Padyāvali.

9. *CC*, I. 29.

10. Printed, Calcutta. *IO*, VII. 4200.

11. *CC*, I. 650.

12. Printed, Palghat.

13. *CC*, I. 752.

14. *Rice*, 256.

15. *CC*, I. 658.

16. Rāghavendra was a great poet and his Śataśloki is marvellous. Ciranjīva quotes verses of other poets in praise of Rāghavendra, *e.g.*

अयं हरिहरस्सिद्धेरविलम्बसरस्वती ।
साक्षाच्छतावधानस्त्वमवतीर्णा सरस्वती ॥
पुंरूपादरणी साक्षादवतीर्णा सरस्वती !
जितश्शतावधानतो विष्णुनापि न जिष्णुना ॥

This feat is described by Ciranjīva thus in Vidvanmodataranginī (I. 10-12) thus:

एकैकमेकैककविप्रयुक्तं श्लोकास्थितं वर्णमपव्यवस्थम् ।
आकर्ण्य तत्सङ्ख्यमथप्रयुंक्ते स्वयंकृतं श्लोकशतं च वर्णम् ॥

of Bengal. Rādhāpur was his place. He was patronised by Yaśavant-simha who was the Naib Diwan of Decca about 1731 A.D. He wrote Vṛttaratnāvali. a work on prosody with illustrations in his praise,[1] and the poems Śṛngāraṭatinī,[2] Kalpalaṭā and Śivasṭoṭra and Maḍhava-campū[3] and Kāvyavilāsa on poetics.[4]

His Viḍvanmoḍaṭarangiṇī is a unique composition.[5] It is a humourous quasi-dramatic work, whene he brings together the followers of various religions and irreligious creeds and in the course of their dialogues, pools together the essence of various philosophical doctrines.

769. [SATAVADHANI VEMURI SRI RAMASASTRIN was born in 1870 in Juvvigunta Agraharam in Kandukur Taluk of Nellore District. He is a 'Velanati' vaidiki of Haritagoṭra. In his early days he studied Veḍa, Śrauṭa, and Jyoṭṣa at the feet of his father, and afterwards studied Sāhiṭya aud Vyākaraṇa. Saṭāvaḍhānam was his favourite hobby and from the age of 24 he travelled from Cape Camorin to the Himālayas exhibiting his scholarship at different chief centres. In Poona, he was highly appreciated by Dr. Bhandarkar under whose auspices he performed wonderful feats of memory, and in Baroda he was highly rewarded by the Gækwar for a similar performance. In 1903 he went to Kashmir and dedicated to him a Samskrit work called "Graiveyaka Bandha" and in 1911 was presented at the Delhi Durbar for his work called "Dhelli Prabha" or "Durbar Khaneda." Through his chief pursuit is Samskrit, he is now able to speak in 14 languages fluently, and can write poetry in Telugu, Samskrit and Hindu. His Samskrit works are "Avaḍhāna Viḍhānam," a work describing the process of Avaḍhāna, Gurukalpam and Nūṭanoḍyānam. He is still living at Bezwada.

रीत्यानया श्लोकशतं कवीनां शतस्य निर्वक्त्यवधारयित्वा ।
समस्यया पूर्तिमतीमथैनं स्वयं कृतश्लोकशतीं तथैव ॥

Rāghavenḍra's teacher was Jagaḍīśā Tarkālankāra whose gloss on Kāvyaprakāśā was copied by one of his pupils in 1677 A.D. See Gopināth Kavirāj's *History of Nyāya-Vaiśesika literature* (*Sar. Bhawan Series*, V. 143.)

1. *CC*, I. 597 ; *PR*, V. 455.
2. *Oudh* (1877), 22.
3. Printed, Calcutta.
4. Edited by Batuknath Sarma with introduction, *Sarasvati Bhavan Series*.
5. Printed, Calcutta and Madras.

VINJAMURI VIRARAGHAVACARYA, (1855-1920) was a Vaiṣṇavite of Kauśikagoṭra, and was his coworker. He belonged to Dontavaram in Tanuku Taluk of West Godavary District. He lived at Bezwada and was for many years the Samskrit Pandit in High School there. He was a versatile Samskrit scholar and poet and wrote the following works in Samskrit: Rāmānujaslokaṭrayī, Manśasanḍesa, Hanumaṭsanḍeśa, Pānaka-Narasimhasṭoṭra, Raghuvīragaḍyavyākhyā, Caṭuślokīvyākhyā.

Abhinava Panḍiṭarāya Mādabhūṣi Venkaṭācārya (? -1897) of blessed memory was the forerunner of the performance of Avaḍhānas of the modern day. Though he was a genius in Samskrit, no Samskrit work is now available.

Ḍivākarla Ṭirupaṭi Śāsṭrin and Chellapilla Venkata Śāsṭrin are famous as Ṭirupaṭi Venkata kavis thoughout the Ānḍhradeśa, as performers of Sāṭāvaḍhānam. Their Samskrit work is Kalisahasram.

Devulapalli Subbarāya Śāsṭrin (1853- ?) and Thammanna Sastry (1862- ?) were famous śaṭāvaḍhānis and were known as Devulapalli brother poets. They were poets of the court of the Maharajah of Pithapuram and both were versatile scholars in Samskrit Among them, Subbarāya Śastrin wrote a work called Rāvuvamsāmukṭavali.][1]

SECTION 6.

Chayanataka

770. Chayanataka, literally shadow-play was considered by Wilson to denote 'the shade or outline of a drama' "intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and processions." As a dramatic genre it is not recognised by Sanskrit writers on dramaturgy. But Nīlakantha, in commenting on रूपोपजीवनं in Mahābhāraṭa (XII, ccxcv, 5) wrote

रूपोपजीवनं जालमण्डपिकेति दाक्षिणात्येषु प्रसिद्धम्, यत्र सूक्ष्मवस्त्रं व्यवधाय चर्ममयैराकारैः राजामात्यादीनां चर्या प्रदर्श्यते।

"Rupopajivanam is called Jalamandapika among the southerners where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers etc., is shown by leathern figures."[2] This is the picture-show known in South India from time immemorial. The pictures made of leather or

1. See "Hymavatiparinayam" or *Lives of Modern Telugu poets* published by Raja Bhujanga Rao of Ellore.

2. Wilson, *Theatre*, II. ii, 90; Levi, *TI*, 241.

card-board are manipulated by persons behind the screen, so as to move and shake the images falling on the screen as in magic lantern shows, and the dialogue is repeated by the persons from behind the screen quite dramatically. It approaches a Talkie of modern days.

Vātsyāyana mentions Ākhyānaka-pata "which is evidently a roll of canvas containing the representation of a short story in several scenes like the *Yamapata* which was spread by a spy of Cāṇakya before the people in Candanaḍāsa's house and was exhibited by them with songs :

तहिं जनपडं पसारिअ पटतह्मि गीदार्थि गाइदुम् । —*Mudrārakṣasa,* Act I.

771. Subhata is highly praised by Somaḍeva and Namisāḍhu. His Ḍūṭāngada[1] was enacted in the reign of King Ṭribhuvanapālaḍeva of Anhilvid about 1242 A.D. during a festival held in commemoration of the restoration of a Śiva's temple at Somanāth by King Kumārapāla-ḍeva (1147–1172 A.D.). It describes the embassy of Angaḍa to the Court of Rāvaṇa and on failure of the negotiations, the beginning of the war.

There are at least two recentions of Ḍūṭāngaḍa,[2] the shorter that has been printed in Bombay and the larger that is preserved in the India Office Library.[3]

772. Vyasa Ramadeva wrote three such plays Rāmābhyu-ḍaya, Pāndavābhyuḍaya and Subhaḍrāpariṇaya about 1402-1415 A.D.[4]

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1. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* (II. 390). Translated into English by L. Gray, *JAOS*, XXXII. 58 (where there is full discussion of Chāyā-nātaka); See also Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898), 229 ; M. Duff, *Choronology*, 189 ; Schuyler, *Bibl*. 85. There is a similar drama by Bhubhatta, (*CC*, I. 4.) Here is a fine verse :

भो भो रावण रावणाः कति बहूनेतान् वयं शुश्रुमः
प्रागेकं किल कार्तवीर्यनृपतेर्दोर्दण्डपिण्डीकृतम् ।
एकं नर्तनदापितान्नकवलं दैत्येन्द्रदासीजनैः
एकं वक्तुमपित्रपामहे इति त्वंस्तेषु कोन्योऽथवा ॥

2. Pischell says there are as many Duṭāngaḍas as there are manuscripts. For a summary of them, See *CC*, I. 257, II. 55 ; III. 55.

3. *IO*, VII. No. 4189. On the Eggeling says not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but "narrative verses are thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem."

4. *DC*, XXI. 8485, *CC*. I. 728 ; II. 122, III. 161 ; Levi. *App*. 77 ; *IO*, VII. 4187 where manuscript was copied in 1471 (?) Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898) 231 ; *Cat*. 106–8. Analysed by Levi, *TI*, 242 and Eggeling (*Cat*. No. 4187).

under the patronage of Kalacuri kings of Raypur. Vitthala's Chāyānātaka is based on the history of the Adilshāhi dynasty of Bijapur (1489-1660 A.D.).[1] Sāviṭrīcariṭa of Śankaralāla is called a Chāyānātaka.[2] Hariḍūta deals with the story of Kṛṣṇa's mission to Ḍuryoḍhaṇa before the war.[3]

773. **Traivikramam** is a short dialogue between Sūṭraḍhāra and Naṭī describing the Vāmana incarnation, as depicted in a painting which they were apparently looking at. In the technique of dramatic construction it is unique and but for the mention of the words Sūṭraḍhāra, nānḍi and 'enter' it can only be called a dialogue. The *third* picture is described; this indicates that the actors were seeing a series of pictures probably of the several incarnations and Sūtraḍhāra was describing the purāṇic story connected with each, one after another. This is the third in the series and the last words show that the speakers pass on to the next picture. The plot is shortly this:

"Vāmana appears before Bali, son of Hiranyakasipu at the close of the Asvamedha sacrifice performed gloriously by Bali. Bali as customary towards the end of any sacrifice was ready to grant any gifts and Vamana along with Brihaspati, the minister of the Devas, in a mortal coil, appeared before Bali and asked for a piece of land that can be measured by three strides. Bali was ready to grant the request. Samhlāda, his chief minister, pointed out that Vāmana was only Vishṇu in disguise who killed his father Hiraṇyakaśipu, the conqueror of the three worlds. Bali could not recede from his promise; such a distinguished guest ought to be satisfied; Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth, moves away from the donee to the donor; and he grants Vāmana's request by pouring water into his hands. Suddenly Vāmana grows into a Visvarūpa expanding to the corners of the universe. Rākshasas blinded by the Vishnumāyā fought among themselves talking their brethren for Vishnu. Thus most of them perished and Bali was set as the emperoɹ of Pātāla."

Ṭraivikrama is neither a poem where the poet narrates the story, nor a play where the narrator is absent and a mere conversation of characters is presented to the audience with action as in a play.

1. See *Bik.* 251. *CC*, I. 193. Printed, Bombay.
2. Luders, *SPAW*, (1916), 698,
3. *CC*, I. 757.

M. R. Kavi says "If it is not the drama of Bhāsa it may be ascribed to any of the Pallava kings preferably to Mahendravikrama or Narasimhavishnu" and adds Ṭraivikrama is mentioned for its unique characteristics by the commentator on Śākunṭalā. "The commentary is called Charchana, a large fragment of which was brought from Malabar and preserved in G. O. Mss. Library, Madras. Besides Traivikrama the commentator refers to dramatic irregularities of all the thirteen dramas of Bhāsa and Vīṇāvāsavadatta and Chaṇḍālarāmāyaṇa. The last mentioned work alone is not yet available to us. The commentator of Charchana may be older than 300 years as the style shows and probably a native of Malabar.

774. In Telugu Literature, in a poem known as Krīḍābhirāma, translated from a Vīdhī in Sanskrit, reference is made to this kind of composition. The two characters, Tiṭṭibha nnd Govinḍa pass through the streets of Warangal in its palmy days under Praṭāparuḍra II and describe the various street scenes in a graphic and interesting manner. The painted canvas represents Palnadu heroes (65 in number) who with a naughty boy of the profession acting under the influence of songs sung by a professional lady strongly exhibits the ecstacy and blind zeal displayed by the feudal lords in their internecine quarrel brought about by the passions of the heroine, Āruvellināyanāru."

775. Early writers have distinguished story-telling as by caiṭrika, grānṭhika, śaubhika which may respectively mean narration of a story with the help of a painted scene or by song and action or by dress and deportment. The following passage of Abhinavagupṭa (Natyaśāstra, Gaekwad Edition page 174) supports it :

तत्रापिनाट्यच्छायात्मकतैव नाट्यस्यैव ह्यमी भागानिष्पन्दाश्चित्रपुलिकापुस्तप्रभृतयो ग्रन्थिकादिपरिकल्पितसाक्षात्कारकल्पप्रत्ययसम्पदाः ।

Bhojaḍeva in his Śṛngāraprakāśa distinguishes this kind of composition as Ākhyānaka and defines it thus :

आख्यानकसंज्ञान्तर्लभते यदभिनयन् पठन् गायन् ।
ग्रन्थिक एकः कथयति गोविन्दवदवहिते सदसि ॥

Ṭraivikrama may be called Ākhyānaka.

To appreciate its peculiar characterstics, the piece is printed here :

श्रीः

त्रै वि क्र म म्

(नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः सह प्रियया)

सूत्र—आर्ये, तृतीये खलु चित्रपटे—

दैत्येन्द्रमौलिमणिघृष्टिकिर्णाकृतस्य
पादस्य यस्य गगनोद्गमगर्वितस्य ।
त्रैविक्रमं त्रिभुवनाततमद्भुतं य-
द्भूतैर्विमुक्तमखिलं वटुवामनस्य ॥

नटी—णमो भअवदो वड्डवामणस्स अय्य, तदो तदो (नमो भगवते वटुवामनाय । आर्य, ततस्ततः) ।

सूत्र—आर्ये, श्रूयतां दैत्येन्द्रं बलिं वैरोचनं कृताश्वमेधमवभृथस्नातं मुक्ताजालालङ्कृतोत्तमाङ्गं कृष्णाजिनावलम्बितोत्तरीयं पत्नीसहितं वरप्रदानाभिमुखं त्रिदशगणभूतहितार्थमुपाध्यायरूपं बृहस्पतिं पुरस्कृत्य स्वयं वटुवामनो भूत्वा वामदेव्यं सामोद्गाय यज्ञसमृद्धिं प्रशंसन्नुपसृतो भगवान्महाविष्णुः ।

नटी—तदो तदो, (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततस्तं दृष्ट्वैव प्रह्लादितमनसा बलिनाप्यभिहितं वृणीष्व वरमिति ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—तत आज्ञापयन्निव मम गुरोर्यज्ञकरणार्थं त्रीन् विक्रमानिच्छामीत्युक्तं भगवता ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः) ।

सूत्र—तत ऐश्वर्यमदगर्वितेन तेनाप्यविचार्यमाणेन बाढं ददामीत्युक्तं बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तयः)

सूत्र—ततो लक्षणैर्विमलविशालबुद्धिहृदयेन संह्लादनाम्नामात्येन वारितं न दातव्यमिति ।

अयं स विष्णुर्मनसाप्यजेयः सुरासुराणां सुखशोककर्ता ।
वटुश्च नायं सकलं विजेतुं प्राप्तो यदि स्यान्न जलं प्रदेयम् ॥

अपि च—

भित्वा गुरुं तव जघान नृसिंहरूपी वक्षःस्थलं नखमुखैर्निशितैः पुरा यः ।
साक्षाद्धिरण्यकशिपुं सुरदैत्यनाथं प्राप्ताखिलाजितवरप्रवरं विरिञ्चात् ॥

इत्युक्तः संह्लादेन ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः—

सोऽयं यदि स्यादहिभोगशायी शार्ङ्गासिचक्रोद्गदशङ्खपाणिः ।
युद्धेष्वसङ्गो यदि याचते मां दास्यामि सत्यव्रतमास्थितोऽहम् ॥

अपि चैतदप्युक्तं बलिना—

देहीति यो वदति तं प्रविशत्यलक्ष्मीर्नास्तीति यो वदति तं पुनरभ्युपैति ।
तस्माद्ददामि पृथिवीं मधुसूदनाय श्रीरेव मां भजतु तं प्रविशत्वलक्ष्मीः ॥

इत्येवमुक्त्वा विसर्जितः संह्लादो बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः खरमुरनरकनमुचिप्रभृतिभिर्वार्यमाणः प्रतार्यमाणस्तांस्तान्निर्भर्त्स्यात्मनः सत्यवचनमेवास्थायासुरगणहितकराभ्यां सुरगणाहितकराभ्यां कराभ्यां जाम्बूनदमयं भृङ्गारमादाय इत इतो भगवान्यथेष्टं तोयं गृहाणेत्युक्तं बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः सुरगणहितकरे असुरगणनिधनकरे अमलकमलदलसदृशे तस्मिन् करतले प्रसृतमात्रे तोये द्विगुणचतुर्भिर्दोर्भिरलङ्कृत्य त्रैलोक्यप्रमाणं प्रविजृम्भितो भगवान् दिव्यमूर्तिः ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततो विवृतवदनदष्टोष्ठभ्रुकुटीपुटविषमीकृतरक्तनयनाः ससंरम्भमहमहमिकया समुत्थिता दैत्येन्द्रसङ्घाः ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततस्तत्तेजसैव त्वं विष्णुरयं विष्णुरित्यन्योन्यं प्रहृत्य नष्टा दैत्याः, हृष्टा देवाः, आहता देवदुन्दुभयः, अत्युद्धता वायवः, अतितपतिस्मादित्यः, पतिता वृक्षाः, भ्रान्ता मेघाः, शान्तमिव नभः, स्खलिताः पर्वताः, क्षुभिताः सागराः, प्रलीना वासुकिप्रभृतयो भुजङ्गेश्वराः । किं नु खल्विदं—

प्रलयमिदमुपेतं किं नु माया न विद्मः
प्रभुरवतु हरिर्नो हन्त हा हा हताः स्मः ।
इति विविधनिमित्तैर्मोहमभ्यागतास्ते
भुवनपतिमुपेन्द्रं सर्वलोकाः प्रणेमुः ॥

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः—

नारायणाय हरये मुरशासनाय त्रैलोक्यजन्मलयपालनकारणाय ।
देवाय दैत्यमथनाय जगद्धिताय विश्वम्भराहितकराय नमोऽच्युताय ॥

इत्युक्त्वा प्रणिपतितानि सर्वभूतानि ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—विष्णोर्विजयं विजयमित्युक्त्वा त्रीन् लोकांस्त्रिस्सप्तकृत्वः भेरीं प्रहरन् पर्यटञ्जाम्बवान् ।

दर्पान्धः पादलग्नो नमुचिरपसृतो यात्येव गगनं
संह्रादः पादयोगादुपल इव गिरेर्भूमौ निपतितः ।
निश्शेषा यस्य भूमिः सगिरिवनपुरा धत्तेव चलिता
धर्मज्ञः सत्यसन्धः सुकृत इव बलिर्धैर्यान्न चलति ॥

अपि च—

स्वर्गं सुरेन्द्र इव दत्तमनेकभोगं
पातालमेत्य सुतलं हरिणा स दैत्यः ।
भक्त्यार्चयन् परमया रमते विभक्तं
किं वा करोति महता न समाश्रयोऽयम् ॥

नटी—रमणिज्जो खु कहाजोओ, अण्णं चित्तपडं वण्णेदु अय्यो । (रमणीयः खलु कथायोगः, अन्यं चित्रपटं वर्णयत्वार्यः)

अर्ये बाढं हरिपदकथा सेयमन्तं प्रयाता
भक्तिर्भूयात्तव च मम च श्रीधरस्याङ्घ्रिपद्मे ।
नश्यत्वेवं दुरितमसकृत्पश्यतां नृत्यतां नः
स्वस्थो राजाप्यवतु वसुधां स्वस्ति गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः ॥

(त्रैविक्रमं समाप्तम्)

776. "In Java the Rama cycle may be treated in the dramatic categories of the *wayang purwa*, a shadow play produced by puppets of buffalo leather, the *wayang topeng*, and the *wayang wong*, produced by masked and unmasked men respectively, and the *wayang beber*, in which pictures are unrolled and explained by the *dalang* (juynboll, *Internationales Archiv fur Ethnographie*, xiii, 4-5). In many respects the latter, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama (Serrurier, 95-96, 106-112; Hazeu, 7-9,) corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit sutradhara, although his name seems to signify merely, stroller, strolling player,' and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang* (Hazeu, 23-24, 39-57.) At all events, we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwa* or shadow play, the analogue of the Sanskrit *chayanataka* and both are without doubt the congenors of the Chinese shadow play, the Turkish *qaragoz* ans the marionettes which, originating in India, have spread throughout Asia and Europe to be enacted at the present day (see, for example, Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*; Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*; Jacob, *Erwahnungen des Schatten-theatres in der Welt-Literatur* and Geschichte des Schatten-theaters; together with the literature cited in these works."

SECTION 7.

Miscellaneous Plays.

777. **On Weddings**. Draupadīpariṇaya of (i) Peri Kāśinātha of Vijianagaram[1] and (ii) Kṛṣṇa, son of Nṛisimha[2]; Pāncālīpariṇaya of Aḍḍanki Bālasūri[3]; Rukmiṇīpariṇaya[4] (i) of Āṭreya Varada[5] and (ii) of Kaviṭārkikasimha;[6] Godāpariṇaya (i) of Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsa[7] and (ii) of

1. He died in about 1929. His son Tātaryudu is vice principal, Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.
2. *DC*, XXI. 846.
3. *TC*, III. 3123.
4. There is Pṛṭhvirāja's poem Rukmiṇīkṛṣṇavalli, *PR*, V. 135.
5. *Tanj*. VIII. 3502. Printed Bombay. He lived at Venkatagiri in 19th century.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8410, 8189; *CC*, II. 163. He lived at Guptakuti (Kuttakaudi) in S. Arcot Dist. and was of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He was the nephew of Kṛṣṇa abovementioned.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8399.

Keśavanātha ;[1] Subhadrāpariṇaya (i) of Nallākavi,[2] (ii) of Raghunāthācārya,[3] Vallīpariṇaya (i) of Bhāskara, son of Śivasūrya of Śrīvatsagotra,[4] and (ii) of Vīrarāghava ;[5] Nīlāpariṇaya of Venkateśvara, son of Ḍharmarāja ;[6] Marakaṭavallīpariṇaya of Śrīnivāsa, son of Ḍevarāja ;[7] Rukmiṇīharaṇa of Śeṣacintāmaṇi ;[8] Lakṣmikalyāṇa (i) of Sadāśiva Ḍīkṣita[9] and (ii) of Mānavikrama.[10]

Maḍālasāpariṇaya,[11] Pārvatīsvayamvara,[12] Sītāvivāha by Śesādri of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra,[13] Bhaimīpariṇaya[14] (i) by Śaṭhagopācārya[15] and (ii) by Venkatācārya,[16] Bhāṇumaṭīpariṇaya,[17] Canḍrakalāpariṇaya by Nṛsimha,[18] Saugandhikāpariṇaya,[19] Inḍirāpariṇaya by Vīrarāghava, son of Śrīśaila,[20] Inḍumaṭīpariṇaya,[21] Jānakīpariṇaya (i) by Nārāyaṇabhatta[22] and (ii) by Sītārāma,[23] Kalyāṇīpariṇaya,[24] Kāmakṣīpariṇaya,[25] Kanakavallīpariṇaya,[26] Uṣāpariṇaya by Śrīnivāsa,[27] Lakṣmīsvayamvara by Śrīnivāsa, son of

1. *CC*, I. 169.
2. *TC*, I. 1040. He was son of Bālacanḍra of Kausikagoṭra. He wrote Śṛngārasarvasvabhāṇa. He says he lived at Kandaramanikya where Uḍḍanda also lived in 15th century.
3. *CC*, I. 728.
4. *DC*, XXI. 3589. See para 137 *supra*.
5. *CC*, III. 118, *HR*. III. ix, II. ix. Written in the time of king Sivaji of Tanjore. See para 163 *supra*.
6. *Tanj*. VIII. 3415. In *CC*, I. 302, there is one by Dṛgbhavaṭ.
7. *Ibid*. 3450.
8. *CC*, I. 527.
9. *Trav*. 78.
10. *Trav*. 191.
11. *CC*, I. 426.
12. *CC*, I. 336.
13. *Tanj*. VIII. 3524. He lived at Conjeevaram and wrote also Rāmavilāsakāvya.
14. See *CC*, I. 416.
15. *CC*, II. 95.
16. *CC*, I. 416.
17. Levi, App. 78.
18. *CC*, III. 38. He is author of Nanjarājayaśobhuṣaṇa. In the prologue Kaśīpaṭi probably the author of Mukunḍānanḍabhāṇa, is praised.
19. *CC*, I. 737.
20. *HR*, III. 1749, ix.
21. *CC*, I. 59.
22. *CC*, I. 206.
23. *CC*, I. 206.
24. *CC*, I. 86.
25. *CC*, I. 94.
26. *CC*, I. 78.
27. *CC*, I. 71. There is Uṣāharaṇa of Harṣanāṭha, Schuyler, *Bibl*. 41.

Rāmānuja,[1] Vakulamālīnīpariṇaya by Vīravalli Śrīnivāsa,[2] Vijayendirā-pariṇaya by Subrahmaṇya,[3] Pāncālīpariṇaya by Balasūri of Srīrangam,[4] Mīnākṣīpariṇaya by Aṇṇāśāstrin[5] and Lavalīpariṇaya by Lakṣmipaṭi.[6]

778. On Krsna. Kṛṭārṭhamāḍhava by Rāmamāṇika Kavirāja;[7] Kṛṣṇalīlā by Vaiḍyanāṭha Taṭsaṭ;[8] Kṛṣṇakuṭūhala;[9] Bālikāvanciṭaka;[10] Rāmā-Rāḍhā;[11] Kamsānṭaka by Hariyajvan;[12] Kṛṣṇabhakṭicanḍrikā by Ananṭadeva;[13] Vaiḍarbhīvāsuḍeva by Sunḍararāja.[14]

Rāmacanḍra and Abhinavagupṭa quote from Hejjala's Rāḍhā-vipralambha, *e.g.*

मेघाशङ्किशिखण्डिताण्डवविधावाचार्यकं कल्पयन्
निर्ह्रादो मुरजस्य मूर्छतितरां वेणुस्वनापूरितः ।
वीणायाः कलयन् लयेन गमकानुग्राहिणीं मूर्छनां
कर्षत्येष च कालकुट्टितलयां रम्यश्रुतिं षाडवे ॥

Cayani Candrasekhara was the son of Vājapeyi Gopīnāṭha-rājaguru, religious teacher of the King Vīrakesari Rāmacanḍra of Bundekand of the 17the century A.D.[15] His Maṭhurāniruḍḍha is a drama in eight acts with no prakrt in it, on the secret lives of Uṣā towards Aniruḍḍha who was kidnapped by her maiden Ciṭralēkhā on her behalf.

779. On Rama. Raghuvīracariṭa by Cakravarṭi Veḍānṭasūri;[16] Śīṭārāghava of Rāmapāṇivāḍa;[17] Kuśalavavijaya by Venkatakṛṣṇa;[18]

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1. *CC*, I. 540, III. 114.
2. *TC*, I. 1047. See para 242 for the author.
3. *CC*, II. 135.
4. *TC*, III. 3123. He says he wrote at the instance of king Rājaśekhara.
5. *Mys.* 279.
6. *Mys.* 282.
7. *CC*, III. 25.
8. *CC*, I. 123; *Ulwar*. 998.
9. *CC*, I. 113.
10. Mentioned in *ND*.
11. Mentioned in *BP*.
12. *Mys.* 636.
13. *Trav.* 180.
14. *Trav.* 181.
15. *CC*, I. 426. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 396.
16. *TC*, II. 229, He lived in Villiambakam, near Chingleput. He was of Srivaṭsa-gotra. His descendant Goḷāla, son of Venugopāla, wrote Praṭāparāghava (*TC*, III. 3056.)
17. *DC*, XXI. 8553. See para 177 *supra*.
18. *Trav.* 76.

Rāmāyaṇanāṭaka by Someśvaradeva ;[1] Muḍitarāghava by Salakṛṣṇa ;[2] Śītānanda by Ṭāṭācārya ;[3] Rāmarājyābhiṣeka of Vīrarāghava ;[4] Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Jānakīrāghava, Rāmābhinanda, Vālivadha, Chalitarāma, Nirdoṣadaśaratha, Māricavancitaka, Māyāpuṣpaka ;[5] Abhirāmarāghava by Anapoṭanāyaka ; Amogharāghava ;[6] Abhinavarāghava of Kṣīraswāmin :[7] Prapanna-Vibhīṣaṇa of Lakṣmana Sūri ;[8] Abhirāmamaṇi of Sundaramiśra ;[9] Harṣāvasāna by Kanhyalal Pancatīrtha ;[10] Raghuvīracarita of Sukumāra ;[11] Anjayenavijaya of Bhāṣyakara ;[12] Janakajānandana of Nṛsimha ;[13] Praudhābhirāma of Venkatanātha.[14]

MAHADEVA was son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kaundinyagotra and lived at Palmaner in the Madras presidency. Nīlakantha was his contemporary and so he belongs to the first half of the 17th century. His Adbhutadarpaṇa narrates the progress of Rāma's war onwards from Hanūman's return from Ceylon.[15] RAMAKRSNA was the son of Ṭirumala of Vatsagotra and pupil of Ramendrasarasvatī. Probably owing to the surname Bhavabhūti he had, he thought of writing a play Uttaracarita to imitate Uttararāmacarita. It is said that he lived in the 18th century. He describes his family in the Colophon thus :[16]

श्रीमन्महाकुलप्रसूतस्य श्रीवत्सगोत्रस्य सकलविद्वज्जनमुकुटालंकारहीरस्य जगन्नाथभट्टारकपौत्रस्य काव्यनाटकालंकारसर्वज्ञस्य पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञस्य वेंकटाद्रिभट्टारकपुत्रस्य श्रीरामेंद्रसरस्वतीचरणारविंन्दसेवातत्परस्य श्रीमदनगोपालमंत्राचिन्तनापरस्य शब्दशास्त्रविशारदस्य सकलकला-

1. *PR*, III. ap. 396.
2. *CC*, II. 106.
3. *CC*, II. 2375.
4. *Tanj.* VIII. 3713.
5. Mentioned in *SD*, *SK*, *ND*, *BP*, *DR*, or *AB*.
6. Mentioned in *RS*.
7. Mentioned in *ND*. See Chapter on Alankāra post and Index.
8. Printed *Sah.* Vols. XX, XXII and XXIII. He also wrote a dima Ghoṣayātrā. For the author, see para 246 supra.
9. *CC*, I. 26. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 395. It was composed in 1599 A. D.
10. Printed, *Jl. of Sam, Sah. Par*. Calcutta.
11. *Trav.* 78.
12. *Mys.* 273.
13. *Mys.* 276.
14. *Mys.* 278.
15. Ed. Kavyamāla, Bombay.

Mahadeva Sastri, author of Unmattarāghava (play) (*CC*, I. 66) and Mahādeva Kavivācārya Sarasvatī, author of Dānakelikaumudi Bhāṇikā (*CC*, I. 244) are different.

16. *HR*, I. and *Extr*. 69.

प्रवीणस्य आश्रितजनरक्षणदक्षस्य तिरुमलभट्टारकस्य पुत्रेण भवभूतिना विरचितोत्तरचरितं नाम नाटकं समाप्तिमगमत् ।

ATIRATRA-YAJVAN was a younger brother of Nilakantha and lived in the middle of the 17th century. He was himself well-versed in the *tantras* and *kratus*, besides being born a poet and commentator, he was a specialist in the Śaiva-Siddhānta. His Kuśa-kumuḍvaṭīyam, a drama in five acts, describes the loves of Kuśa, the eldest son of Rāma, and Kumuḍvaṭī, the princess of the Nāga race. He is also known to have written a poem called the Praṭi-Raghuvamśa, obviously on the history of the Solar race, and Ṭripuravijayacampū.[1]

780. On Bharata. Aśvameḍhanātaka by Sumaṭijiṭāmiṭramallaḍeva, king of Bhalgoan,[2] Pāndavavijaya by Jayarāmamahāḍeva,[3] [Ḍraupaḍīswayamvara, Pāndāvānanḍa and Vilakṣa-Ḍuryoḍhana],[4] Bhīmaparākrama by son of Śaṭānanḍa Abhinanda,[5] Abhimanyunātaka by Sāligrāma,[6] Ghoṣayātra of Śīṭalacanḍra.[7]

781. Puranic. Yayāṭicariṭa of Mayyan Rāmārya of Trivandram,[8] Bhakṭivijaya of Śrī Ḍhūrjaṭīprasaḍa Kāvyaṭīrṭha,[9] Subhaḍrārjuna by Keśavaśāsṭrin,[10] Subhaḍrāḍhananjaya of Gururāma,[11] Subhaḍrāharaṇa of Māḍhavabhatta,[12] Subhaḍrāvijaya,[13] Canḍrikā-Janamejaya by Paḍmanābha,[14] Manmaṭhābhyuḍaya by Venkateśa,[15] Prabhāvaṭīpraḍyumna

1. *Tanj.* VIII. 3378. See para 154 *supra*.
2. *CC*, III. 8.
3. Called also Sabhāparvanāṭaka. *HPR*, (1904). Pāndavānanḍa quoted by Dhanika is different.
4. Mentioned in *ND* and *AB*.
5. *TC*, IV. 4440. See para 59 *supra*. On the battle between Bhīma and Jarāsanḍha. Abhinavagupṭa mentions the play.
6. Printed, Calcutta. Here is a fine Nānḍi :

गौरीबाहुलताशङ्खवलयांशुभिरञ्जसा ।
कृष्णोऽप्यर्जुनतां नीतः कण्ठो भीमस्यपातु वः ॥

7. Printed, Calcutta.
8. *Mys.* 281.
9. Printed, Calcutta.
10. *Trav.* 182.
11. *JSSP*, Calcutta, XI, on Prahlāḍa's story.
12. *CC*, I. 728.
13. *CC*, I. 728.
14. *TC*, IV. 5570.
15. *TC*, III. 3203. He was contemporary of a pupil of Nilakantha (see para 154 *supra*).

by Rāmakṛṣṇa,[1] Hariścandracarita,[2] Uṣāniruddha by a king of Kāśi,[3] Revatībālānka by Puruṣottama,[4] Madanābhyudaya by Venkateśa,[5] Nateśavilāsa by king Śivāji of Tanjore,[6] Gangāvataraṇa,[7] Mangalanātaka by Jīvānanda Jyotirvid,[8] Anarghanalacaritrā by Sudarśana,[9] Hariscandranātaka by Prabhākara Śrīnivasa,[10] Manmathavijaya by Venkatarāghava,[11] Anandacandrodaya by Rangilāla.[12]

782. **Miscellaneous Natakas.** Kalyāṇapuranjana by Tirumalācarya,[13] Jagadānanda by Harṣadeva, Samayasāra by Banarsidas Śekharanābha,[14] Candravilāsa (i) by Gangādhara,[15] (ii) by Rudraśarma Tripāthin,[16] Lingādurgabhedana by Paramānanda or Dādambhatta,[17] Kusumāvacaya by Madhusūdanasarasvati, Kamalā-Kanthīrava by Nārāyaṇādhvari, son of Lakṣmīdhara,[18] Candrarekhāvidyādhara,[19] Nīlādricandrodaya by Vīrarāghavācārya of Puri,[20] Prabhāvata by Raghunātha,[21] Lakṣmīdevanārāyaṇīya by Śrīdhara,[22] Gopīcandana,[23] Kalpanākalpaka by Śeṣagiri,[24] Śukābhipatana by Śrīnivāsa,[25] Śrīnivāsadayāvilāsa,[26] Sāhitīsamullāsa by Muddu Venkārya,[27] Siddhāntabherī by Sudarśanārya,[28] Muktācarita by Kṛṣṇakavi.[29]

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1. *CC*, II. 79.
2. Quoted in *SP*.
3. *BR*, II.
4. *Tanj*. VIII. 3501.
5. *TC*, III, 3203.
6. It describes the story of the deity at Cidambaram.
7. *CC*, III. 30.
8. Printed, Benares. It is in 9 Acts on the greatness of Devi.
9. Printed, Bombay.
10. *Mys*. 287.
11. Printed, Bombay. *Trav*. 186.
12. *Ulwar*, 993. Composed at Baroda in 1849.
13. *Mys*. 275. He was of Śathamarṣaṇagotra of Polepalli family and in the court of Polabhupāla of Gadval in Nizam's dominions in 17th century.
14. *Gough*, 203.
15. *CC*, II. 36.
16. *PR*, III. 209, 334.
17. Levi, *App*. 80, *CC*. I. 544.
18. *Tanj*. VIII. 3357. He lived in Brahmadeśam near Conjeevaram.
19. *Tanj*. VIII. 3394.
20. Printed Conjeevaram. It mentions King Mukundadeva of Orissa in the Prologue.
21. *Mys*, 278.
22. *Trav*. 78.
23. *CC*, I. 163.
24. *Mys*. 275.
25. *Mys*. 284.
26. *Mys*. 285.
27. *Mys*. 286.
28. *Mys*. 256.
29. *Ulwar*, 1017.

783. Prakarana. Sākṭivāsakumāra's Anangasenā-Harinanḍinī; Amāṭya Śankuka's Ciṭroṭpalāvalambiṭaka, Ṭarangaḍaṭṭa, Puṣpaḍūṣiṭaka, Prayogābhyuḍaya, and Paḍmāvaṭīpariṇaya,[1] Canḍrakānta's Kaumuḍīsuḍhākara,[2] Gaṇapaṭiśāsṭrin's Māḍhavīvasanṭīya.[3]

Ḍevīpariṇaya and Nalavikrama,[4] Uḍayanacariṭa and Viḍhivilasiṭa,[5] [Vikrānta-Śūḍraka, Mayūramārjālikā, Veḍikā, Maṭsyahasiṭa, Bhīmakulyā, Raṭivilāsa, Lakṣmīsvayamvara, Subhaḍrāharaṇa, Rāsakānka, Muḍrāsuveḍa, Śālinīsamvāḍa, and Saṭakarṇiharaṇa],[6] [Kāmaḍaṭṭa, Ramānanḍa, Maheśvarānanḍa, Kandarpasambhava and Vīrānanḍa],[7] Vakraṭundagaṇanāyaka.[8]

In Paḍmaprābhṛṭaka, Sūḍraka quotes from a drama Kumuḍvaṭī :

कुमुद्वती प्रकरणे शूर्पकसक्तां राजदारिकां धात्री रहस्यमुपालभंते—

उन्मत्ते नैव तावत् स्तनविषममुरो नोद्गता रोमराजिः
नव्युत्पन्नासि च त्वं व्यपनय युवतीदोहलं दुर्विदग्धे ।
व्युत्पन्नाभिस्सखीभिस्सततमविनयग्रन्थमध्याप्यसे त्वं
केनेदं बालपक्के मनसिजकदनं कर्तुमभ्युत्थितासि ॥

KRSNADASA's Kalāvaṭī-Kamarūpam describes the marriage of Kalāvaṭi and Kāmarūpa, son of King Kāmakeṭu of Kāśī, after rescuing her from the hands of a Rākṣasa who carried her away.[9] KAVIVALLABHA's Abhirāmaciṭralekham is a long drama in 10 acts describing the marriage of Abhirāma and Ciṭralekhā, daughter of Bhujangarāja. It is said to have been enacted at Śrīrangam at Caiṭra festival.[10]

784. Natika. Anangavaṭī; Inḍūlekhā; Bhattaśrī Bhavanuṭacūda's Kauśalikā,[11] Inḍumaṭī and Ciṭralekhā,[12] Paḍmāvaṭī,[13] Vāsanṭikā of

1. Mentioned in *ND* or *AS*.
2. Printed, Calcutta.
3. *Trav.* 180. See para 247 *supra*.
4. Mentioned in *ND*.
5. Mentioned in *BP*.
6. Mentioned in *SP*.
7. Mentioned in *RS*.
8. *CC*, I. 54.
9. *DC*, XXI. 8891. Manuscript breaks off in fifth Act. The author lived in Malabar in the end of 18th century A.D.
10. *TC*, III. 3984. A Kavivallabha is mentioned as having composed Āḍityabhattiya (a Dharma Sastra). See *TC*, III. 3683.
11. Mentioned in *ND*.
12. Mentioned in *SP*.
13. Mentioned in *RS*.

Rāmacandra,[1] Candraprabhā,[2] Kuvalayāvatī of Kṛṣṇakaviśekhara,[3] Rāmāṅka of Dharmagupta,[4] Candrakala (i) of Nārāyaṇa[5] and ii) of Viśvanāthakavirāja,[6] Śṛṅgāravāpikā of Viśvanāthabhatta.[7]

785. **Vyayoga.** Nṛsimhavijaya,[8] Vijayavikrama by Āryasūrya o Kaundinyagotra,[9] Bhīmaparakrama,[10] or Jarāsandhavyāyoga, Vinatānanda or Pracandagaruda of Govinda, son of Śeṣayagneśvara,[11] Pracandabhairava of Sadāśiva,[12] Jāmadagnyavijaya,[13] Vikrāntarāghavīya by Śrīkṛṣṇa and Vīrarāghavīya by Pradhāni Venkatabhūpati.[14]

786. **Prahasana,**[15] Candānuranjana of Ghanaśyāma,[16] Kuhanābhairava of Ayyalunātha of Bommaganti family of the Circars;[17] Mundita;[18] Ānandakośa,[19] Bṛhatsubhadraka,[20] Dhūrtacarita,[21] Dhūrtavidambana by Maheśvara,[22] Dhūrtanartana by Sāmarāja,[23] Hāsyaratnakara.[24]

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1. *IO*, 2343 composed in 16–17th century A.D. There is a peom Vāsantikāpariṇaya of Narasimha (*CC*, I. 566).
2. *CC*, I. 181.
3. *CC*, III. 25.
4. *CC*, I. 268. Written in 1310 A.D.
5. *CC*, I. 179.
6. Quoted in his *SD*.
7. *IO*, VII. 4196.
8. *DC*, XXI 8410. *TC*, I. R. No. 821.
9. *TC*, II. 1751.
10. *TC*, IV. 4440. There is Bhīmavikrama of Mokṣāditya, *Cat. of Br. Museum*, 273.
11. *Tanj.* VIII. 3641. *CC*, I. 576, II. 77. He lived at Benares and was a native of Nandipura a village on the Godavari. He also wrote Gopālalīlārṇavabhāṇa (*Tanj.* VIII. 3577). Govinda Kavibhuṣaṇa, author of Samṛddhamādhava (*CC*, III. 36) is different.
12. *Tanj.* VIII. 3639.
13. Printed, Bombay, Calcutta and Mysore. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 374. There is commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa, *CSC*, 226.
14. *Mys*. 288.
15. C. Capeller, *Zwei Prahasanas*, Gurupujamaumudi, Leipzig.
16. *Tanj*. VIII. 3620. On the author, see para 166 *supra*.
17. *TC*, III. 3251.
18. *CC*, I. 8.
19. Mentioned in *RS*.
20. Mentioned in *RS*.
21. Mentioned in *SD*, 536.
22. *CC*, I. 272
23. *CC*, I. 272. See para 757 *supra*. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 407.
24. Mentioned in *DR*, *Int*. p. 30.

Nātavāta of Yadunandana, son of Vāsudeva Cayanī,[1] Sāndrakutūhala of Kṛṣṇadatta,[2] Palāndumandaṇa,[3] Pāṣandavidambana,[4] Payodhimathana,[5] Vinodaranga,[6] Mithyācāra of Vaidyanātha, Kāleyakautūhala by Bhāradvaja,[7] Venkateśaprahasana by Venkateśvara,[8] Kālikantakutuka by Rāmakṛṣṇa,[9] Subhagānanda by Vāsudevanarendra *alias* Śrīvatsānka,[10] Kautukasarvasva by Gopīnātha,[11] Hāsyārṇava by Jagadīśa,[12] Kālikeli,[13] Kandarpakeli,[14] Hṛdayavinoda of Kavi Pandita,[15] Bhānuprabandha of Venkateśa,[16] Devadurgati of Rammoy ;[17]

Sandilyaparivrājaka ;[18] Somavallīyogānanda by Aruṇagirinātha ;[19] Mattavilāsa by Mahendravikrama Varman ;[20] Kukṣimbharibhaikṣava by Pradhāni Venkata Bhūpati, Kukṣimbhari by Venkatācārya and Kuhanābhaikṣava by Tirumalānātha ;[21] Lokaranjana by Śrīnivāsācārya.[22]

SANKHADHARA flourished in the Court of king Govindacandra of Kanouj[23] in the 12th century A.D. His Latakamelaka describes the marriages of Dantura and Madanamanjarī and is called also Danturāpariṇaya.[24]

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1. Printed, Bombay.
2. *CC*, I. 707.
3. *CC*, I. 330.
4. *CC*, I. 386.
5. Mentioned in *RS*.
6. *CC*, I. 577.
7. Ed. Poona, *CC*, I. 396.
8. *CC*, I. 602. He is called Kālidāsa.
9. *BR*, (1897) 1.
10. *CC*, I. 727, *Tanj*. VIII. 3634. He was another name Govindaśrivatsāna and appears to have been a chief in Kashmir.
11. *CC*, I. 131, III. 28. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 410 and by Cappeller in Gurupujakaumudi, Leipzig, 59-62.
12. Ed. by Capeller, Jena ; Ed. Oxford ; Ed. Calcutta with Bengali translation. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 408-9 ; *IC*, VII. 4191-3 with an English translation.
13. Mentioned in *RS*.
14. Mentioned in *SD*. 534-5.
15. *CC*, II. 237.
16. *CC*, I. 405.
17. Printed, Calcutta.
18. *Mys*. *Sup*. 13.
19. *Tanj*. VIII. 4637 ; *Mys*. 28. See para 135 *supra*.
20. See para 48 *supra*. Keith, *SD*, 182 ; *Mys*. *Sup*. 12. T. N. Ramachandran *The Royal Artist, Mahendravarman*, *JOR*, VII 219, 303.
21. *Mys*. 275.
22. *Mys*. 268. 182.
23. See *IA*, XIX 249 for grants dated Sam. 1161 and 1188.
24. Printed, Bombay.

HARIJIVANAMISRA was the son of Lātamiśra, and was patronised by a King named Rāmasimha. He lived in the 17th century A.D.[1] A manuscript of his Vijayaparājitanātaka is dated Sam. 1730. He wrote also prahasanas, Prasangikā, Sahridayanandana, Vibudhamohana and Adbhutaranga.

KAVITARKIKA was the son of Vāṇīnātha. He was Court Chaplain of King Māṇikyadeva of Bhuluya, one of the 12 independent chiefs who ruled in Bengal at the time of Moghul invasion in 16th century A.D. His Kautukaratnākara is a pleasant prahasana ridiculing an imbecile king who relies on some knaves to recover his abducted queen.[2]

787. **Bhana.**[3] Śṛngārararatnākara by Sundaratātācārya,[4] Anangalatikā,[5] Anangasarvasva of Lakṣmīnarasimha,[6] Pancabāṇavijaya of Rangācārya,[7] Pancabāṇavilāsa,[8] Pancāyudhaprapanca of Trivikrama,[9] Madanagopālavilāsa of Rāma,[10] Rasikāmṛta of Śankaranārāyaṇa,[11] Rasollāsa of Śrīnivāsavedāntācārya,[12] Sṛngaraśṛngātaka of Ranganātha.[13]

Rasikaranjana of Śrīnivāsa, son of Nṛsimha of Prativādibhayankara family,[14] Mukundānanda[15] of Kāsīpati, son of Ramāpati of Kaundinyagotra, a nameless bhāṇa,[16] Sarasakavikulānanda of Rāmacandra of

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1. *CC*. I. 570.
2. *IO*, VII. 1618, 4197; *CC*, I. 131, II. 25. Analysed by Cappeller in *Gurupūjākaumudi*, Leipzig, 62-3.
3. See Analyse *d'un monologue dramatique indien*, Paris.
4. *Gough*, 188.
5. *Levi*, App. 73.
6. *Tanj*. VII. 3574.
7. *CC*, I. 315. Printed Madras.
8. *CC*, I. 315.
9. *CC*, I, 317, II. 261. It was composed in Śaka 1727.
10. *CC*, I. 425, II. 97.
11. *HR*, II, viii. He began to write poetry in his 11th year.
12. *Tanj*. VIII. 3589; *TC*, I. 1013. He lived at Bhutapuri (Śriperumbadur) near Conjeevaram.
13. *CC*, II. 158.
14. He was Principal of Free Sanskrit College, Coimbatore. He died about 1900.
15. Printed, Bombay and Madras. Enacted at the festival at Bhadragiri, Bhadrācalam near Nutanapuram, probably in the Circars.
16. *TC*, III. 3485 probably written at Trichur, Cochin State.

Vellāla family,[1] Manmaṭhamoḍana by Kadayokudi Subrahmaṇya-śāstṛi,[2] Vasanṭabhūṣaṇa by Varaḍārya of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra.[3]

Sāraḍāṭilaka[4] (i) of Śankara[5] and (ii) of Śeṣagiri,[6] Śṛngāramanjarī (i) anonymous[7] and (ii) of Avaḍhāna Sarasvaṭī of Kāncī,[8] Maḍanabhūṣaṇa of Appākavi,[9] Śṛngārasṭabaka of Nṛsimha of Hariṭagoṭra,[10] Rasaraṭnākara of Jayanṭa,[11] Śṛngārajīvana of Varaḍa of Kouśikagoṭra,[12] Śṛngāraṭarangiṇī of Rāmabhaḍra,[13] Śṛngāracanḍrikā of Śrīnivāsa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra,[14] Śṛngārasunḍara of Īśvaraśarma of Bimbali,[15] Śṛngāraṭarangiṇī of Venkaṭācārya of Surapuram,[16] Śṛṇgaravāpika of Viśvanāṭha,[17] Anangamangala by Sunḍara,[18] Śṛngaraḍīpaka by Venkaṭāḍhvarin[19] Harivilāsa by Hariḍāsa.[20]

Anangajīvana,[21] Anangavijaya (*a*) of Śivarāmakṛṣṇa of Gauṭamagoṭra,[22] (*b*) of Jagannāṭha[23] Kanḍarpavijaya of Ghanaguru, of Kauśikagoṭra,[24] Canḍrarekhāvilāsa,[25] Mahiṣamangala by a Nambudri brahmin of Puruvana in Malabar.[26]

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1. *TC*, II. 1430. Enacted at Bhadrachelam in Godavari District.
2. *Sah*. VII.
3. *TC*, I. 1019. See Levi, *App*. 80. He was desciple of Varaḍaḍeśika who was himself disciple of Śruṭaprakāśikācārya.
4. *CC*, I. 643. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 384.
5. *CC*, I. 642, *Mys*. 284. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*. II. 384.
6. *Mys*. 284. He was teacher of Maharaja Kṛṣṇaraja Odayar of Mysore. It is full of *śabḍālankara*.
7. *TC*, V. 6306. The author wrote a poem Rāmacanḍroḍaya.
8. *Tanj*. VIII. 3599.
9. *Tanj*. VIII. 3582. See para 162 supra. *JOR*, III. 71.
10. *Tanj*, VIII. 3607.
11. *TC*, V. 6209. He lived at Śriperumbadur near Chinglepat.
12. *CC*, I. 661.
13. *CC*, I. 660.
14. *CC*, II. 157 ; *TC*, III. 2989.
15. *Trav*. 79.
16. *CC*, I. 660.
17. Analysed in *IO*, VII, 4196 ; *CC*, I. 661, II. 158. He was son of Mahādeva.
18. *CC*, I. 12.
19. *CC*, I. 661.
20. *CC*, II. 183
21. *DC*, XXI. 8342 ; *Tanj*. VIII. 3566. He was the paternal uncle of Venkaṭaḍhvari, the author of Viśvaguṇāḍarśa.
22. *DC*, XXI. 8347. Enacted at Vamalur and composed at the instance of King Narasamahipāla, son of Cikkaḍevaraya and his son Kṛṣṇayuvarāja of that place.
23. *Tanj*. VIII. 3575 probably of Vizianagar. See para 124 *supra*.
24. *DC*, XXI. 8381. Enacted at Srirangam. See para 163 *supra*.
25. *DC*, XXI. 8401. Enacted at Kolahalarājaḍhāni.
26. *DC*, XXI. 8455. Composed at the instance of King Rājarājavarma of Cochin.

[Kāmakalāvilasa by PradhāniVenkatabhūpaṭi, Ṭaruṇabhūṣaṇa by Sathakopa, Maḍanagopāla by Svayambhūnāṭha, Maḍanasāmrājya by Bhujanga, Rasoḍara by Surapuram Aṇṇayārya, Śrīranganāṭhabhāṇa by Śrīnivāsa, Śṛngāravilāsa by Sāmbaśiva, Sārasvaṭollāsa by Venkatarāma, Kaiṭavakalācānḍra and Śṛngāravilasiṭa by Nārāyaṇa.][1]

Anangamangala by Sunḍara Kavi,[2] Anangasarvasva by Lakṣmīnṛsimha,[3] Gopālalīlārṇava by Govinḍa,[4] Kāmavilāsa by Venkappa,[5] Kusumabāṇavilāsa,[6] Rasavilāsa by Cokkanāṭha,[7] Rasikajanaraśollāsa by Venkata,[8] Rasikajanamānasollāsa,[9] Śṛngaramanjari and Śṛngārarāja by Gopālaroya.[10]

Śāraḍānanḍana of Śrīnivāsācārya, son of Varaḍācārya of Kauśikagoṭra,[11] Śṛngarāḍīpaka by Vinjumūri Raghavācārya,[12] Śṛngārapāvana of Vaiḍyanāṭha son of Kṛṣṇakavi of Śrīvaṭsāgoṭra,[13] Śṛngārarasoḍaya of Rāmakavi, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kāśyapagoṭra,[14] Śṛngāraṭilaka of Avināśiswāmi, son of Rāma of Aṭreyagoṭra,[15] Śṛngārasarvasva (*a*) of Swāmi Śastri, son of Ananṭanārāyaṇa of Hārīṭagoṭtra,[16] (*b*) of Kauśika Nallabuḍha,[17] (*c*) of Veḍānṭācārya of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra,[18] Harivilāsa by Hariḍāsa.[19]

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1. *Mys.* 225-287, 637-7 ; *Sup.* 12.
2. *CC*, I. 12.
3. *CC*, I. 12.
4. *CC*, I. 163. He also wrote Vinaṭānanḍavyāyoga (*CC*, I. 576).
5. *CC*, I. 93.
6. *CC*, I. 113.
7. *CC*, II. 116.
8. *CC*, III. 106.
9. *Mys.* 281.
10. *CC*, II. 158, 160.
11. *DC*, XXI. 8533. He lived at Sriperambadur, Chingleput Dt.
12. *DC*, XXI. 8534. He lived at Conjeevaram.
13. *DC*, XXI. 8535. He lived at Tiruvalur, Tanjore Dt. He mentioned various works of his in the prologue mostly stoṭras in praise of Siva and Pārvaṭi.
14. Ed. Bombay. *DC*, XXI. 8539. He lived at Lingamagunta in Guntur Dt.
15. *DC*, XXI. 8540. Enacted at Varaḍarājapura near Srirangapatam during the days of Śāmarāja, King of Mysore in the later part of the 19th century. He was of Vandavāśi family.
16. *DC*, XXI. 8542. He lived at Trichinopoly. He was the author of a commentary on the Muḍrārākṣasa, *DC*, XXI. 8468.
17. *Tanj.* VIII. 3609. He was son of Balacandra and Kinsman of Rāmabhaḍra Dikṣiṭa. See *14*, XXXIII.
18. *Tanj.* VIII. 3611. He lived under Rāmabhaḍra Naik of Madura of the 16th century A.D. Enac at Tirupati.
19. *DC*, XXI. 8563. He lived at Praudha-Devarayapuram.

Śringārararasabhṛngāra by Indraganti Kondasūri, son of Nārāyaṇa,[1] Maḍanalīlāḍarpaṇa by Paḍmanābha, son of Lakṣmaṇa and Venkamāmba.[2]

Kālikeliyaṭrā on the festival of Bhaḍrakāli at Kotilinga or Cranganoor and Madanamahotsava,[3] a satire on contemporary society[4] of Śrikantha alias Nanjunda, of Āṭreyagoṭra.

Vallavīpallavollāsa by Manjulācārya alias Kṛṣṇamūrṭi Kumāra, of Vasiṣthagoṭra of the Circars,[5] Vasanṭabhūṣaṇa by Nṛsimhasūri, of Vangipuram ;[6] Śṛngāracanḍrikā by Śrīnivāsā, son of Varaḍa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra,[7] Anangaṭilaka by his son Ranganāṭha,[8] Śṛngārasanjīvana by Śathajiṭ Kavi of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra,[9] Maḍanalīlāḍarpaṇa of Paḍmanābha,[10] Śṛngāralīlāṭilaka of Bhāskara.[11]

Pancabāṇavijaya by Rangaraya,[12] son of Bhāvaṇācārya of Vāḍhūlagoṭra, Maḍanavijaya by Śeṣācārya, son of Vikkirāla family of Kālahasṭi,[13] Maḍanābhyuḍaya of Kṛṣṇamūrṭi,[14] Manmaṭhābhyuḍaya of Venkateśa.[15]

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1. *TC*, III. 3175 Enacted at Srisailam in the Circars at the festival of Mallikārjuna. He says he also wrote Maheśamanasamahṭsava, probably a poem.
2. *TC*, III. 3177. Enacted at Benares at Caitra festival. He was a Telugu Brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari district. He also wrote the Ṭripuravijayavāyoga (*Ibid.* III. 3370) where see for fuller information.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8398.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8442. He mentioned Ciḍambara Kavi as one of his Gurus. He lived at Bālavyāghrapura (Sirupuliyur).
5. *TC*, III. 3696. There is another anonymous bhāṇa of this name. (*Ibid* III. 2873).
6. *TC*, III. 3748. He was a native of Parānkusapuram (Ponvalainda Kalattur, Chingleput Dt.) Enacted at festival at Conjeevaram.
7. *TC*, III. 2989. He was the daughter's son of Virarāghava, probably of Conjeevaram.
8. *TC*, III. 3173. Enacted at Srirangam.
9. *Ibid.* III. 304. The author's father migrated to Gutāla on the Godāvari from Conjeeveram. Enacted at the festival of Sanṭānagopāla at Ellore and was patronised by King Venkatanarasimha, probably of Nuzvid.
10. *TC*, III. 3177. He also wroṭe Ṭripuravijayavyāyoga.
11. Printed *JSSP*, XVII June. He was a poet of Kerala patronised by a Sri Vikramaḍeva.
12. *TG*, II. 2068. Printed, Madras and Calcutta. He wrote also Rāmānujacampu and Ranganāyakisaunḍaryasṭuṭi. Enacted at Srirangam.
13. Printed Madras. He was Sanskrit Pandit, C. S. Mission College, Vellore.
14. *TC*, II. 2073, III. 2873. He is the author of Yakṣollāsa. See para 319 *supra*. He was also called Abhinava-Kāliḍāśa but he was of Vāsisthagoṭra.
15. *TC*, III. 3203.

Vilāsabhūṣaṇa by Venkata Kṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagotra,[1] Caturī candrikā by Venkatārya, son of Śaraṇyapāda,[2] Śṛṅgārakośa[3] by Girvāṇendra[4] and Kandarpadarpaṇa (i) by his son Śrīkantha,[5] and (ii) by Śrīkṛṣṇa,[6] Śṛngāramañjarī by Viśvanātha,[7] Madanavilāsa by Nāganātha,[8] Kāminīkāmukollāsa.[9]

788. Sarada is mentioned by Saluva Narasimha as the authoress of eighteen plays and several poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit :

गद्यपद्यमयैः काव्यैस्साष्टादशनाटकैः ।
साकं प्राकृतकाव्यैश्च साहित्यं शारदाभ्यधात् ॥

Rāmābhyudaya I.

789. In Vīrabhadravijaya, EKAMBARA DIKSITA gives a pedigree of Kempe Gauda Chiefs of Yelamanka, Mysore (1418-1728 A.D.) and he flourished in the Court of the last of the line, Mummadi Kempe Gauda (1705-1728 A.D.)[10]

790. Like Vatsaraja, PRADHANI VENKATABHUPATI of Mysore wrote plays of different species, Rukmiṇisvayamvara (anka) Kukṣimbharibhaikṣava (prahasaṇa), Kāmakalāvilāsa (bhāṇa) Urvasī-sārvabhouma (īhāmṛaga), Vibudhadānava (samavākāra), Vīrarāghavavijāya (vyāyoga), Sītakalyāṇa (vīthī), and on poetics Alankāramaṇidarpaṇa.[11]

वीचीस्थाने सहस्रं मरतकपरिघस्फार्धि, बिभ्रद्भुजाना-
मुत्फेनो हारजालैररुणरुचिरनन्ताहिरत्नप्रभाभिः ।
बिभ्राणः शङ्खमन्तश्चरमचरमनिर्वापणीयं च तेजः
पायाद्वः शार्ङ्गधन्वा शयित इव समुद्रैकदेशे समुद्रः ॥

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1. *TC*, II. 2223. Probably of the Circars. Enacted at the festival of Bhadrachellam.
2. *TC*, II. 2342. Probably a resident of Tirupati, Chittoor District staged at the festival at Tirupati.
3. *Tanj.* VIII. 4649; *TC*, I. 989. He resided at Conjeevaram.
4. *Tanj.* VIII. 3596.
5. *Tanj.* VIII. 3575
6. *Mys. Sup.* 12.
7. *TC*, II. 2618. He was a poet in the Court of Vemayamantri.
8. *TC*, II. 2669.
9. *TC*, II. 2619.
10. See Puttaiya, *The Kempe Ganda Chiefs* (*JMys*, XIII. 724); *Mys. Gazetteer* (1897), II. 20; *Memoirs of Mysore*, Vol. II.
11. *Mys.* 274-287, 296. There is Uddhṛtavṛkodara (prekṣaṇaka) by Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa also of Mysore, (*Mys.* 274).

सोमालङ्कृतमस्तु वस्तु कुशलस्तोमाय वामाङ्कक-
च्छायाबालतृणालिचर्वणकलाचञ्चन्मृगाञ्चत्करम् ।
सव्यार्धस्फुरदंशुजालकलमश्रेणीशिखाखण्डना-
कुण्ठोत्कण्ठशुकार्भकप्रविलसद्दामप्रकोष्ठाञ्चलम् ॥

लक्ष्मीर्घर्मजलच्छलेन सुधया दन्तच्छदच्छद्मना
सोदर्येण च कौस्तुभेन शकलेनेन्दोर्ललाटात्मना ।
पाणिस्पर्शविधावमीभिरुचितैर्नीतेव दातुं विभो-
रालम्ब्याङ्गमधोक्षजस्य भवतां कामप्रसूः कल्पताम् ॥

शम्भोस्तत्प्रथमं विहारभवनं सम्भाविताया रहः
स्तम्भोपान्तनिगूढसस्मितसखीनेत्राम्बुजैरर्चिता ।
चूडाचन्द्रसुलक्षिता मणिमये दीपेऽपि हस्तावृते
देव्याः प्रेमभय(र)त्रपाशबलिता मुग्धा स्थितिः पातु वः ॥

एकं तत् पितरौ समस्तजगतामेणाङ्करेखाङ्कितं
कारुण्यायतनं वपुर्दिशतु वः काङ्क्षाधिकां संपदम् ।
यस्यार्धेन पितामहोऽपि पितृमानर्धेन च श्रीमता
मेनाजानिरवद्यवाग्विजयते मेरोः सहायो गिरिः ॥

विघ्नेशो वः स पायाज्जलनिधिमखिलं पुष्कराग्रेण पीत्वा
यस्मिन्नुद्धृत्य हस्तं विसृजति सकलं दृश्यते व्योम्नि देवैः ।
क्वाप्यम्भः क्वापि विष्णुः क्व च(न) कमलभूः क्वाप्यनन्तः क्व शैलाः
क्वाप्यौर्वः क्वापि मत्स्याः क्व चन मणिगणा क्वापि नक्रादिचक्रम् ॥

श्रीमद्धाम समामनन्ति कमलं तद्बान्धवं वा ययो-
रक्षीन्दीवररूपमाहुरथवा तद्बन्धुरूपं बुधाः ।
सावर्ण्यं तटिता वपुः शुभतरं धत्तेऽथवा तद्वता
भूयास्तां भुजगेन्द्रशैलवसती तौ दंपती संपदे ॥

BOOK VI

Sahitya Sastra

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sahitya Sastra.

791. Sahityasastra in its broadest meaning embraces the science of all poetic art, be it poetry for the eye (ḍrśya) or poetry for the ear (śravya), that is, all that a critic (sahṛḍaya) would expect in ideal poetic compositions.[1] The words Alankāra and Rasa used by Bharaṭa had come to be collated and annotated by his followers and early writers like Bhāmaha and Ḍandin, and the result was the advent of an elaborate literature of rhetorical lore, which by the correlation of matter came to embrace many subsidiary thoughts relating to poetry, faultless and meritorious.

Strictly speaking, the word Alankāraśāsṭra, though even now understandable in this expanded sphere, was replaced by the word Sāhiṭyasāsṭra as early as the 8th to 9th century. A. D. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmsa has :

आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयीविद्या दण्डनीतयश्चतस्रो विद्या इति कौटिल्यः । पञ्चमी साहित्यविद्या इति यायावरीयः । सा हि चतसृणामपि विद्यानां निष्यन्दः । शब्दार्थयोर्यथावत् सहभावेन साहित्यविद्या ॥

There have been more than 30 treatises, named with the word Sāhiṭya, and it may be roughly said that latterly the word Alankāra has been used in names of treatises more for a limited sphere of treatment of alankāra (figures of speech) and rasa (sentiment). The word sāhiṭya is "derived from सहित=सम्×धा×क्त by the rule समो वा हिततयोः meaning coherence, or (?) from सहित=सह हितेन meaning the quality of that which is attended with good."

Viśvanāṭha's Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa may be taken as the type of treatises comprehending all spheres of the poetic science, viz.

(i) KAVYALAKSANA—theory and definition of poetry with reference to its soul (āṭman) or essence, rasa, alankāra, rīṭi, ḍhvani, vakrokṭi, &c.

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1. On the history of Alankara literature, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*; *Orientalia*, II. 207. (The outlines of Rasa theory, from Bharata to Jagannātha); Vamanacharya, *Int. to Kavyaprakasa*; Durgaprasad, *Int. to Sahityadarpana*; P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLI. 124; Jacobi, *ZDMG*. LVI, 392; Winternitz, *IL*. III. 4; Medapalli Venkataramanacarya, *Alankaracaritra* (in Telugu); and Ints. to Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa and Bhavaprakāśana in *GOS*, Baroda; V. V. Sovani, *Pre-Dhvani Schools of Alankara*.

(ii) SABDAVYAPARA—denotation of words abhiḍhā, lakṣaṇā and vyanjanā, a philosophy of language or Hermemeutics.

(iii) NAYAKA AND NAYAKI,—hero and heroine and their relations and moods and classes.

(iv) RASA—sentiments including their anecedent and resultant emotions.

(These two heads cover Kāmaśāsṭra or erotics).

(v) GUNA AND DOSA—merits and faults of poetry, classes of poetry, ḍṛśya and śravya, paḍya and gaḍya and their varieties.

(vi) NATYASASTRA—dramaturgy, all about the drama in its several varieties except the music and the dancing.

(vii) ALANKARA proper—figures of speech.

Thrse are treatises dealing with all those topics or some or one of them only and all these go under the title Alankraśāsṭra or Sāhiṭya-śāsṭra.

To state briefly, therefore, Sāhiṭya or Alankāraśāsṭra means the Science of poetry. It embraces in its sphere, theory of poetry, the origin, form and variety of poet's work, its faults and merits, and a description of several embellishments which distinguish poetic from unpoetic compositions. In its widest sense it covers the field of music, dancing and erotics.

792. The earliest literature of the Hindus is poetic and is the natural effusion of man's instinct. But poetics as a science must be of later origin, for without a volume of poetry, *(lakṣya)* there cannot be a a science *(lakṣana)* dealing with the regulation of its composition. Tradition says that Goddess of Learning, Sarasvati, created Kavya-purușha as the Personification of Poetry, and the Creator sent him down to the human world for the propogation of poetics. In 18 chap-ters, he taught the subject to his seventeen pupils. The several topics were embodied by these desciples in separate treatises, Kavirahasya by Sahasrākṣha, Aukṭika by Ukṭigarbha, Rīṭinirṇaya by Suvarṇaṇābha, Anuprāsa by Prāceṭāyana, Yamaka and Ciṭra by Ciṭrāngaḍa, Sabḍa-sleṣa by Śeṣa, Vāsṭava by Pulasṭya, Upamā by Aupakāyana, Aṭiśaya by Parāśara, Arṭhaśleṣa by Uṭaṭhya, Ubhayālankārika by Kubera, Vainoḍika by Kāmaḍeva, Rūpaka by Bharaṭa, Rasaḍhikāra by Nanḍi-

1, Batuknath Bhattacharya's *A brief survey of hityasastra JDL.* Calcutta University, 1923, p. 97 et seq).

keśvara, Ḍoṣa by Ḍhiṣaṇa, Guṇa by Upamanyu and Aupaniṣaḍika by Kucimāra. These references are given by Rājaśekhara in Kāvya-mīmāmsa (I. 1.)

It has been thought fashionable to treat these accounts as fictitious, but when we see that much of the earliest literature has been lost and replaced by later compendia, which, on account of the ease of study, have tended to throw the older treatises into oblivion, it is possible that these traditonal accounts are not after all a fraud. Opinions of many of these early writers are noticed in later works and Vāṭsyāyana in his Kāmasūṭras cites some of them for their views.[1]

793. The Samhiṭas of the Veḍas contain much that is poetic and use[2] figures of speech like simile, nature, hyperbole. The essence of all poetic art is thus summed up :

"एकश्शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति ।"

The supreme Spirit is described as Pleasure, ANANDA, and (the embodiment of) RASA, essence of sweetness.[3] But a regular theory of poetics is not traceable in the Vedic literature.

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1. See chapter on KAMASASTRA *post*.

2. (i) अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् ।
जायेवपत्य उशती सुवासा उषाहस्रेव निरिणीती अप्सः ॥ (Rk, I. 124-7)

(ii) सूर्यस्येव वक्षथो ज्योतिरेषां समुद्रस्येव महीमा गभीरः ।

3. वातस्येव प्रजवो नान्येन स्तोमो वसिष्ठा अन्येतवे वः ॥

(iii) तमेकनेमिं त्रिवृतं षोडशान्तं शतार्धारं विंशतिप्रत्पराभिः ।
अष्टकैष्षड्भिर्विश्वरूपैकपाशं त्रिमार्गभेदं द्विनिमित्तैकमोहम् ॥

(iiv) द्वासुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृत्तं परिषस्वजाते ।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति अनश्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति ॥ (Rk, VII. 33-8)

(v) चत्वारि श्रृङ्गास्त्रयो अस्य पादाः द्वे शीर्षे सप्तहस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महादेवो मर्त्यानाविवेश ॥ (Rk, IV. 58-3)

(i) रण्वं क्षेत्रमिव । (Rk, X. 33-6)

(ii) अफलामपुष्पां वाचम् । Rk. X. 71-5)

(iii) दिवित्मता वाचः । (Rk, I. 26-2)

(iv) ब्रह्मैव रसः । रसो वै सः । आनन्दं परब्रह्मणो रूपम् ।

794. Among Puranas Agnipurana has some chapters on poetics.[1] It mentions gesticulations, figures of speech and faults and merits of poetry. and describes the figures of speech Yamaka, Citra, Upamā, Rūpaka, Sahokṭi, Arṭhānṭaranyāsa, Uṭprekṣa, Aṭiśaya, Vibhāvana, Viroḍha and Heṭu. The enumeration is sufficiently scanty that it is quite in keeping with the antiquity of the Purāṇas. The name of Bharaṭa is cited, but it is not conclusive to determine the relative priority of the extant Nāṭyaśāstra and these chapters of Agnipurāṇa, because the origin of the name of Bharaṭa and his work is lost in remote antiquity.

795. Yaska speaks of Upamā thus:

अथात उपमा । यदेतत् तत्सदृशमितिगार्ग्यस्तदासां कर्म ज्यायसा वा गुणेन प्रख्याततमेन वा कनीयांसं वा प्रख्यातं वा उपमीयते । अथापि कनीयसा ज्यायांसम् ॥

796. Panini has:

उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिस्सामान्याप्रयोगे ।—II. i. 56.

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ।—IV. i. 55.

अत एव चोपमा सूर्यकादिवत् ।—I. iv. 1.

797. Bharata's Natyasastra is, as we have it, the earliest work on poetics. Bharaṭa lays down that Rasa is the essence of poetry, though his conception of poetry is dramatic. He enumerates 36 Lakṣaṇas or embellishments, 4 poetic types and 10 poetic merits and faults. But the Lakṣaṇas were either included by later writers, under the heads of Guṇas or Alankāras, or classed as Nāṭyālankāras. Guṇa and Alankāra are according to Bharaṭa subsidiary to Rasa.

Bharaṭa thus describes the genesis of Rasa:

अत्राह—यदाऽन्योन्यार्थसंभूतैर्विभावानुभावव्यंजितैरेकोनपंचाशता भावैः सामान्यगुणयोगेनाभिनिष्पद्यते रसस्तत्कथं स्थायिन एव मात्रा रसत्वमाप्नुवन्ति । उच्यते......बह्वाश्रयत्वात्

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1. Chapter 336-347. S K. De (*SP.* 103-4) says that these chapters are later interpolations copied from Dandin and Bhāmaha. It is too much to say that after the days of Dandin and Bhāmaha, when the Purāṇas were widely known, any such interpolations could have been contemplated at all. S. K. De himself admits that the tradition of opinion embodied in the Agnipurāṇa was developed by Bhoja and Bhoja was not an author who could not discover a fraud or would show regard to such a late interpolation.

Maheśvara in the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says:

अग्निपुराणादिभ्य उद्धृत्य काव्यरसास्वादकारणं अलङ्कारशास्त्रं भरतमुनिः कारिकाभिः संक्षिप्य प्रणिनाय ।

So says Baladeva in his Sāhityakaumuḍi (*PR*, 1883, 12.)

स्वामिभूताः स्थायिनो भावाः। यथा नरेन्द्रो बहुजनपरिवारोऽपि स एव नाम लभते नान्यः सुमहानपि पुरुषस्तथा विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिपरिष्कृतः स्थायिभावो रसतां लभते ॥

The original rasa-sūṭra of Bharaṭa विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः has been interpreted in four ways, by Lollata according to Mīmāmsa doctrines, by Śankuka according to Nyāya doctrines, by Bhatta Nāyaka according to Sānkhya doctrines and by Abhinavaguptа according to Ālankārika doctrines. Mammata thus sums up the different views (Ullasa IV):

i. विभावैर्ललनोद्यानादिभिरालम्बनोद्दीपनकारणैः रत्यादिको भावः जनितः, अनुभावैः कटाक्षभुजाक्षेपप्रभृतिभिः कार्यैः प्रतीतियोग्यः कृतः, व्यभिचारिभिर्निर्वेदादिभिः सहकारिभिरुपचितो, मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्ये, तद्रूपतानुसन्धानान्नर्तकेऽपि प्रतीयमानो रसः।—इति भट्टलोल्लटादयः॥

ii. राम एवायम्, अयमेव राम इति, 'न रामोऽयम्'—इत्यौत्तरकालिके बाधे रामोऽयमिति, रामस्स्याद्वा न वायमिति, रामसदृशोऽयमिति च सम्यङ्मिथ्यासंशयसादृश्यप्रतीतिभ्यो विलक्षणया चित्रतुरगादिन्यायेन रामोयमिति प्रतिपत्त्याग्राह्ये नटे * * * काव्यानुसन्धानबलात्, शिक्षाभ्यासनिर्वर्तितस्वकार्यप्रकटनेन च नटेनैव प्रकाशितैः कार्यकारणकार्यसहकारिभिः कृत्रिमैरपि तथा अनभिमन्यमानैः विभावादिशब्दव्यपदेश्यैः 'संयोगात्' गम्यगमकभावरूपात् अनुमीयमानोऽपि वस्तुसौन्दर्यबलात् रसनीयत्वेन अन्यानुमीयमानविलक्षणः स्थायित्वेन सम्भाव्यमानो रत्यादिर्भावस्तत्रासन्नपि सामाजिकानां वासनया चर्व्यमाणो रसः।—इति श्री शङ्कुकः॥

iii. न ताटस्थ्येन नात्मगतत्वेन रसः प्रतीयते नोत्पद्यते नाभिव्यज्यते, अपि तु काव्ये नाट्ये चाभिधातो द्वितीयेन विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानः स्थायी सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसंविद्विश्रान्तिसतत्त्वेन भोगेन भुज्यते।—इति भट्टनायकः॥

iv. लोके प्रमदादिभिः स्थाय्यनुमानेऽभ्यासपाटववतां काव्ये नाट्ये च तैरेव कारणत्वादिपरिहारेण विभावनादिव्यापारवत्वात् अलौकिकविभावादिशब्दव्यवहार्यैः ममैवैते शत्रोरेवैते तटस्थस्यैवैते, न ममैवैते न शत्रोरेवैते न तटस्थस्यैवैते, इति सम्बन्धविशेषस्वीकारपरिहारनियमानध्यवसायात् साधारण्येन प्रतीतैः॥

अभिव्यक्तस्सामाजिकानां वासनात्मतया स्थितः स्थायी रत्यादिको नियतप्रमातृगतत्वेन स्थितोऽपि साधारणोपायबलात् तत्कालविगलितपरिमितप्रमातृभाववशोन्मिषितवेद्यान्तरसंपर्कशून्यापरिमितभावेन प्रमात्रा सकलसहृदयसंवादभाजा साधारण्येन स्वाकार इवाभिन्नोऽपि गोचरीकृतः चर्व्यमाणतैकप्राणो विभावादिजीवितावधिः पानकरसन्यायेन चर्व्यमाणः पुर इव परिस्फुरन् हृदयमिव प्रविशन् सर्वाङ्गीणमिवालिङ्गन् अन्यत्सर्वमिवतिरोदधत् ब्रह्मस्वादमिवानुभावयन् अलौकिकचमत्कारकारी शृङ्गारादिको रसः। * * इति श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादाः॥

(*Vamanacarya's* Edn pp. 161-1).

798. By the beginning of the Christian era, the study of poetics had well progressed and we hear of various writers of whom we have references in citations. For instance, there are Kāśyapa, Kapila, Kōhala, Ḍaṭṭila, Maṭanga, Rāhula, Sākalīgarbha, Māṭṛgupṭa, Priyāṭiṭhi, Sumanas, Nanḍiswāmi and Brahmananḍin. These writers must have so far speculated on poetics, as to recognise modifications in the views propounded in Nāṭyaśāsṭra.[1] The result of this advance in poetic criticism was the immediate advent of distinct schools of thought of Bhāmaha and Ḍandin and the possibility of newer schools in the coming centuries.

799. Bhāmha is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakrokṭi is all in poetry:

सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥—II. 85.

By Vakrokṭi Bhāmaha meant all poetic expression other than natural, that is, all adorned expression as opposed to naked. Vakrokṭi, said Bhāmaha, was the means by which the meaning was rendered assimilable or delectable; in short Vakrokṭi flashes Rasa. Rasa is therefore subordinate to Alankāra and Alankāra is founded on Vakrokṭi. The idea of Vakrokṭi was carried to an extreme by Kunṭa(la)ka and his Vakrokṭijīviṭam enunciates the theory that Vakrokṭi is the life of poetry[2] and that comprehends in it other characteristics of poetry, Alankāra and Ḍhvani.[3] But before him Uḍbhata had kept himself within reasonable limits and accepted Bhāmaha's general theory, except in some subordinate details of definitions and classifications; and on Bhāmaha's work he wrote a commentary. To this school also belongs Mukula and Praṭīhārenḍurāja who commented on Uḍbhata's work.

800. Alongside of this theory of Alankāra, there was the growing thought that Riti or style, as a consideration in composition, was not negligible. Bhāmaha mentioned Vaiḍarbhī and Gaudīya styles as made melodious and flowing words, but said they wanted imaginative charm. Ḍandin expanded the scope of Rīṭi and said that Vaiḍarbhī for instance is not made by a mere jumble of letters or words but must contain

1. See for more details Chapter on Nāṭyaśāsṭra *post*.
2. वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम् ।
3. शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।
बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥

pleasurable ideas. He elaborated the characterstics of two styles, Vaidarbhī and Gaudīya, and while the former was tender and charming the latter was harsh and boisterous, each being suited to the expression of particular sentiments. What Bhāmaha called Alankāra, Ḍandin called GUNA. Ḍandin says that Guṇas pertain to the soul of poetry and that Alankāras are "those attributes which produce charm in poetry" and all Alankāras endow the sense with Rasa.[2] While Bhāmaha subordinated Rasa to Alankāra, Ḍandin subordinated these to Riṭi. And they spoke of Rasa, Bhāva etc., as Rasavaṭ, Preyas, Ūrjasvin,

801. But it was VAMANA who expressly declared that style is the soul of poetry and RITI is the composition of words of superior excellence. Vāmana however saw that mere style unaccompanied by other embellishments would not make good poetry. He included Alankāra and Rasa among the necessary qualities (Guṇa) of poetry and those qualities he classed as formal and essential;[3] he called Rasa as an essential feature of Kānṭi-guṇa.[4] He differed from Ḍandin in saying that Guṇas are those attributes which produce charm in poetry, while Alankāras enhance the charm.

802. During the period of the progress of the Alankāra and riṭi theories, Bharaṭa's theory of Rasa had not lost its charm. UDBHATA still admired it and he wrote a commentary on Nātyaśāsṭra. But he was influenced by the views of Bhāmaha, for he assigned the same place to rasa as Bhāmaha did though he appreciated that bhāvas were needed to realise rasa more critically. He mentioned a fourth Rasālankāra, Samāhiṭa. He recognised Śānṭarasa as suitable for the drama as for the poem. RUDRATA championed rasa, as of universal merit, that is, not merely in dramas but in poems too; a poem devoid of rasa is no more than an insipid śāsṭra. He mentioned nine rasas and one more preyas.[5] RUDRABHATTA expressed a similar view in his Śṛngāraṭilaka.[6]

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1. *Kāvyālankārasangraha* I, 31—34.
2. अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजःकांतिसमाधयः । इति वैदर्भमार्गस्य प्राणा दश गुणास्स्मृताः ।
—*Kāvyādarśa*, I, 4.
काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते ।—*Ibid*, II. 1.
वाक्यस्याग्राम्यतायोनिर्माधुर्ये दर्शितो रसः ।
इहत्वष्टरसायत्ता रसवत्ता स्मृता गिराम् ॥--*Ibid*, II. 292.
3. रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य । विशिष्टपदरचना रीतिः । *sutra*, I, ii, 16.
4. काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्मगुणाः । तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्काराः ॥ *Ibid*, III. 11—12
5. Kavyālankāra, XII. 2, 4.
6. I. 5-6.

803. From the earliest times, speculation was rife among rhetoricians on the grammatical rectitude and the exegitical interpretations of expressions in poetics. For instance, Upamā or comparison is of various kinds, comprehending in it various Alankāras, which have been given distinct names by later writers. Even in Upamā proper, there are several classes, according as the particle of similitude is expressed or implied. Grammar was described as father of poetry. Bhāmaha thought it necessary to devote a whole chapter on grammatical forms adaptable in poetry. Vāmana did the same. The theory of speech and meaning has always been a point of difference among the several schools of philosophy in India, that is, to state shortly, whether ihe real meaning of a word is want is expressed or what is comprehended by way of suggestion and inference ; that is, in Śābdabodha they differed, This difference has led rhetoricians to distinguish between the merits of abiḍhā and lakṣaṇā, expression and implication on the lines of propounded by grammatical philosophers The result of the expansion of these disquisitions was a close alliance in the study of poetics and grammar and in the next stage of progress, a third function of words, namely vyanjanā, was conceived on the analogy of the theory of Sphota.

804. The theory of Sphota, briefly stated, is that sphota or ḍhvani is the characteristic capacity of words to signify their import. It is attributed to the grammarian Sphotāyana, a predecessor of Pāṇini and it attained its perfection in Bhartṛhari's Vākyapaḍīya. Anandāvarḍhana adopted this theory and applied it to poetics. He rejected the earlier theories of rasa, alankāra and rīṭi, so far as each claimed to be the soul of poetry and propounded that vyanjanā or ḍhvani is the soul of poetry. This Rasaḍhvani theory of Ānanḍavarḍhana " differs from the original theory of Rasa as formulated in the Nātyaśāsṭra of Bharaṭa in two points. According to the former the Rasas are enjoyed by the audience only, being suggested by the words ; but according to the latter the factors vibhāva, etc. whether expressed or suggested by the words create the pleasure in the minds of the audience (बिभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः). Moreover, the chief function of poetry according to Ānanḍavarḍhana is to suggest the sense of Rasas, Alankāras and plots for Vasṭu as applied to both the poems and dramas. Bharaṭa holds that the best form of poetry is that where the representations of Vibhavas, etc. before the audience create the aeshetic pleasure in their minds."

It cannot be said that vyanjanā was a discovery of Ānanḍavarḍhana. Bhāmaha and Ḍandin saw that a suggested sense was always there in

Samāsokṭi, Aprasṭuṭapraśamsā, Vyājasṭuṭi etc. Bharaṭa and Uḍbhata included ḍhvani in Paryāyokṭi. So did Ruḍra. Vāmana included it in Vakrokṭi, which he defined as 'suggestion founded on similarity.' But with these writers, the suggested sense (vyanjiṭa) was ancillary to the expressed (vācya).

805. According to ĀNANDAVARDHANA Ḍhvani is supreme in characterising good poetry. Ḍhvani literally means suggestion. The poet expresses an idea in a sentence and to the readers' mind flashes an idea not actually expressed by the words, but implied or suggested by them. Ḍhvani is the result of the function vyanjanā, as opposed to abhiḍhā or lakṣaṇā. Ḍhvani is the soul, Guṇas like māḍhurya, ojas &c. are the properties of the soul of poetry, as bravery is the property of the human mind, and Alankāras are ornaments which enhance the charm of poetry, as ornaments of gold set off a person's beauty. Poetry is classed under three heads, Ḍhvani, where the suggested sense is prominent, Guṇībhūṭavyangya, where it is not prominent and Ciṭra where it is not manifest.

806. The Dhvani theory was not applauded by all. There were still the admirers of Rasa. PRATIHARENDURAJA wrote Laghuvṛṭṭi on Uḍbhata. He said that Ḍhvani was implied in Alankāras like śleṣa, rasavaṭ and paryāyokṭa, and reiterated that rasa was the soul of poetry. He differed from Bhāmaha in refusing to include Rasas among Alankāras :

(i) एवमेतद्व्यञ्जकत्वं पर्यायोक्तादिष्वन्तर्भावितम् ।

(ii) रसाद्यधिष्ठितं काव्यं जीवद्रूपतया यतः ।
कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थितम् ॥

यत्तु रसादीनां पूर्वमलंकारत्वमुक्तं तदेवंविधभेदाविवक्षया ।

807. BHATTANAYAKA was a devout follower of Bharaṭa. Starting from Bharaṭa's explanation of bhāva, vibhāva &c. he said that besides abhiḍhā, which is the only operating function in Veḍas and Śāsṭras, there are two other functions bhāvakṭva and bhojakaṭva in all kāvya, ḍṛśya or śravya, from which emanates the aesthetic pleasure in the minds of audience.

BHOJA thought it was good poetry, if it was free from blemishes and if it had the merit of guṇa, alankāra and rasa.

808. DHANANJAYA and DHANIKA did not recognise ḍhvani at all. Ḍhanika answered criticisms of Bhattanāyaka's views and held that Ṭāṭparyaśakṭi, desire for expression and understanding "not only

makes the hearer understand the meaning of the sentence but also actuates him to act according to the sense of the sentence, not only to make the reader or the spectator understand the vibhāva, etc., from the poetry, but also to act accordingly. This activity is nothing but the enjoyment of the æsthetic pleasure. Thus the poetry becomes Bhāvaka of the Rasāsvāḍa through the Ṭāṭparyāśakṭi, and therefore, no ḍhvani or vyanjanāvṛṭṭi as the chief function of the poetry is necessary. The connection between the Kāvya and Rasa according to Ḍhanika is Bhāvyabhāvakabhāva and not Vyangyavyanjakabhāva as formulated by the Ḍhvani school. This kind of connection according to him is different from the Janyajanakabhāva as held by the Naiyāyikas (Asaṭkāryavādins) because rasas already exist in an appreciative mind in the form of permanent moods (Bhāvayaṭi)." Ḍhananjaya did not adopt śānṭa as a rasa.

809. The theory of Ḍhvani however soon gained prominence and obtained recognition. ABHINAVAGUPTA's erudition gave fresh vigour to it and his Locana stands as it were an original treatise on Ḍhvani. But the theory was again assailed with vehemence. KUNTAKA in his Vakrokṭijīviṭa said ḍhvani was included in *Vakrokṭi*. MAHIMABHATTA did not brook the insolence against logicians and in a mood of revenge set up his theory Anumāna or *Kāvyānumiṭi*. In his Vyakṭiviveka, he attempted to demolish the various theories of poetics and said that anumāna or inference was all-pervasive and in it was embraced dhvani or whatever was attributed to it.

810. VIDYADHARA was a follower of Ananḍavarḍhana. He refuted the views of Bhāmaha and others who denied ḍhvani, Ḍhvanyabhāvavāḍins. He refers to Bhāmaha and Ruḍrata and Mahimā as Ānṭarbhāvavāḍins viz. ḍhvani is comprehended in guṇa and alankāra and is not different from anumāna, and to Bhatta Lollata as Ḍīrghavyāpāravāḍin, viz., the expressive power of words reaches very far like that of arrows.

811. By the time of MAMMATA, Ḍhvani attained a firm stand, but the earlier theories of alankāra, rasa and rīṭi were still in the field for Bhoja and his erudite circle gave them prominence. Mammata therefore thought it prudent to define poetry in more comprehensive terms, keeping Ḍhvani as the foremost quality and appending to it the essentials of alankāra and rasa, with a better recognition. "Mammata was influenced by Vāmana (III. 1-1-3) although Mammata considered gunas as primary attributes of rasas and only secondarily of letters. To a

less extent he was influenced by the alankāra school, as he allows a Kāvya to be devoid of alankaras in a few cases. However, Bhamaha's Vakrokti does appear in Kavyaprakasa under the name of Praudhokti." Being as it were a compromise of the existing theories, without giving up the accepted superiority of Ḍhvani all the same, Mammata's views have been considered the perfectest theory of poetry and during these long centuries they have not lost their appreciation. In the mode of exposition and in the classification of the subject, his work has been the standard and many rhetoricians of repute thought it a merit in them to compose commentaries on Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa, though they expressed their views in independent treatises on poetics. Except in the way of further illustrations,1 newer definitions and keener classifications the science of poetry as described by Mammata has remained unaffected.

812. The views of different rhetoricians have thus been summed up by RUYYAKA in his Alankārasarvasva :

इह हि तावत् भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयः चिरन्तनालङ्कारकाराः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारकतयालङ्कारपक्षनिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते । तथा हि—पर्यायोक्ताप्रस्तुतप्रशंसासमासोक्त्याक्षेपव्याजस्तुत्युपमेयोपमानन्वयादौ वस्तुमात्रं गम्यमानं वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेन 'स्वसिद्धये पराक्षेपः परार्थं स्वसमर्पणम्' इति यथायोगं द्विविधया भङ्ग्या प्रतिपादितं तैः ।

रुद्रटेन तु भावालङ्कारो द्विधैवोक्तः । रूपकदीपकापह्नुतितुल्ययोगितादावुपमाद्यलङ्कारो वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेनोक्तः । उत्प्रेक्षा तु स्वयमेव प्रतीयमाना कथिता । रसवत्प्रेयःप्रभृतौ तु रसभावादिर्वाच्यशोभाहेतुत्वेनोक्तः । तदित्थं त्रिविधमपि प्रतीयमानमलङ्कारतया ख्यापितमेव ।

वामनेन तु सादृश्यनिबन्धनाया लक्षणाया वक्रोक्त्यलंङ्कारत्वं ब्रुवता कश्चिद्ध्वनिभेदोऽलङ्कारतयैवोक्तः । केवलं गुणविशिष्टपदरचनात्मका रीतिः काव्यात्मकेनोक्ता ।

उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणालङ्काराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम् । विषयमात्रेण भेदप्रतिपादनात् संघटनाधर्मत्वेन चेष्टः । तदेवमलङ्कारा एव काव्ये प्रधानमिति प्राच्यानां मतम् ।

वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारः पुनर्वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभणितिस्वभावां बहुविधां वक्रोक्तिमेव प्राधान्यात् काव्यजीवितमुक्तवान् । व्यापारस्य प्राधान्यं च काव्यस्य प्रतिपेदे । अभिधानप्रकारविशेषा ए. चालङ्काराः । सत्यपि त्रिभेदे प्रतीयमाने व्यापाररूपा भणितिरेव कविसंरम्भगोचरः । उपच . वक्त्रादिभिस्समस्तो ध्वनिप्रपञ्चः स्वीकृतः । केवलमुक्तिवैचित्र्यजीवितं काव्यं न व्यङ्ग्यार्थजीवितमिति तदीयं दर्शनं व्यवस्थितम् ।

भट्टनायकेन तु व्यङ्ग्यव्यापारस्य प्रौढोक्त्याभ्युपगतस्य काव्यांशत्वं ब्रुवता न्यग्भावितशब्दार्थस्वरूपस्य व्यापारस्यैव प्राधान्यमुक्तम् । तत्राप्यभिधाभावकत्वलक्षणव्यापारद्वयोत्तीर्णो रसचर्वणात्मा भोगापरपर्यायो व्यापारः प्राधान्येन विश्रान्तिस्थानतयाङ्गीकृतः ।

ध्वनिकारः पुनरभिधातात्पर्यलक्षणाख्यव्यापारत्रयोत्तीर्णस्य ध्वननद्योतनादिशब्दाभिधेयस्य व्यञ्जनव्यापारस्यावश्याभ्युपगम्यत्वात् व्यापारस्य च वाक्यार्थत्वाभावात् वाक्यर्थस्यैव च व्यङ्ग्यरूपस्य गुणालङ्कारोपस्कर्तव्यत्वेन प्राधान्याद्विश्रान्तिधामत्वादात्मत्वं सिद्धान्तितवान् ।

यत्तु व्यक्तिविवेककारो वाच्यस्य प्रतीयमानं प्रति लिङ्गितया व्यञ्जनस्यानुमानेऽन्तर्भावमाख्यत् तद्वाच्यस्तत्प्रतीयमानेन सह तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्त्यभावादविचारिताभिधानम् ॥

Alankārasarvasva, Bombay Edn., 3–13.

813. SAMUDRABANDHA in his commentary on Alankarasarvasva has another classification of these poetical theories, (*TSS*, p. 4) into five schools :

इह विशिष्टौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ।
तयोश्च वैशिष्ट्यं धर्ममुखेन व्यापारमुखेन व्यंग्यमुखेन वेति त्रयः पक्षाः ।
आद्येऽप्यलंकारतो गुणतो वेति द्वैविध्यम् ।
द्वितीयेऽपि भणितिवैचित्र्येण भोगकृत्त्वेन वेति द्वैधम् ।

इति पंचसु पक्षेष्वाद्य उद्भटादिभिरंगीकृतः, द्वितीयो वामनेन, तृतीयो वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारेण, चतुर्थो भट्टनायकेन, पंचम आनन्दवर्धनेन ॥

व्यक्तिविवेककाराभिमतस्त्वनुमानपक्षः सिद्धान्तप्रदर्शनसमन्तरं विचारसहत्वेन दूषितत्वात् मङ्खकस्य पूर्वपक्षत्वे नाभिमत इत्याहुः ।

एषु प्रस्थानेषु स्वाभिमतं प्रस्थानं तस्य सर्वैरङ्गीकरणीयतां च दर्शयितुमेषामुपन्यासः ॥

Vāmanācārya (*Int.* Kāvyaprakāśa, p. 24) thus summarises the views briefly :

गुणालंकारयुक्तौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति वामनमतम् ।
अदोषावित्यधिकविशेषणयुक्तौ तौ काव्यमिति मम्मटमतम् ।
एवमेव प्रभाकरमतम् ।
निर्दोषं गुणालंकाररसवत् वाक्यं काव्यमिति भोजमतम् ।

गुणालंकाररीतिरसोपेतः साधुशब्दार्थसंदर्भः काव्यमिति वाग्भटमतम् ।
निर्दोषं गुणालंकारलक्षणरीतिवृत्तिमत् वाक्यं काव्यमिति पीयूषवर्षमतम् ।
रसादिमद्वाक्यं काव्यमिति शौद्धोदनिमतम् ।
एवमेव विश्वनाथादिमतम् ।

इष्टार्थोपेता पदावळी काव्यमिति दंडिमतम् ।
रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकश्शब्दः काव्यमिति जगन्नाथमतम् ।
ध्वन्यात्मकं वाक्यं काव्यमिति महिमभट्टमतम् ।
रसालंकारयुक्तं सुखविशेषसाधनं वा काव्यमिति केशवमिश्रमतम् ।

The following extracts from P. V. Kane's 'Outlines of History of Alankara Literature' (*IA*, XLI. 124, 204) will be of interest:

"The most ancient basis of classification appears to have been very simple. Figures of speech were divided into two classes: those that depend for their charm on words alone and those in which the beauty is seen in the sense alone. This division of the figures of speech is the only one that is found in ancient writings on Alankāra. Bharata does not speak of it in his Natya-Sastra. Dandin tacitly recognizes it, inasmuch as he treats of Arthalankaras in the second Parichcheda and of Sabdalankaras in the third. Both Bhamaha and Udbhata do not explicitly divide Alankaras into two varieties, but they seem to have had the twofold division in mind, for Bhamaha first speaks of Anuprasa and Yamaka and then of figures that are regarded by all as Alankaras of Artha. Udbhata similarly speaks of Punaruktavadabhasa and Anuprasa first and then of Arthalamkaras. Vamana speaks of Sabdalamkaras in the fourth Adhikarana (1st Adhyaya) of his work and of Arthalamkaras in the second and third Adhyayas of the same Adhikarana. Rudrata, Mammata, Ruyyaka and most subsequent writers recognise this twofold division of figures of speech.

Some writers, however, propose a division which is a little more elaborate. Alankaras, according to them, are either of Sabda, or of Artha, or of both. Bhoja in his Sarasvatikanthabharaṇa enumerates twenty-four Alamkaras of each. It is worthy of note that he regards Upama, Rupaka, etc., as Alamkaras of both Sabda and Artha (and not of artha alone, as said by almost all other writers).

The number of Sabdalamkaras has never been very large. Most writers, such as Dandin, Bhamaha, Udbhata, speak of two or three. The largest number is that mentioned by Bhoja, viz., 24. The ancient works of Alamkara paid a good deal of attention to Sabdalamkaras, but as critical insight grew, the Alamkaras of words dwindled into insignificance.

Unlike Sabdalamkaras, the number of Arthalamkaras has generally been large and has been subject to great fluctuations. We may safely affirm that as a general rule, the more ancient a writer is, the fewer is the number of figures treated of by him. Bharata speaks of only four Alamkaras. Dandin, Bhatti, Bhamaha, Udbhata and Vamana treat of from thirty to forty figures. Mammata speaks of more than sixty, while Ruyyaka adds a few more. The Chandraloka (13th century) speaks of a hundred figures of speech, to which the Kuvalayananda adds about a

score more. This is the highest number known to us. Jagannatha prefers a smaller number of figures, although he is later than the author of Kuvalayananda. If for some slight difference a different figure of speech were to be defined there would be no end of figures, as remarked by Dandin.

In the ancient writers there is no basis of division. Dandin, Bhamaha, Vamana and Udbhata give no classification of the figures of sense. They generally first speak of Upama and some other Alamkaras based upon it and the rest are treated of at random; e.g., Dandin puts Vibhavana between Vyatireka and Samasokti. It is Rudrata who first gives a fourfold division of Arthalamkaras. Mammata seems to have had in view no scientific basis of division. The Alamkara-Sarvasva gives first of all, the figures based upon Aupamya (resemblance); then those based upon Virodha (contradiction); then those based upon Srinkhala (chain), such as Karanamala, Maladipaka, Ekavali; then the figures based upon Tarka-Nyaya, Kavya-Nyaya and Loka-Nyaya; then the figures based upon the apprehension of a hidden sense; and lastly based upon the combination of figures such as Samkara and Sansrishti. The Ekavali, the Prapaparudriya and the Sahityadarpana generally follow the classification. Jagannatha also speaks of figures based upon Aupamya, Virodha and Srinkhala. From Kavyalinga downwards he does not mention any express basis of classification but appears to have followed in the main the Alamkara-Sarvasva."

CHAPTER XXIV

Alankara

814. Alankara-Sutras. Every science, *Śastra,* in India has its *sūṭra, vṛṭṭī* and *Bhāṣya.* So has Alankāraśāsṭra. Śauḍḍhoḍani is mentioned by Keśava as an author of Alankārasūṭras,[1] and it was on the Kārikas of Śauḍḍhodani that Keśava commented in his Alankāra-śekhara.[2] Mammata's Kāvyaprakāsi have been considered, mostly in Bengal, as embracing the original Bharaṭa's Alankārasūṭras, on which Mammata wrote a vṛṭṭi called Kāvyaprakāsā.[3] Balaḍeva Viḍyābhūṣaṇa took these Kārikas as Bharaṭasūṭras and wrote his commentary on them Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī in the 18th century.[4] Bharaṭa, it is said to the contrary, wrote sūṭras relating to *rasa* etc., in nāṭya and not sūṭras for Alankāra, but these sūṭras are but rarely preserved in the extant Nāṭyaśāṣṭra.[5] Pāṇini mentions Natasūṭras of Śilālin :

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः (IV. iii. 10.)
कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः (IV. iii. 11.

Alankārasūṭras of unknown authorship have been commented upon by Śobhakara in his Alankāraraṭnākara.[6] Śobhākara was son of

1. अलङ्कारविद्यासूत्रकारो भगवान् शौद्धोदनिः काव्यस्य स्वरूपमाह। काव्यं रसादिमद्वाक्यम्।

2. See S. K. De, *SP.* I. 261.

3. So says Commentary Vivaraṇa : काव्यप्रकाशस्य द्वावंशौ, कारिका वृत्तिश्चेति । भरतमुनिप्रणीता या कारिका सा अलङ्कारसूत्रनाम्ना व्यवह्रियते, मम्मटप्रणीता या वृत्तिस्सैव काव्यप्रकाशनामभाक् ॥

Several other authors call these Kārikas 'suṭras' :

i उदाहरणेषु दृष्टत्वात्सूत्रानुक्तमपि प्रभेदद्वयमाह—Maheśvara.

ii सूत्रे प्रश्नोत्तरपदं पूर्वापरवाक्योपलक्षकम्—Bhimasena.

iii सूत्राक्षराननुसाराच्चोपेक्ष्यम्—Vaiḍyanāṭha

iv सूत्रे विभागः उपलक्षणपरः—Govinḍa Thakkura.

v सूत्रं चोपलक्षणपरतया योज्यम्—Nagojibhatta.

4. सूत्राणां भरतमुनीशवर्णितानां वृत्तीनां मितवपुषां कृतौ ममास्याम् ।
लक्ष्याणां हरिगुणशालिनां च सत्वात् कुर्वन्तु प्रगुणधियो बतावधानम् ॥

5. *e. g.* व्यभिचारिभावविभाजकानि निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्काख्याः ॥

6. *BKR,* Ap. cxxviii.

Ṭrayīśvaramiśra and lived about the 12th century A.D. He is quoted by Jagannāṭha. These sūṭras have been extracted and illustrated by Yaśaskara in his Ḍevīsṭotra, a poem of devotion. Yaśaskara was a poet of Kāṣmir.[1] On account of ill-health, he spent much of his time at the sanatorium[2] on the hill Praḍyumna and there on the spot held sacred on account of the final ascent of King Pravara to Heaven in bodily form, he composed his Ḍevīsṭoṭra.[3]

There are again Kāvyālankārasūṭras on which Vāmana wrote his own Vṛṭṭi and Ruyyaka's Alankārasūṭra on which Mankha wrote vṛṭṭi Alankārasarvasva. Jayaraṭha mentions an Alankāravārṭika in his commentary on Alankārasarvasva (p. 71) :

बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावेनापीयं भवति । यथा—

क्षिपन्त्यचिन्त्यानि पदानि हेलया स्वराजहंसानधिरुह्य च स्थिता ।
कवीन्द्रवक्त्रेषु च यत्र शारदा सहस्रपत्रेषु रमा च रज्यति ॥

अत्र वक्त्रपद्मयोर्बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावः । अनेनैव चाशयेनालालङ्कारवार्तिके ग्रन्थकृता वैशिष्ट्यमस्यादर्शितम् ॥

815. **Bhamaha** was the son of Rakrila Gomin. Maskari was probably his son.[4] From the word Gomin and from the salutation to Sarva Sarvagna at the commencement of his work it has been said he was a Buddhist. Canḍra in his grammar mentions Gomin as a termination of respect.[5] The epithets Sarva and Sarvagna have been used for various divine incarnations without limitation. Bhamaha's reverence to the Hindu pantheon[6] and his elegant references to heroes of Rāmāyaṇa,[7] Mahābhāraṭa[8] and Purāṇas[9] indicate more properly his Vedic persuasion. This surmise is supported by Bhāmaha's scathing criticism of Buddhist theory of Anyāpoha.[10]

1. *PR*, I. 12.
2. This health resort is mentioned in *Raj*. III. 645.
3. *PR*, I. 77 (where the sutras are all extracted).
4. He says so in his commentary on Gauṭama-Dharmasuṭra.
5. गोमिन् पूज्ये ।
6. प्रणम्य सार्वं सर्वज्ञं ।
7. II. 35 ; III. II. 32, 36 ; IV. 21, 28 ; V. 44.
8. III. 7 ; V. 36, 39, 41, 42, 43.
9. III. 5, 42 ; V. 59.
10. VI. 16, 17.

On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Ḍandin, there has been divergence of opinion.[1] But the assertiveness of Ḍandin's expression of dissent in relation to views of Bhāmaha on particular topics indicates his posteriority. It is possible that Bhāmaha was an elder contemporary of Ḍandin and Bhāmaha was an author whose opinions were then fresh in the minds of the readers which Ḍandin thought ought to be controverted before they gained a place of honor.[2]

From illustrations[3] of Alankāras and from their number and significance it is conjectured that Bhatti came after Bhāmaha.

If Ḍandin flourished about the biginning of the 7th century, Bhāmaha can be safely placed in the 6th century A.D.[4]

Bhāmaha composed his Kāvyālankāra[5] after an investigation of the thoughts of good poets for the instruction of the virtuous :

अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीनां
अवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म ।
सुजनावगमाय भामहेन
ग्रथितं रक्रिलगोमिसूनुनेदम् ॥ VI. 64.

and the making of faultless poetry facilitates the pursuit of the Puru-

1. For details of arguments about the priority of Bhāmaha to Dandin, see Trivedi's introduction to Prataparudrayasobhushana, M. Rangacharya's Introduction to Kavyadarsa, Anantacharya in Brahmavadin (1911), R. Narasimhacharya, *Ind. Ant.* XLI. 20 and Medepalli Venkataramanacharya's *History of Alankārasūtra* (in Telugu). Ṭaruṇavācaspaṭi, in his commentary on Kāvyādarśa (I. 29; II. 235-7; IV. 4) distinctly says that Dandin criticises Bhāmaha See S. K. De's *SP*, I. 45-62. For a contrary opinion, see P. V Kane, *JRAS*, (1808) 545; *IA*, XLI. 12-98; Pathak, *JBBAS*, XXIII. 19; *IA*, XLI. 232; M. T Narasimha Ayyangar, *JRAS*, (1905) 535, Barnett, *JRAS* (1905) 841; D. T. Tatacarya, Int. to Edn. While Bhāmaha mentions that Upamā should not be divided into several categories as Nindopamā, Praśamsopamā, etc., and that all such varieties should come under sāmānyaguṇa, these scholars see in it a criticism of Dandin's long list of varieties of Upamā.

2. See A. Rangasami Sarasvati, *JMy*, III. 682.

3. For the list of Alankāras illustrated in Canto X, see *JRAS*, (1922), 830 *et seq.* On this question there is a difference of opinion. See para 42 *supra*.

4. Ganapathi Sastri, in his introduction to Svapnavāsvadatta (*TSS*, No. 15 p. XXIV), places Bhāmaha far earlier than Kālidasa and in the 1st century B.C. See III. 36 and I. 43, where references to Kāliḍasa's Raghuvamśa, XVI. 7, 8 and Megha, I. are indicated. S. K. De, (*SP*, I 49) places him in 7-8 century A D.

5. Printed by K. P. Trivedi, as appendix to Praṭāparudrayaśobhuṣaṇa (*BSS*); Ed. by P. V. Naganathasastri with translation, Tanjore; Ed. D. T. Tatacarya with Vṛṭṭi, Trivadi, Tanjore.

ṣarthas and leads on to pleasure and celebrity. His instruction for choice of words and their disposition is an enchanting instance of his æsthetics :

एतत् ग्राह्यं सुरभि कुसुमं ग्राम्यमेतन्निधेयं
धत्ते शोभां विरचितमिदं स्थानमस्यैतदस्य ।
मालाकारो रचयति यथा साधु विज्ञाय मालां
योज्यं काव्येष्ववहितधिया तद्वदेवाभिधानम् ॥ I. 59.

His humility is in keeping with his dignity and he leaves his homage to the Goddess of Poetry unmindful of his deserts :

न दूषणायायमुदाहृतो विधिर्न चाभिमानेन किमु प्रतीयते (?) ।
कृतात्मनां तत्त्वदृशां च मादृशो जनोऽभिसन्धिं क इवावमोत्स्यते ॥ IV. 51.

In six chapters, he deals with six topics, Kāvyaśarīra, Alankāra, Doṣa, Nyāya and Sābdaśuddhi. His veneration for Pānini is supreme and his description of the Ocean of Vyākaraṇa reminds us of the garlands of metaphors which is Vālmīki's peculiar glory :

सूत्राम्भसं पदावर्तं पारायणरसातलम् ।
धातूणादिगणग्राहं ध्यानग्रहबृहत्प्लवम् ॥
धीरैरालोकितप्रान्तममेधोभिरसूयितम् ।
सदोपभुक्तं सर्वाभिरन्यविद्याकरेणुभिः ॥
नापारयित्वा दुर्गाधममुं व्याकरणार्णवम् ।
शब्दरत्नं स्वयं गम्यमलङ्कर्तुमयं जनः ॥ VI. 1-3.

Here is Vālmīki's description of the sky as an ocean :

स चन्द्रकुमुदं रम्यं सार्ककारण्डवं शुभम् ।
तिष्यश्रवणकादम्बमभ्रशैवालशाद्वलम् ॥
पुनर्वसुमहामीनं लोहिताङ्गमहाग्रहम् ।
ऐरावतमहाद्वीपं स्वातीहंसविलोलितम् ॥
वातसंघातजालोर्मिचन्द्रांशुशिशिराम्बुवत् ।
भुजङ्गयक्षगन्धर्वप्रबुद्धकमलोत्पलम् ॥
हनुमान् मारुतगतिर्महानौरिव सागरम् ।
अपारमपरिश्रान्तः पुप्लुवे गगनार्णवम् ॥
Rāmāyaṇa, V. 57, 1-4.

By his assertive expression and courageous criticism he displays the ardour of his study and the range of his learning He disapproves

as unnatural and improbable of the use of inanimate objects as messengers of love and the story of the capture of Vatsarāja by the lure of a false elephant. He condemns the Sphota theorists with disdain:

शपथैरपि चादेयं वचो न स्फोटवादिनाम् ।
नभःकुसुममस्तीति श्रद्दध्यात् कः सचेतनः ॥ VI. 12.

The illustrations are all Bhāmaha's except where he quotes expressly from other authors. He says:

स्वयं कृतैरेव निदर्शनैरियं मया प्रक्लृप्ताः खलु वागलङ्कृतिः । II. 96.

Bhāmaha is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakrokti is the character of poetry:

सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥ II. 85.

This verse of Bhāmaha has been quoted by later writers, aad Bhāmaha also states it in other words:

वक्राभिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलंकृतिः ।—I. 36.
वाचां वक्रार्थशब्दोक्तिरलङ्काराय कल्पते ।—V. 66.

And Abhinavagupta thus explains it:

शब्दस्य हि वक्रता अभिधेयस्य च (वक्रता) लोकोत्तीर्णेन रूपेणावस्थानमित्ययमेवासावलङ्कारान्तर्भावः । (?)

It cannot therefore be said that Bhāmaha was an opponent of the existence of Dhvani, though indeed Mallinātha called him Dhvanyabhāvavādin.

Ānandavardhana appreciates Bhāmaha's views:

भामहेनाप्यतिशयोक्तिलक्षणे यदुक्तं 'सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्ति'रिति, तत्रातिशयोक्तिर्यमलङ्कारमधितिष्ठति कविप्रतिभावशात्तस्य चातुर्यातिशययोगोऽन्यस्यालङ्कारमात्रतैवेति सर्वालङ्कारत्वकरणयोग्यत्वेनाभेदोपचारात्, सैव सर्वालङ्काररूपेत्ययमेवार्थोऽवगन्तव्यः । तस्याश्चालङ्कारान्तरसङ्कीर्णत्वं कदाचिद्वाच्यत्वेन कदाचिद्व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन । (Bom. Edn. P. 207-8).

Ruyyaka thns sums up Bhāmaha's views:

इह हि तावद्भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरन्तनालङ्कारिकाः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारतया अलङ्कारपक्षनिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते ।

Among the authors and works mentioned by Bhāmaha are Nyāsa-

kāra, Medhāvin,[1] Sakhavardhana,[2] Ratnāharana, Rāmaśarman's Acyutottara,[3] Aśmakavamśa and Rājamitra.

It is a matter of controversy whether this Nyāsakara was Jinendrabuddhi.[4] Namisādhu mentions Medhāvān as a writer on Alankāra and adds

अत्र च स्वरूपोपादाने सत्यपि चत्वार इति ग्रहणायन्मेधाविप्रभृतिभिरुक्तम् यथा लिङ्गवचनभेदो हीनताधिक्यमसम्भवो विपर्ययोऽसादृश्यमिति सप्तोपमादोषाः, तदेतन्निरस्तम् ।

Medhāvin is probably indentical with Medhāvi Rudra, whom Rājaśekhara instances as a poet born blind and one of the three Kālidasas (Kālidasatrayi) mentioned by Rājaśekara. The Lexicon Trikandaśeṣa gives it as a synonym of Kālidāsa.

Rāmaśarma's poetry is thus described:

नानाधात्वर्थगम्भीरा यमकव्यपदेशिनी ।
प्रहेलिका सा ह्युदिता रामशर्माच्युतोत्तरे ॥ II. 19.

Śākhavardana's verse is fine:

निष्पेतुरास्यादिव तस्य दीनाः शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाजः ।
जाज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधारा दिनार्धभाजः परिवेषिणोऽर्कात् ॥ II. 47.

and the same verse is quoted anonymously by Namisādhu und Mammata.

On the style of Aśmakavamśa there is this comment:

ननु चाश्मकवंशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते । I. 33.

From Rājamitra, there is an instance taken to illustrate the figure samāhita:

1. त एत उपमादोषास्सप्तमेधाविनोदिता : । I. 40.

2. His verse:

निष्पेतुरास्यादिव तस्य दीप्ताः शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाजः ।
जाज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधाराः दिनार्धभाजः परिवेषिणोऽर्काः ॥ II. 47.

is quoted to illustrate the fault Asambhava.

3. His verse:

सपीतवासाः प्रगृहीतशार्ङ्गो मनोज्ञभीमं वपुराप कृष्णः ।
शतह्रदेन्द्रायुधवान्निशायां संसृज्यमानश्शशिनेव मेघः ॥ II. 57.

is instanced for उपमाने अधिकपदत्वम् ।

4. On this see K. B. Pathak's *Bhamaha's attacks on Jinendrabuddhi* (*JBRAS*, XXIII. 18); P. V. Kane, *Bhamaha, Bhasa and Magha* (Ibid. 91) and K. P. Trivel, (*IA*, XLIII, 204, 207).

समाहितं राजमित्रे यथा क्षत्रिययोषिताम् ।
रामप्रसत्त्यै यान्तीनां पुरोऽदृश्यत नारदः ॥ III. 10.

Bhāmaha refers to Nanḍa and Cāṇakya thus ;

चाणक्यो नक्तमुपयान्नन्दक्रीडागृहं यथा ।
शशिकान्तोन्तोपलच्छन्नं विवेद पयसां कणैः ॥—III. 13.

Bhāmaha has been honoured in the history of poetics as an Ācārya of antiquity and renown. Viḍyānāṭha wrote

पूर्वेभ्यो भामहादिभ्यः सादरं विहिताञ्जलिः ।

Ānanḍavarḍhana, Abhinavagupṭa, Vāmana and Mammata and others quote his views and verses with distinction.

Uḍbhata's gloss, Bhāmahavivaraṇa, is now lost.[1]

In the prefatory eulogies to his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa Bhatta Gopāla wrote :

उद्भटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपलालितः ।
हृद्यो भाम इव स्त्रीणामल्पारम्भोऽपि भामहः ॥

Is it possible that Bhattanāyaka also composed a commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyālankāra, as Uḍbhata did ?

It is suspected that Bhāmaha wrote a later work on rhetoric, with greater completeness, for we have in Rasikarasāyanam,[2] which goes under his name, an elaborate treatment in seven parakaraṇas of all topics embraced in poetics. The exposition of the Nāṭyālankaras of Bharaṭa is particularly good. But a distinction must be made between the Kārikas and the Vṛṭṭis. If these Kārikas could have been the

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1, In his commentary on Uḍbhata's Kāvyalankārasangraha Praṭihārenḍurāja says,

विशेषोक्तिलक्षणे च भामहविवरणे भट्टोद्भटेन एकदेशशब्द एष व्याख्यातः ... ...

Abhinavagupṭa in his Locana (p. 10) says :

भामहोक्तं 'शब्दच्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थाः' इत्यभिधानस्य शब्दात् भेदं व्याख्यातुं भट्टोद्भटो बभाषे ।

Hemacanḍra in his Kāvyalankāracudāmaṇi (p. 110) says :

तस्माद्गड्डलिकाप्रवाहे गुणालंकारभेद इति भामहविवरणे यद्भट्टोद्भटोऽभ्यधात् तन्निरस्तम् ।

and Ruyyaka in Alankārasarvasva (p. 183) says :

अपि च शब्दानामाकुलता(?)चेति तस्य हेतून् प्रचक्षते भामहीये । वाचामनाकुलत्वेऽपि भाविकमिति चोद्भटलक्षणे ।

2. *Mys*. 303.

work of Bhāmaha. Vṛṭṭi must have been anonymously written later than the 12th century A.D., for it mentions Kāvyaprākaśa and Bhāvaprakāśa and quotes Mālaṭīmāḍhava.

In spite of the attempts of scholars to get at a complete manuscript of Bhāmaha's work, it is still suspected that these editions are not yet the last word. For instance in Locana, Abhinavaguptạ writes:

भामहेन हि गुरुदेवनृपतिपुत्रविषयप्रीतिवर्णनं प्रेयोऽलङ्कार इत्युक्तम् ।

But in the extent editions, we see only one verse delineating the Love for Ḍevas:

प्रेयो गृहागतं कृष्णमवादीद्विदुरो यथा ।
अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते ।
कालेनैषा भवेत्प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः ॥—III, 5.

There is an indication that Bhāmaha wrote also a work on metrics. Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on Śakunṭalā quotes:

तदुक्तं भामहेन—

देवता वाचकाः शब्दा ये च भद्रादिवाचकाः ।
ते सर्वे नैव निन्द्याः स्युर्लिपितो गणतोऽपि वा ॥

कः खो गो घश्च लक्ष्मीं वितरति वियशो ङस्तथा चः सुखं छः
प्रीतिं जो मित्रलाभं भयमरणकरौ झञौ टठौ खेददुःखे ।
डश्शोभां ढो विशोभां भ्रमणमथ च णस्तः सुखं थश्च युद्धं
दो धः सौख्यं मुदं नः सुखभयमरणक्लेशदुःखं पवर्गः ॥

यो लक्ष्यं रश्च दाहं व्यसनमथ लवौ शस्सुखं षश्च खेदं
सस्सौख्यं हश्च खेदं विलयमपि च ळः क्षस्समृद्धिं करोति ।
संयुक्तं चेह न स्यात् सुखमरणपवुर्वर्णविन्यासयोगः (?)
पद्यादौ गद्यवक्त्रे वचसि च सकलं प्राकृतादौ समोऽयम् ॥

And if these two authors are identical, this work on metrics appears to be an extensive treatise on the topic.

Here are some fine specimens of Bhāmaha's poetry:

ताम्बूलरागवलयं स्फुरद्दशनदीधिति ।
इन्दीवराभिनयनं तवेव वदनं तव ॥ III. 46.

अंशुमद्भिश्च मणिभिः फलनिम्नैश्च शाखिभिः ।
फुल्लैश्च कुसुमैरन्यै र्वाचोऽलंकुरुते यथा ॥ VI, 64.

किंशुकव्यपदेशेन तरुमारुह्य सर्वतः ।
दग्धादग्धमरण्यान्यां पश्यतीव विभावसुः ॥ II. 92.

एलातकोलनागरस्फुटवकुललताचन्दनस्पन्दनाढ्यः
सूकाकर्पूरचक्रागरुकमनशिलाध्यानकाम्यासतीरः ।
शङ्खव्राताकुलान्तस्तिमिमकरकुलाकर्णिवीचीप्रतानो
धत्ते यस्याम्बुराशिश्शशिकुमुदसुधाक्षीरशुद्धां सुकीर्तिम् ॥ V. 68.

तस्या हारी स्तनाभोगो वदनं हारि सुन्दरम् ।
हारिणी तनुरत्यन्तं कियन्नहरते मनः ॥ VI. 47.

आक्रोशन्नाह्वयन्नन्यानाधावन्मण्डलं रुदन् ।
गा वारयति दण्डेन डिम्भस्सस्यावतारणीः ॥ II. 94.

816. Dandin's Kavyadarsa,[1] in four parts, is a standard treatise on poetics and belongs to the school, for which *riti* or style is the mark of poetry.[2] It deals with only two styles Gaudī (learned) and Vaiḍarbhī (simple) but allows intermediate types. The first part treats of the nature of poetry and classification of poems, the second and third parts with figures of speech and poetical devices and the fourth part with the faults of poetry. It refers to Seṭubanḍha[3] and quite often differs from opinions must probably of Bhāmaha.[4] Very soon it attained great eminence and as early as the eighth century A.D. it was copied in the Kanarese work on Alankāra, Kavirājamargavijaya of Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpaṭunga.

There are' commentaries on Kāvyaḍarśa by Vāḍighanghālaḍeva,[5]

1. Ed. by Premacandra Tarkavagisa, (*Bib. Ind.*). Ed. by Bohtlingk, (Leipsig) with German translation by Jibananda (Calcutta). Tr. in English (Poona). On Agashe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Kavyādarśa and Daśakumāracariṭa, see *IA*, XLIV. 67; S. K. De, *Bharavi and Dandin*, (*IHQ*, I).

2. The four *vibhagas* (parts) are called mārga arṭhālamkāra, sabḍālamkāra and ḍoṣa.

3. Kāvyāḍarśa, I. 34; also to a work called Kalāpariccheḍa.

4. On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Dandin, see para 815 *supra*. S. K. De, *A note on Avantisundarikutha in relation to Bhamaha and Dandin*, *IHQ*, III. 395.

5. Ed. with notes and translation by V. Krishnamachariar and V. Hanumanṭachariar, Madras. *TC*, III. 3928; *SKC*, 61, 270.

There is a copper plate grant of Ganga King Mārasimha dated 963 A.D. to a Jain Scholar Munjārya who had the titte "Vadighanghālabhatta" (See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1921).

The contents of this plate and 6 other plates are described by R. Narasimhacarya in his paper "The Western Gangas of Talkad," published in the Jl. Mythic Society,

Ṭaruṇavācaspati,[1] S. K. Belvalkar and N. B. Raddi,[2] by Premacandra,[3] by Jībānanda,[4] by Harinātha son of Viśveśvara,[5] by Narasimha, Bhagīratha and Vijayānanda,[6] by Viśvanātha,[7] by Tribhuvanacandra,[8] by Triśaranata Bhīma,[9] by Kṛṣṇakinkara Tarkavāgiśa Bhaṭṭācārya,[10] by Mallinātha, son of Jagannātha,[11] and three anonymous.[12]

Bangalore. Ganga geneology from Konganivarma to Marasimhadeva (Satyavakya) is given there. - See *EI*, IV. 141 ; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1919 ; *Ep. Car.* X, Kolar 90. In commenting upon Kāvyādarśa, 11. 979, he says

रात (ज?) वर्मण इति रातवर्मा नाम ... ...

and that verse is from Keralavamśakāvya. In mentioning previous rhetoricians (I. 2) he names Brahmadatta, Nandiswami etc. He refers to Kusumamanjari an Ākhyāyikā. Rangācārya and Agashe read *Rājavarman* and he referring to Rājasundaravarman *alias* Narasimhavarman II of Kānci whose titles Kālakāla Dandin is said to have alluded to in Kāvyādarśa (III. 50) Mahāvaraṇa (*Ibid* IV. 25) is said to be a from referring to the royal token of Calukya Pulakesin II. S. K. De, (*SP*, I. 55) says "But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a comtemporary prince and as Pischell suggested the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work relating to history."

1. Ed. Madras, by M. Rangacharya with an introduction. *DC*, XXII. 8635. Tiruṇavācaspati and Vādighanghāla say in their commentary on I. 29, II 235 and IV. 4 that Dandin there criticises Bhāmaha. Taruṇavācaspati quotes Bhoja and the Jain poet Hastimalla and is quoted in an anonymous Subhāṣitāsangraha, probably of the 15th century. Poet Hastimalla referred to by him is probably the Jain dramatist (See S. K. De, *SP*, II. 72). The name is given as Dharmavācaspati in *Opp.* 2581.

2. Ed. *BSS*, Bombay.

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. Printed, Calcutta.

5. Ed. Madras. *DC*, XXII. 8633. It is called Hṛdayangamā. In the commentary on I. 2, it is stated that before Dandin, Kāśyapa and Vararuci had written works on Alankāra and Kālidāsa had produced his poem. The second anonymous commentary is extant only to the 1st Pariccheda and seems to be an ancient work. This quotes the first verse of Pratignāyaugandharāyaṇa. For the third, see *Mitra*, 297 ; *CSC*, VII. 21.

6. *PR*, VI. 30 (Bod. 206). He was son of Viśvadhara and wrote a commentary on Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa. He cites Keśavamiśra.

7. *CC*, I. 102. Nṛsimha was the son of Godādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇaśarma.

8. Haraprasad Sastri's report (1896-00) and Haraprasad Sastri's Notices, second series, i-iv. He was a Jain and was also known as Vādisimha.

9. *Hall's Index*, 63.

10. *ICC*, No. 1497.

11. *CC*, II. 20. He is referred to by Viśveśvara in Alankārakaustabha (69). He is different from Kolacala Mallinātha.

12. *CC*, I. 103 ; *Opp.* 4113.

817. Dharmakirti is an old writer on Alankāra. He was a Buddhist philosopher.[1] He commented on Ḍingnāga's Pramāṇa-samuccaya and wrote several other works on Buddhistic philosophy.[2] His Buḍḍhanirvāṇasṭoṭra is a short poem of devotion. Quotations in the anthologies show his exquisite poetry.[3]

818. Bauddhasangati, though not now extant, is probably alluded to by Subanḍhu in his Vāsavaḍaṭṭā.[4] It is quoted by Ānanḍa-varḍhana[5] and Kṣemenḍra.[6]

According to Ṭārānāṭha,[7] Ḍharmakirṭi lived in the time of the Tibetan King Stron-tsan-Gampo, who was born in 617 A.D. and reigned 629-698 A.D.[8] and if Ḍingnāga flourished in the 5th or 6th century A.D.[9] it may be safe, apart from difference of opinion, to say

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1. Aufrecht, *ISt*, XVI. 204; *ZDMG*, XXVII. 41; *CC*, I. 268. He is quoted in the Sarvaḍarsānasangraha (I. 5). See also *BR*, (1897) xx.

2. For a full list of his works, see Thomas, *Kav.* 48-9.

3. Bstod, foll. 222.

4. Hall's Edn. 235 and preface 10: बौद्धसंगतिमिवालङ्कारभूषिताम्. On this Śivarāma says अलङ्कारो नाम धर्मकीर्तिकृतो ग्रन्थविशेषः See also R. V. Krishnamachariar, Int. to Vasa. xxxii; K. T. Telang, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 148; K. B. Pathak, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 88; L. H. Gray, Int. to Vasa. Levi denies this allusion (Bulletin de l' Ecole Francise d'Extreme Orient, III. 45). The Tebetan Tanjur does not mention this work.

5. For quotations in the anthologies, see Peterson, *Subh.* 46-48; F. W. Thomas, *Kav.* 48-50.

See for instance in *SDK*, II 141:

शशिनमसूत प्राची नृत्यति मदनो हसन्ति ककुभोऽपि ।
कुमुदरजः पटवासं विकिरति गगनाङ्गणे पवनः ॥

6. See Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVI. 46-8, 172-3.

7. *History of Buddhism.*

8. Dingnāga's date is fixed at 5th or 6th century (see para 17 note *supra*) and Dharmakirṭi must be at least half a century later.

There is a tradition that at the instance of Bāṇa, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa secretly studied under a Buddhist monk and after learning the secrets of their teaching vanquished Dharmakirṭi, then they became friends and jointly composed the grammatical work Rupāvaṭāra (Ed. Madras). This would make Bāṇa, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakirṭi contemporaries.

9. Burnell's Preface to Śāmaviḍhana Brāhmaṇa; K. B. Pathak, (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 88) says that ITsing calls himself a contemporary of Dharmakirti (MaxMuller, *India*, 210 and *IA*, XIX. 319 and Takakusu's Translation of ITsing's, *A record of the Buddhist religion*, lv et seq and the accuracy of the translation is disputed (see *JBRAS*, XVIII. 149). See also *IA*, IV. 141 and IX. 149. 316; K. T. Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 149) calls attention to this fact that Sṭhiramaṭi who was a contemporary of Dharmakirṭi (MaxMuller, *India*, 305) died some considerable time before 587 A.D. (*IA*, VI. 9).

that Ḍharmakīrṭi flourished in the last quarter of the 6th and the early part of 7th century A.D.

819. Vamana was a pcet of the Court of King Jayāpīda of Kāṣmir (779-819 A.D.)[1] and having migrated later to the Court of the Rāṣtrakūta King Jagaṭṭunga known as Govinḍa III (794-813 A.D,) he became also a member of his Council.[2] From the invocatory verses in his works, it is inferred that in religion he favoured Buddhism and Nainism. Abhinavaguptа refers to Vāmāna's views as having been alluded to by Ānanḍavarḍhana and thus suggests that Vāmana was the earlier.[3] Vāmana makes quotations[4] from Kāḍambarī, Uṭṭararāmacariṭa, and Śiśupālavaḍha and these references make it probable that he flourished about the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century A.D.[5] His Kāvyālamkārasūṭras with his own gloss[6] are divided into 5 chapters and embrace the whole sphere of poetics. His theory is that style (रीति) is the soul of poetry,[7] and though traces of this theory are discernible in earlier literature, it was Vāmana who clearly propounded it and created a school of poetics. The popularity of the work has brought it the name of Kavipriyā.

There are commentaries on the Kāvyālankārasūṭras by Gopenḍra

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1. मनोरथश्शङ्खदत्तश्चटकस्सन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मंत्रिणः ॥ *Rai*. IV. 497.

2. " While commenting on the phrase *Rājārṭha* in the 9th Kārika of his Lingānusāsana Vāmana mentions Jagaṭṭunga-sabhā. Vāmana also mentions the name of the village Śrībhavana az a village and this village is given in *EI*, XI. 162 (Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates) of that King as a place where be spent the rainy season with his army.'' For the grants of Govinḍarāja III, see *EI*, VIII. App. 10-12; *EI*, V. 192.

3. Dhvanyāloka, p. 37. वामनाभिप्रायेणायमाक्षेपः ।

4. He also quotes from Subanḍhu, Amaruśāṭaka, Kirātārjunīya and Mṛcchakatikā and refers to Kāmanḍakiniti, Nāmamālā and Hariprabodha, also to poets Viśākhila (author of Kalāśāsṭra), Śuḍraka and Kavirāja, probably the one mentioned as ancestor of Rājaśekhara. (?)

5. Vāmana the author of the grammatical work Kāśika is referred to by Hiuen Tsang the Chinese Traveller and could not therefore be identical. See also *PR*, I. 28-30. See articles in *COJ*, and II.

6. Edited by Cappeller (Jeena); also Bombay (Kāvyamāla) and Srirangam. Ed. by N. N. Kulkarni; Ed. by in *JSSP*, Calcutta. Tr. into English by Ganganath Jha.

7. See para 801 *supra*. See article by K. Gopalakrishnasastri in *Andhra Sah. Par. Patrika*, XXI. 189 and by G. Ganapatisarma, in *Ibid*, XX. 817.

Ṭippa Bhūpāla[1] and by Maheśvara[2] and by Sahaḍeva.[3] Sahaḍeva, the earliest commentator on the work says that the study of Vāmana's[4] work had fallen into disuetude and Bhatta Mukula procured a manuscript and revived the interest in it.[5]

Besides this work on rhetoric the following works were also Vāmana's compositions, Lingānuśasana,[6] Viḍyaḍharakāvya[7] and part of Kāśikāvṛṭṭi.[8]

820. Udbhata was a poet of tha court of King Jayāpīda of Kāṣmir (779-813 A.D.) and was the President of the royal Council on a salary of a lakh of dinaras a day. In that council was Manoraṭha, Śankhaḍaṭṭa, Cataka, Sanḍhiman, Vāmana etc.

So says Kalhaṇa (*Raj.* IV. 495, 497) :

विद्वान् दीनारलक्षेण प्रत्यहं कृतवेतनः ।
भट्टोऽभूदुद्भटस्तस्य भूमिभर्तुस्सभापतिः ॥
मनोरथश्शङ्खदत्तश्चटकस्सान्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

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1. He is otherwise known as Ṭripurahara Bhupāla, apparently a South Indian Prince. He cites Viḍyāḍhara, Viḍyānāṭha, Mallināṭha and Dharmada and also a work called Kavikajānkuśa. He lived probably in the 16th century A.D. The commentary is called Kāmaḍhenu. Ed. Benarer and Srirangam.

2. *IOC*, 566 C. Bod. 2076. See for further information under Śrīvatsalānchana and Suboḍhanamiśra, commentators on Mammata *post*.

3. Sahaḍeva was a desciple of Śankaḍhara and belonged to the family of Tomaras. He learnt the work from Bhatta-Mukula.

4. On Vāmana generally. see V. V. Sovani, *Bhandarakar Com.* Vol. 398; G. A. Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897), 288; Buhler, *Bkl*, 65; P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLI. 204; Vāmanācārya, Introduction to Kāvyaprakasa; Pischell, Introduction to Śṛngāraṭilaka; Capeller, Introduction to Edn. (His date as later than 1000 A.D. is untenable) S. K. De, *SP*, 81-4.

5. वेदिता सर्वशास्त्राणां भट्टोऽभून्मुकुळाभिधः ।
लब्ध्वा कुतश्चिदादर्शं भ्रष्टाम्नायंसमुद्धृतम् ।
काव्यालङ्कारशास्त्रं यत्तेनैतद्वामनोदितम् ।

6. Ed. with the author's own commentary by C. D. Dalal, (*GOS*) with introduction.

7. This is referred to by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇaraṭnamahoḍaḍhi
"वामनोऽविश्रान्तविद्याधरकाव्यकर्ता"

8. The joint author was Jayāḍiṭya. See Belwalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* and articles in *JSSP*, Calcutta by Malati Sen.

In Sadgarusantānaparimala it is stated that Abhinavaśankara, 38th Ācārya of Kāmakotipītha was contemporary of Udbhata :

क्षीरस्वामिमनोरथेशचटकश्रीसान्धिमच्छङ्कक-
श्रीदामोदरढक्कयत्रामनमहोपाध्यायमुख्यान् कवीन् ।
अष्टावप्यमिभूय दुर्जयतया भट्टोद्भटः प्रत्यहं
यो दीनारकलक्षवेतनवहः कोऽस्याग्रतस्सोऽप्यभूत् ॥

According to Kalhaṇa, Jayāpīda roamed about other kingdoms with a feigned name Kallata and while witnessing Bharaṭanātya in the temple of Kārṭikeya at Paundravardhana (in Gauda Country ruled by king Jayanṭa) he was so taken up by the graces of the art, that he took with him one of the dancing women, Kamalā and made her his queen. It was probably at the request of the king that Udbhata began his writings.[1]

Ānandavadhana mentions him with great reverence.[2] His KAVYALANKARASANGRAHA, a treatise in six chapters, deals with 41 figures of speech.[3]

There are two commentaries on it, one Vivṛṭi (now anonymous), probably the same as Udbhataviveka of Rājānaka Ṭilaka, the other by Praṭihārendurāja.[4]

Udbhata's gloss Bhāmahavivaraṇa is referred to by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavaguṗta and Hemacandra.

821. Udbhata's poem **Kumarasambhava** is extant only in the illustrations quoted in his Kāvyālankarasangraha. The few verses so preserved indicate a grace of expression and a mode of narration, which far transcends the theme of Kālidāsa in its poetic propriety. These are some verses :

ततः प्रभृति निस्संज्ञो नागकुञ्जरकृत्तिभृत् । शितिकण्ठः कालगळत्सतीशोकानलव्यथः ॥
तत्र तोयाशयाशेषव्याकोशितकुशेशया । चकाशे शालिकिंशारुकपिशाशामुखा शरत् ॥
सान्द्रारविन्दवृन्दोत्थमकरन्दाम्बुबिन्दुभिः । स्यन्दिभिस्सुन्दरस्यन्दं नन्दितेन्दिन्दिरा क्वचित् ॥

1. *Raj.* IV. 412-434.
2. Bom. Edn., pages 96, 108.
3. Ed *GOS*, Baroda. Rājānaka Ṭilaka is mentioned by Jayaraṭha in his commentary on Alankārasarvasva, as the author of Udbhataviveka (Bom. Edn., 118). Ṭilaka was the father of Ruyyaka (Rucaka) and lived about the end of the 11th century. for whom see *post*. In the introduction to this edition by K. S. Ramaswamisastri Siromani discusses all that relates to this commentary.
4. Ed. by Banhatti, Bombay.

केलिलोलालिमालानां कलैः कोलाहलैः क्वचित् । कुर्वती काननारूढश्रीनूपुररवभ्रमम् ॥
क्वचिदुत्फुल्लकमला कमलभ्रान्तषट्पदा । षट्पदक्वाणमुखरा मुखरस्फारसारसा ॥
पद्मिनीः पद्मिनी गाढस्पृहयागत्य मानसात् । अन्तर्दन्तुरयामासुर्हंसा हंसकुलालयान् ॥
जितान्यपुष्पकिञ्जल्ककिञ्जल्कश्रेणिशोभितम् । लेभेऽवतंसतां नारीमुखेन्दुष्वसितोत्पलम् ॥
काशाः काशा इवाभान्ति सरांसीव सरांसि च । चेतस्याचिक्षिपुर्यूनां निम्नगा इव निम्नगाः ॥
ज्योत्स्नाम्बुनेन्दुकुम्भेन ताराकुसुमशारितम् । क्रमशो रात्रिकन्याभिर्व्योमोद्यानमसिच्यत ॥
उत्पतद्भिः पतद्भिश्च पिञ्छालीवालशालिभिः । राजहंसैरवीज्यन्त शरदेव सरोनृपाः ॥
आसारधारावृशिखैः नभोभागप्रभासिभिः । प्रसाध्यते स्म धवलैराशाराज्यं बलाहकैः ॥
संजहार शरत्कालः कदम्बकुसुमश्रियः । प्रेयोवियोगिनीनां च निश्शेषसुखसम्पदः ॥
क्षणं कामज्वरोच्छित्त्यै भूयस्सन्तापवृद्धये । वियोगिनामभूच्चान्द्री चन्द्रिका चन्दनं यथा ॥
तरुण्य इव भान्ति स्म चक्रवातैः स्तनैरिव । प्रबोधाद्धवळं रात्रौ किञ्जल्कालीनषट्पदम् ।
शशाङ्कबिम्बेन समं बभौ कुमुदकाननम् ॥
अपि सा सुमुखी तिष्ठेदृष्टे पथि कथंचन । अप्रार्थितोपसम्पन्ना पतितानभ्रवृष्टिवत् ॥

*   *   *   *

इति काले कलोल्लापिकादम्बकुलसंकुले । त्रिदशाधीशशार्दूलः पश्चात्तापेन धूर्जटिः ॥
तां शशिच्छायवदनां नीलोत्पलदलेक्षणाम् । सरोजकलिकागौरीं गौरीं प्रति मनो दधे ॥

*   *   *   *

सदर्पविग्रहेणापि वीर्यमात्रस्थितात्मना । स्पृष्टः कामेन सामान्यप्राणिचिन्तमचिन्तयत् ॥
चण्डाळकल्पे कन्दर्पे लुब्धा मयि तिरोहिते । सञ्जातातुलनैराश्या किं सा शोकान्मृता भवेत् ॥

*   *   *   *

स गौरीशिखरं गत्वा ददर्शोमां तपः कृशाम् । राहुपीतप्रभस्येन्दोर्जयन्तीं दूरतस्तनुम् ॥
पद्मं च निशि निश्श्रीकं दिवा चन्द्रं च निष्प्रभम् । स्फुरच्छायेन सततं मुखेनाधः प्रकुर्वतीम् ॥
शीर्णपर्णाम्बुवाताशकष्टेऽपि तपसि स्थिताम् । समुद्वहन्तीं नापूर्वं गर्वमन्यतपस्विवत् ॥
या शैशिरी श्रीस्तपसा मासेनैकेन विश्रुता । तपसा तां सुदीर्घेण दूराद्विदधतीमधः ॥
अङ्गलेखामकाश्मीरसमालम्भनपिञ्जराम् । अनलक्तकताम्राभामोष्ठमुद्रां च बिभ्रतीम् ॥
दन्तप्रभासुमनसं पाणिपल्लवशोभिनीम् । तन्वीं वनगतां लीनजटाषट्चरणावलिम् ॥
तपस्तेजस्स्फुरितया निजलावण्यसंपदा । तपसास्याः कृतान्यत्वं कौमाराद्येन लक्ष्यते ॥
अचिन्तयच्च भगवानहो नु रमणीयता ।
पतेद्यदि शशिद्योतच्छटा पद्मे विकासिनि । मुक्ताफलाक्षमालायाः करेऽस्याः स्यात्तदोपमा ॥
मन्ये च निपतन्त्यस्याः कटाक्षा दिक्षु पृष्ठतः । प्रायाणाभे तु गच्छन्ति स्मरबाणपरम्पराः ॥

*   *   *   *

किंवात बहुनोक्तेन व्रज भर्तारमाप्नुहि । उदन्वन्तमनासाद्य महानद्यः किमासते ॥

822. Lollata's commentary on Bharata is mentioned by Abhinavagupta and other later writers. He seems to have definitely championed the theory of rasa, and this Śankuka who came after him attacked. He was probably a Kāśmirian and lived about the beginning of the 9th century A.D., because according to Abhinavagupta he controverted the views of Udbhata. On the question of denotation of words, he held that *abhidhā* is comprehensive enough to include any implication or suggestion, so he is called by Mammata and Hemacandra as Dīrghavyāpāravādin. There is Rājaśekhara's quotation in Kāvyamīmāmsa (p. 45):

"'अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थः। किन्तु रसवत एव निबन्धो युक्तः, न नीरसस्य इति आपराजितिः। यदाह—

'मज्जनपुष्पावचयनसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादिवाक्यमिह।
सरसमपि नातिबहुलं प्रकृतरसानन्वितं रचयेत्॥
यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरपुरतुरगरथादिवर्णने यत्नः।
कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः स इह॥'"

This second verse is quoted along with another by Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana (p. 35) as Lollata's:

यथाह लोल्लटः—

'यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरनगतुरगपुरादिवर्णने यत्नः।
कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः प्रबन्धेषु॥
यमकानुलोमतदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरसविरोधिन्यः।
अभिमानमात्रमेतद्गड्डरिकादिप्रवाहो वा॥' इति

This suggests that Lollata was son of Aparājita.[1]

1. Vallabhadeva has a verse of Bhatta Aparājita (*Subh.* 1024) which looks satirical:

क्षुत्क्षामेण कथं कथंचिदनिशं गात्रं कृशं बिभ्रता
भ्रान्तं येन गृहे गृहे गृहवतामुच्छिष्टपिण्डार्थिना।
अस्थ्नः खण्डमवाप्य दैवपतितं शून्यां त्रिलोकीमिमां
मन्वानो धिगहो स एव सरमापुत्रोऽद्य सिंहायते॥

Is he identical with Aparājita, the poet who was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara and mentioned in his prologue to Bālarāmāyaṇa (see para 655 *supra*).

On Lollata, see S. K. De, *SP.* 38 and Vamanācārya, *Int. to Kāvyaprakāśa.*

823. Sankuka[1] is by tradition known to have criticised the views of Lollata on rasa, and he was probably a younger contemporary of Lollata, for his poem Bhavanābhyuḍaya[2] was composed during the reign of Ajiṭāpīda, King of Kāṣmīr (814-851 A.D.)[3] Śankuka's commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra is quoted by Abhinavaguptạ and later writers. He lived earlier than Anandavarḍhana.

824. Ghantaka came after Śankuka. Hts verses are quoted in the antholɔgees,[4] but Abhinavaguptạ's quotation of his opinion on nataka,

श्रीशङ्कुकस्तु अयुक्तमेतदित्यभिप्राय अष्टधेति व्याचष्टे । तथा च देवी कन्या च ख्याता अख्याता भेदेन चतुर्धा । कन्या तु अन्तःपुरसङ्गीतकभेदेन द्विधेति । घण्टकादयस्त्वाहुः नायको नृपतिरित्येतावन्मात्रम् । नाटकादावुपजीवितं न तु प्रख्यातत्वमपि । तद्भेदद्वयादन्ये षोडश भेदा इति ॥

suggests that he wrote a treatise on dramaturgy.

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1. In the Sārngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi and Sukṭimukṭāvalī, the verse

दुर्वारास्स्मरमार्गणाः प्रियतमो दूरे मनोऽप्युत्सुकं
गाढं प्रेम नवं वयोऽतिकठिनाः प्राणाः कुलं निर्मलम् ।
स्त्रीत्वं धैर्यविरोधि मन्मथसुहृत् कालः कृतान्तोऽक्षमः
नो सख्यश्चतुराः कथं नु विरहस्सोढव्य इत्थं शठः ॥

This is quoted in *Subh.* as Mayura's son Bhatta Śankuka's. If Śankuka was the son of Mayura (see para 279 *supra*) he must have lived in the 7th century A.D. and must be a different from Śankuka of Vikrama's Court.

2. Thus says Rājaṭarangiṇi (IV. 703-4)

अथ मम्मोत्पलकयोरुदभूद्दारुणो रणः । रुद्रप्रवाहा यत्रासीद्वितस्ता सुभटैर्हतैः ॥
कविर्बुधमनस्सिन्धुश्शाङ्कश्शङ्कुकाभिधः । यमुद्दिश्याकरोत्काव्यं भुवनाभ्युदयाभिधम् ॥

On Śankuka, see S. K. De, *SP*, 38; Peterson's *Subh.* 127; Quackenbos, *Sanskrit Poems of Mayura*, 50-52; G. A. Jacob, *Notes on Alankara Literature*, *JRAS*, (1897), 281, 287. For the misreading by Peterson (*PR*, II. 59), see *IA*, XLI. 139. For quotation in anthologies, see Quackenbos, *l. c.* 50 f.n. and Peterson *l.c.* This is a poet Śankha or Śankhaka quoted in *Subh.* 3514.

"In 1877 one of the Buddhist Pundits obtained clue to the existence of a copy but did not succeed in persuading the ignorant owner to produce it."

3. S. P. Pandit's Pref. to Gaudavāno, lxxxvii.

4. धनुर्माला मौर्वी क्वणदलिकुलं लक्ष्यमबला
मनो भेद्यं शब्दप्रभृतय इमे पञ्च विशिखाः ।
इयान् जेतुं यस्य त्रिभुवनमदेहस्य विभवः
स कामः कामान् वो दिशतु दयितापाङ्गवसतिः ॥ *Subh.* 82.

See on Ghantaka, R. Ramamurti in *JOR*, II.

825. Anandavardhana,[1] was the son of Nona. He was a poet of the Court of Avanṭivarman of Kāṣmīr (855-884 A.D.). Raṭnākara, Mukṭākaṇa and Śivaswāmin were his friends.[2] He was the father of the school of Ḍhvani in the science of poetics. His ḌHVANYALOKA or Kāvyāloka,[3] elaborates the doctrine of *ḍhvani* or suggestion, as the soul of poetry, and on that basis he discusses its relation to the other poetic embellishments. His language is lucid and is such as must clothe the expression of one who was inaugurating a new thought. His ideas have always been respected and have found a deserving notice at the hands of every later author.[4] The commentary on it, Locana of Abhinavagupṭa, has given it a worthy elucidation and a wide renown.

His Ḍevīśaṭaka is a melodious lyric in praise of Pārvaṭī.[5] Among his other works[6] are Arjunacariṭamahākāvya and two Prakrit poems, Viṣamabāṇalīlā[7] and Harivijaya

According to Gururaṭnamālikā, (64), Saṭcidānanḍasarasvaṭī, 38th Acārya of Kamakotipītha was a contemporary of Ānanṭavarḍhana :

अनुपप्लपुरं चिराय तिष्ठन् ध्वनिकारादिबुधाश्रितो व्रतिष्ठः ।

1. Ānanḍameru, the teacher's teacher of Padmasundara who wrote the Rāyamallābhyuḍaya Mahākāvya in Sam. 1615 (1631 A.D.) (*PR*, III. 257; IV, List of authors) is a different person. See para 231 *supra*.

2. *Raj.* V. 34.

3. Called also Sahṛḍayāloka. Ed. Kāvyamāla Bombay. Abhinavagupṭa appears to think (*l. c.* 54) that Ānanḍavarḍhana was the author only of the vṛttis and the Kārikas are anonymous. Uṭṭungodhya in his commentary on the Locana (*TC*, III. 3876) calls Ānanḍavarḍhana's work Kāvyāloka. Among the authors and works quoted are Kāliḍāsa, Pundarika, Bāṇa, Bhaṭṭoḍbhata, Bhāmaha, Sarvasena and Śātavāhana, Amaruka, Dharmakirṭi, a poem named Madhumaṭhanavijaya, Raṭnāvali, Ṭāpasavatsarāja, Rāmābhyuḍaya.

4. So says Rājaśekhara :

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्वनिवेदिना ।
आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनः ॥

—Jablaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

5. In *DC*, XIX. 7678 and *SKC*, 68 there is a different work of the same name.

6. There is a commentary by Kayyata, son of Canḍrāḍitya and grandson of Vallabhaḍeva, composed in Kali 4078 or 976 A. D. in the reign of King Bhiṣmagupṭa. This Vallabhaḍeva is probably the famous commentator and the same as the poet quoted in the Subhāṣiṭāvali. See Peterson's *Subh.* 112-114. Kayyata, son of Jayyata, the author of Bhāṣyapraḍīpa is a different person. See para 29 supra.

7. It was an anthology. See Sten Konow's Int. to Karpuramanjari (*HOS*. No. IV) p. 193. Peterson (*PR*, II. 18) conjectures it is a work like Kuttinimaṭam.

826. **Mukula** was son of Bhattakallata who was a poet of the Court of king Avanṭivarman of Kāṣmīr (855-884). Mukula's son Harṣata wrote a gloss on Jayaḍevachanḍas,[1] and that is mentioned by Abhinavagupṭa in his commentary on Nāṭyaśāsṭra.[2] Mukula's Abhiḍhāvṛṭṭimāṭṛkā deals with the literal denotation of words.[3]

INDURAJA, also known as Praṭīhārenḍurāja[4] was his pupil. He was born in Konkhan[5] and subsequently migrated to Kāṣmir. His only known work is Kāvyālankārasāralaghuvṛṭṭi, the commentary on Uḍbhata's Kāvyālankāra.[6]

827. **Bhattanayaka's Hrdayadarpana** is reputed to be another commentary on Bharaṭa. Abhinavagupṭa and Jayaraṭha[7] quote a verse under his name, which Mahima cites as from Hṛḍayaḍarpaṇa.[8] It is in prose and verse and is traced only in a fragment the availability of which now is doubted.[9] Bhattanāyaka thought that rasa is the essence of good poetry and differed from Ḍhvani theory of Ānanḍavarḍhana. He was therefore the object of attack by Abhinavagupṭa. Ruyyaka sums up Bhattanāyaka's views.[10] He was probably a poet of the Court of King Avanṭivarman (855-884 A D) and King Śankaravarman of Kāṣmir. He seem to have written a commentary on Bhāmahālankāra.[11] His trancendental view of Nāṭya is rightly quoted by Abhinavagupta :

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1. *Raj.* V. 66.
2. See *Bharati* (1925). S. K. De, *SP*, II. 76,
3. Ed. Bombay. It refer to Kumārila, Śabaraswāmin and Bharṭṛhari.
4. On Inḍurāja, see *PR*, IV Index of authors ; *BKR*, 66 ; Peterson's, Paper on Aucityavicaracarca, 20 and introduction to *Subh.* 11, and Vamanacarya's introduction to Kavyaprakasa, 22. Jacob. *JRAS*, (1897), 295.
5. He called himself कोङ्कणः श्रीन्दुराजः
6. Ed. Bombay. Among old authors mentioned in it are Amaruka, Kāṭyāyana, Curnikāra (Patanjali), Daudin, Vāmana, Bhāmaha.
7. See *BKR*, 64-67.
8. See T. R. Chintamani, *Fragments of Bhattanayaka JOR*, (1927), 257.
9. The manuscript was possessed by the late father of M. Ramakrishna Kavi and was by him entrusted to Cheru Narasimha Sastri of Pidur village, 3 miles from Manubole Railway Station in Nellore District. This may set at rest the doubt and suggestion of S. K. De, *SP*, 39-43 that Hṛḍayadarpaṇa is not a commentary on Nāṭyaśāsṭra, but an independent treatise on Alankāra.
10. *Raj.* V. 159. Peterson's, *Subh.* 50.
11. GA. Jacob, *JRAS.* (1897), 296.

Bhattagopāla's commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa has

भट्टनायकस्तु, 'ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतम् अविद्याविरचितं निस्सारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणीकृतं तन्नाट्यम्, तद्वक्ष्यामि । यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं क्षणेन कल्पनाशतसहस्रसहं स्वप्नादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरां हृदयग्रहनिदानम् अलक्तस्वालम्बनब्रह्मकल्पनाटोपरचितं रामरावणादिचेष्टितं कुतोऽप्यभूताद्भुतवृत्त्या भाति, तथा भासमानमपि च पुमर्थोपायतामेति । तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुमर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षेपोऽयं भविष्यति, 'स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः' इति । तदनेन पारमार्थिकं प्रयोजनमुक्तम्' इति व्याख्यानं हृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह—

'नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः ।
प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्यप्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥'' Baroda Edn, pp. 4-5

He distinguished Kāvya for Śāstra and Ākhyāna by the poet's expression of Bhāvakṭavavyāpāra generated by guṇa and alankāra. Mahimabhatta embarked on the same object of refuting Ḍhvani theory, though he did it without seeing this Hṛdayaḍarpaṇa and he was probably his younger contemporary.[1]

828. **Rajasekhara's Kavyamimamsa** is a unique work of literary criticism and tradition. It is supposed to be a fragment of a bigger treatise KAVIRAHASYA (or Kavivimarśa), not now traceable, though

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उद्भटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपलालितः ।
हृद्यो भाम इव स्त्रीणामल्पारम्भोऽपि भामहः ॥

V. Raghavan explains that this does not mean any commentary on Bhāmaha:

"Nāyaka accepted, as Abhinava says, (p. 12), that Rasa is the Ātman of poetry. But in distinguishing poetry from ordinary, Sātraic, or Purāṇic utterences, he formulated the doctrine of अभिधाप्राधान्य or व्यापारप्राधान्य. This means an emphasis on the form of poetry as its differentia. Bhāmaha gave Vakrokti as the differentia of poetry. The Abhidhā of a poet is his characteristic expression as a whole, his Vakrokti. Abhinava equates Nāyaka's Vyāpāra, (i.e.) expression having it and Bhāmaha's Vakrokti in his commentary on the section on Lakṣaṇas.

Abhinava says in his Locana that the Bhāvakatvavyāpāra, which is one of the three Aṁśas of Kāvya Śabda as distinguished from other Śabdas, is the embellishep utterence having Guṇas and Alaṅkāras pp. 68–70.

" भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहमस्माभिरेव वितत्य वक्ष्यते ।"

Thus it is most likely that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, in defining poetry and its difference from other utterences, and in expounding his idea of Abhidhāpradhānya or Vyāpārapradhanya, drew upon, adopted, exploited and re-interpreted Bhamaha's idea of poetry as being characterised by Vakrokti. This is perhaps the उपलालन which Bhaṭṭa Gopāla says, Nāyaka gave to Bhāmaha."

1. So he says अदृष्टदर्पणा ममधीः

Bhattaśri Nārāyaṇaśastrin mentions it and gives an extract about Bhāsa's works.[1] Kāvyamīmāmsa has been extensively used by Kṣemendra, Bhoja and Hemacandra and has been held in very great reverence.[2]

A. B. Keith has an excellent summary of this work: He conceives of the Kavyapurusa, the spirit of poetry, son of Sarasvati, and the Sahityavidya, science of poetics, who becomes his bride, the term Sahitya being derived, we may believe, from the old doctrine of the union of word or sound and sense to make a poem, as laid down by Bhamaha, Magha, and others. He distinguishes carefully science, Castra, and poetry, and analyses the division of the former: and discusses at length the relation of genius, poetic imagination, culture, and practice in making a poet and classifies poets on this score. A further classification is based on the fact that a poet may produce a Castra, or a poem, or combine both in varying proportions, and of poets in the narrower sense he makes eight illogical groups. His own conception of poetry appears traditional; he defines it as a sentence possessing qualities and figures, and he accepts Vamana's doctrine of styles which are the extreme of Sahityavidya's wanderings in diverse lands. The sources of poetry are touched on, and the subject-matter as concerned with men, divine beings, or denizens of hell is investigated. Very interesting is the discussion of borrowing from earlier works; it is recognized as justified by freshness of idea and expression, and elaborate illustration is given of thirty-two different ways of evading improper plagiarism. Important also is the consideration of poetical conventions, and we are given a geography of India and many remarks on the seasons with their appropriate winds, birds, flowers, and action. Rājasekhara also gives curious details of the likings of different parts of India for certain languages and their mode of mispronouncing Sānskrit. The Magadhas and others east of Benares are blunt in Prākrit, good at Sanskrit, but the Gaudas are thoroughly bad in Prakrit, the Latas dislike Sanskrit but use the Prakrit beautifully, the Surāstras and Travanas mix Apabhranca with Sanskrit, the Dravidas recite musically, Kāshmirian pronunciation is as bad as their poetry is good, Karnātas end up sentences with a twang, northerners are nasal, the people of Pancala sweet and honey-like. Women poets are recognised, and sex barriers despised, while of the ten grades of poets the rank of Kavirāja, held by Rajacekhara, comes seventh even above the Mahākavi himself. Great stress is laid on the assem-

1. See para 568 *supra*.
2. See S. K. De, *SP*, 125.

blies at which poets were judged and where the prize given by the king included crowning with a fillet and riding in a special chariot. The poet's paraphernalia is given, chalk, a board, palm leaves, biren bark, pen and ink. More important is the insistence on the equal rights of all four forms of speech; Sanskrit; Prakrit elegant, sweet and smooth; Apabhranca also elegant, as loved in Marwar, Takka, and Bhadānāka; and Bhūtabhāsā current in Avanti, Pariyatra, and Daca-pura, while the people of the Madhyadeca, used all equally well. The people of that land show also their admixture by their colours, brown like the easterners, dark like the southerners, while like the westerners, while the northerners are fair. When we add that he quotes extensively including the *Mahimnastotra*, gives many fine verses and anecdotes and is usually lively if pedantic, the merits of his work can be appreciated."[1]

829. Rudrata[2] known as Saṭānanda was the son of Bhatta Vāmuka, a follower of Sāmaśākhā.[3] His Kāvyālankāra is quoted by Rājaśekhara, by Bhoja and by Pratīharenḍurāja in his comentary Uḍbhatālankāra which was written in Sam. 1122 (1066 A.D.). Ruḍrata must have therefore flourished in the latter half of the 9th century.[4]

Of Ruḍrata's works, there are two, Śṛngāraṭilaka and Kāvyālankāra, besides Ṭripuravaḍha of which there is a mention.

830. SṚNGĀRATILAKA,[5] in three parts, delineates rasas as developed in poems as opposed to plays. It is written in very fine verse and has been quoted profusely by later writers with admiration. There

1. *SL*, 385. Ed. with introduction, (*GOS*) Baroda and Ed. by Narayanasastri Kisthe, with his own commentary and Ed. with the commentary of Pandit Madhu. śuḍanamiśra.

2. Nyāyavācaspati Ruḍrakavi, son of Vidyavilāsa was the author of Bhāvavilāsa and panegyric of King Bhāvasimha of Jaipur, son of Wanasimha, contemporary of Akbar of the 17th century. (Kavyamala, Part II).

3. This information is given in the Mahācakrabanḍha. See the diagram at the end of the book in the Kāvyamāla Series.

4. Buhler originally thought (*BKR*. page 67, *JBRAS*. XXI. 67) that Ruḍrata belonged to the second half of the 11th century but later on saw (*IA*, XII. 30) that he could not be placed later than the 10th century A. D. Jacobi (*VOJ*, II. 151) suggests that Ruḍrata was a Kashmirian contemporary of King Śankaravarman, son of Avanṭivarman and that the example of Vakrokṭi given by him (II. 15) was prompted by Raṭnākara whose work Vakrokṭipancāśikā contains similar railleres between Śiva and Pārvaṭī.

5. Ed. Bombay, and by Pischell, Kiel. On the identity of authors of Śṛngaraṭilaka and Kavyalankāra, there has been much difference of opinion. But the quotations here following make the identity clear. In Bhāvaprakāśa (Ch. IV) Śaraḍāṭanaya says:

is a commentary on it called Rasataranginī by Gopala Bhatta, son of Harivamśabhatta.[1]

831. His KAVYALANKARA is written in Āryā metre and is in 16 chapters. Rudrata recognises the fame of the poet and the good of others as the only object of poetry. He deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He includes Vakrokti among the former and makes a broad classification of the latter into vāstava[2] aupamya, atiśaya and śleṣa.

There are three commentaries on Kāvyālankāra by Vallabhadeva,[3] Namisādhu,[4] and Āśādhara.[5]

832. **Namisadhu**[6] was a Śvetāmbara Jain Bhikṣu and disciple of Sālibhadra. He wrote his commentary in the year Sam. 1125

इत्थं शतत्रयं तासामशीतिश्चतुरुत्तरा ।
संख्येयं रुद्रटाचार्यैरुपभोगाय कल्पिता ॥

in which the 1st half is I 88 of Śṛṅgāratilaka and saying

शृंगाराभास एव स्यान्न शृंगारः कदाचन ।
इति द्विषन्तमुद्दिश्य प्राह श्रीरुद्रटः कविः ॥—Śṛṅgāratilaka.

He quotes from Śṛṅgāratilaka, I. 64, 68-70. In his commentary on Daśarupa, Bahurupamiśra thus quotes from Rudrata. रसिकसार्वभौमः रुद्रट एवोत्तरमाह and quotes some versez I. 49, 68, 69.

Bhattagopāla in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says

आर्यानुरागी सर्वज्ञस्सत्यं रुद्रस्स रुद्रटः ।

In Rasārṇavasudhākara, Śingabhupāla quotes Śṛṅgāratilaka (I. 69) as of Rudrata. Bhoja quotes from Śṛṅgāratilaka and Kāvyālankāra. Aufrecht (*ZDMG*, XXVII. 80; XXXVI. 776), Weber (*ISt*. XVI), Buhler (*BKR*, 67) and Pischel (*ZDMG*, XLII. 296-304, 425-435 and preface to Edn.) accept the identity. Durgaprasad (Edn. of Śṛṅg), Trevedi (*Notes to Ekavali*, 3), Jacobi (*VOJ*, II. 51, IV. 69; *ZDMG*, XLII. 296, 425), and S. K. De (*SP*, I. 90-96) deny the identity. Peterson (*Subh*. 104-5; *PR*, I. 14, II. 19; *JBRAS*, XVI. 14-20) and Thomas (*Kav*. 92-96) doubt the identity. See also *BR*, (1897) xliv and *JRAS*, (1897) 221. Durgaprasad (*l.c.*) notes that a verse *Sārdham Manorathaśataiḥ* is quoted by Viṣṇuśarman in Pancatantra and because the latter cannot be earlier than 8th century A.D. (as he quotes Kuttinimata) the author of Śṛṅgāratilaka must have lived about the end of the 7th century A.D. In some colophons of Śṛṅgāratilaka he is called Rudrabhatta. See also *IA*, XV, 287; *BKR*, 65.

2. If he is the author referred to by Kumāraswāmin he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa and Rasamanjari. See S. K. De, *SP*, I. 101 and *CC*, I. 113, 161, 195.

2. *BR*, I. 14-20.

3. The work is lost.

4. Ed. Bombay,

5. *CC*. I. 103, 779.

6. He calls himself, Śvetabhiāṣunami, Śvetāmbaranami, Panditanami, Namisādhu, Sādhunami.

(1069 A. D),[1] for "men of feeble intellect, ever on the lookout for primers and abstracts. His gloss is drawn up "in strict accordance with commentaries drawn up by mighty minds of old." For Rudrata's work to grow so much in importance and for it to become so popular sufficient time must have elapsed and about two centuries may be thought of as that interval.[2]

833. **Dhananjaya** was the son of Viṣṇu. He was a poet of the King Munja (Vākpaṭirāja II) of Paramāra dynasty of Malva who ruled in 9744-995 A.D.[3] Among Ḍhananjaya's friends were Paḍmaguptạ, Halāyuḍha and Ḍhanapāla. His ḌASARUPA[4] is a succinct treatise on dramatic writing. It is mainly based on the rules laid down by Bharaṭa, which "being diffuse is bewildering to those of slow wit" and except to a little extent in the classification of heroines, and treatment as Śṛngara, he rarely differs from Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra. The excellence of Ḍhananjaya's presentation has gained for it a popularity which has tended to replace in a great measure the usefulness of Nāṭyaśasṭra and it is referred to by later writers on rhetoric mostly with approbation.

There are commentaries on Ḍaśarūpa by Ḍhanika,[5] and by Bahurūpamiśra,[6] by Nṛsimhabhatta,[7] by Ḍevapāṇi,[8] by Kṣoṇiḍharamiśra,[9] and by Kūravirāma.[10]

1 Ed. Bombay. He quotes from Arjunacariṭa of Ānanḍavarḍhana, Ṭilakamanjari of Dhanapāla and from a work on prosody by Jayaḍeva.

2. Peterson (*PR.* I. 17) thinks middle of 11th century probable.

3. About this dynasty, see paras 515 *supra*.

4. Ed. by F. Hall, Calcutta with preface; by K. P. Parab, Bombay; by Vidyasagara, Calcutta. Tr. into English by C. C. C. Haas (*Col. Unv. Series*) with notes and introduction. See also S. K. De, *SP*, I. 128-135; Barnett, *JRAS*, (1913) 190.

5. Ed. along with Daśarupa (*l. c.*).

6. *TC*, IV. 5434, V. 6180.

7. *TC*, III. 3347. There are commentaries on Kāvyaprkaśa on Sarasvaṭikanthābharaṇa and Śabarabhaṣya by Narasimha, but it is not known if all these Narasimhas are identical. From the fact that manuscripts of commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa are found in Telugu commentary only, it may be said he was a different author but the manuscripts of the other three commentaries are found in Malabar and were discovered in the house of Payyur Patteri, father of Vāsuḍeva, in whose family there was a scholar named Narasimha. About Payyur Patteri see para 170 *supra*.

8. *TC*, II. 1097. He is quoted by Ranganāṭha in his commentary on Vikramorvaśi and must therefore be earlier than 1656 A D.

9. Hall's Edition, 4 notes.

10. *CC*, II. 53. His Daśarupakapaḍḍhaṭi (*CC*, II. 1097) is in 110 verses on the characteratics of plays. He also wrote a commentary on Bhāratacampu and Viśvaguṇāḍarśa and Kuvalāyananḍa. (See *HR*, I. xi). He was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Chittoor Dist. in Madras.

834. Dhanika was probably Ḍhananjaya' brother[1] unless as some say Ḍhanika and Ḍhananjaya are one. In one of the manuscripts of his Avaloka he is described as an officer (Mahāsāḍhyapāla) of king Uṭpalarāja, that is Munja.[2] He was probably ihe father of Vasanṭācārya, who was a donee under a grant of land by king Vākpaṭi (Munja) in 974 A.D.[3] He also wrote poetry and gives his own illustrations of Ḍhananjaya's definitions.[4] In his Avaloka (IV. 46) he quotes verses from another work of his, Kāvyanirṇaya.

835. BAHURUPAMISRA is described as Mahāmahopāḍhyāya in the colophon to his work. Of the latest writers, he quotes are Bhoja and Murāri and from the circumstance that he does not refer to Mammata or any later rhetoricians, he may be assigned to the beginning of the 12th century A.D. He comments on the text and gloss of Ḍhananjaya and Ḍhanika, and thereby treats both as Ḍaśarūpa. His commentary is called Rūpaḍīpikā. It is probably the best commentary available and its value is ennanced by illustrations taken from authors of whom many are now unknown.[5]

836. Abhinavagupta alias **Nrisimhagupta**[6] was the son of Nṛsimhaguppa (known as Chukhala or Mukhala) and Vimalā, and grandson of Varāhaguppa. His father's maternal grandfather was Yaśorāga.

1. In some works Daśarupa ia referred to as the work of Dhanika (see Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa, 313 and 316) and this had led to the confusion that the author of the Daśarupa and the commentary are one. See Levi, *TI*, 17 ; Jacobi, *GA*, (1913) 303. The commentary has several indications of difference in authorship. See for instance II. 34 ; III. 40 and IV, 62

2. See Wilson's, *Theatre*, I. xx-xxi : Hall, *Int. to Edn* 3 notes.

3. *IA*, VI. 51-53, *JASB*, XXX. 195-210.

4. Among works quoted or referred to are, Uḍāṭṭarāghava, Chaliṭarāma, Pandavānanda, Rāmābhyuḍaya, Ṭarangaḍaṭṭa and Puṣpaḍuṣiṭaka.

5. Among rare authors and works quoted by him are :

कोहल, नखकुट्ट, भट्टनारायण, श्रीहर्ष, छलितराम, मातृगुप्त, षट्सहस्रीकार, कुमारगर्भ, नायकानंद, प्रतिज्ञाभीम, पाण्डवानंद, दशग्रीववध, रामाभ्युदय, सुग्रीवाभिषेक, नलविजय, देवीपरिणय, मेनकानहुष, मदलेखा, स्तंभितरंभ, स्वप्नवासवदत्त, कृत्यारावण, नृत्यचरक, तरंगदत्त, पद्मावतीपरिणय, पुष्पभूषितक, माधवी, ललितनागर, शशिकला, भगवदज्जुक, तारकोद्धरण, सिंधुर, विक्रम, भीमविक्रम, अमृतमथन, शक्रानंद, मालतिका, कामदत्त, नागविजय, कुसुमशेखरविजय, ऊर्वशीमदन, उदात्तराघव ॥

6. 'Gupta' denotes a sect of Kashmir brahmins. Abhinava is the proper name. So writes Kṣemarāja in his Neṭrodyoṭa : अभिनवबोधा. See Durgāprasāda's Int to Sāhiṭyaḍarpana (Bombay).

Manorathagupta[1] was his brother. His teachers were Utpalarāja Bhattendurāja, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Siddhicela and Bhatta Tauta.[2] Kṣemendra was his pupil. He was a staunch votary of Śiva. He is held in great everence by later writers and he is styled Ācāryapādāḥ. His Bṛhat-Pratyabhignā-vimarśinī gives his parentage and the date of its composition as the year 90 Laukika or 1013 A.D.[3] He was a poet, logician and philosopher.

Abhinava's paternal uncle VAMANAGUPTA was also a writer on poetics. He is quoted thus in Abhinavabhāratī (p. 297) :

तत्र हास्याभासो यथा अस्मत्पितृव्यस्य वामनगुप्तस्य—

लोकोत्तराणि चरितानि न लोक एष
संमन्यते यदि किमङ्ग वदाव(म?) नाम ।
यत्त्वत्र हासमुखतस्त्वममुष्य तेन
पार्श्वोपपीडमिह को न विजाहसीति ॥

In Mādhava's Śankaravijaya (XV. 158) it is said that Abhinavagupta was vanquished by Śankara.[4] The 48th Ācārya in Kamakotipītha, Advaitanandabodhendra is said to have vanquishedby Abhinaagupta and Śriharṣa. So says Punyaslokamanjari and Gururatnāmalikā.

अभिचारकगुप्तपादत्रादिप्रभुहर्षादिपराभवाग्रभूमिम् ।

His Locana is a commentary on Dhvanyāloka[5] of Anāndavardhana

1. The poet Manoratha of the Court of king Jayāpida (779-813 A. D) was a different person (*RAJ*, IV. 496). See Peterson' *Subh*. 85.

2. He was called Mahāmāheśvara Abhinavagupta (*DC*, XXI. 8666),.

3. इह विश्वानुजिघृक्षापरः परमाशिव एव सकलभूमण्डलोत्तरे श्रीमच्छारदादिव्यक्रीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदेशे श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तसहधर्मचारिण्यां श्रीमत्यां विमलायां लीलया अवतीर्य श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तनाथ इति प्रख्याताभिधानः ... ... श्रीमदुत्पलदेवाचार्यमुखोद्गतं श्रीमदीश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाख्यं शास्त्रं व्याचिख्यासुः ...

4. See C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer's *Life of Sankara* (Madras) 70. On Abhinavagupta, see Jacobi *JRAS*, (1897,) 297 ; (1908), 65-9 ; P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLI. 204.

5. Ed. Kāvyamala, Bombay, [except chapter IV which has been edited by S. k. De in *Jl. of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, 1923] Being edited by S. K. De for *BSS*, Bombay. There is a commentary on it Anjanā, anonymous, It cites Induraja as Paramaguru or teacher's teacher (ibid. 8668), There is another commentary by Uttungodaya (*TC*., III. 3876). In the Locana the following works are referred to : Arjunacarita, Kadambarikathasara (as the work of Bhatta Jayantaka, father of Abhinaoda though the latter is the reputed author of it), Tapasavatsaraja, Bhallata, Matangadivakara, Śriharṣa, Yaśovarman's Ramabhyudaya, Bhattanayaka, Rudrata, Viṣamabāṇalīlā, Bhāmaha, Dutangada, Patalavijaya (of Panini,) Venisambara, Sahṛdayahṛti, Tilakamanjari, Svapnavasavadatta, Kavyakautuka, Haravijaya (prakrit).

and is a mine of rhetorical learning, Bhairavastoṭra[1] is a collection of verses in praise of Kālabhairava and Mahopaḍeśavimśaṭi is a series of sententious moral maxims. Among his other works[2] are also Kramasṭoṭra,[3] Ghatakarparavivṛṭi, Nāṭyalocana and Abhinavabhāraṭī, the last two being commentaries on Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra.[4]

837. Utpaladeva was the teacher of Abhinava's teacher Lakṣmaṇaguptā, He was the son of Uḍayākara and lived adout 930 A.D. He is quoted by Kṣemenḍra. He was the author of Iśvarapraṭyabhijnā-sūṭra, on which Abhinava wrote a gloss (vṛṭṭi) in 1015 A.D.[5] Uṭpala's guru was Somānanḍa, founder of Praṭyabhijnā cult. Uṭpala's views on music are quoted by in Abhinavabhāraṭī. For instance:

तस्मादुक्तधर्मोपजविनमेव परमगुरुनिरूपितं युक्तम् ।

यथोक्तं श्रीमदुत्पलपादैः—

स्थितस्थायित्वसंपन्नात् प्रस्तुतस्थमयोजनम् ।
ध्रुवासु यद्यदन्येभ्यस्तद्वद्प्रज्ञोपकल्पयेत् ॥

and in Basavarāja's Śivaṭaṭvaraṭnākara, there is this reference:

उत्पलाद्यं परिमळं कृतिं शार्ङ्गधरस्य च ।

838. Bhatta Tauta's[6] work Kāvyakauṭuka is lost. His definition of Kavi and Kāvya is mentioned by Rāmacanḍra and quoted by Māṇikyacanḍra:

तथोक्तं काव्यकौतुके—

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।
तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः ॥
तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम् ।

It appears that Rājacūdāmaṇi Ḍikśiṭa had a copy of this book and he follows Ṭauṭa's definition in his Kāvyaḍarpaṇa.[7]

Ṭauṭa's estimation of a kavi (poet) is superb and is quoted by Hemacanḍra:[8]

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1. Composed in Laukika 68 (989 A. D).
2. For a list of his works, see *SKC*, 365.
3. Composed in Laukika 66 (991 A. D).
4. See chapters on *Music* and *Dancing*, post.
5. *TC*, III. 3843. For a summary of quotations, see Thomas, *Kav*. 29, also Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 12; *CC*, I. 64; *SKC*, 306.
6. For a discussion of fragments of Ṭauṭa, see V. Raghavan's article on *Writers quoted in Abhinavabharati*, *JOR*, Madras.
7. Mys. Edn. of Kavyaprakāśa, p. 7.
8. Srirangam Edn. I. 7.

तथा चाह भट्टतोतः—

"नानृषिः कविरित्युक्तः ऋषिश्च किल दर्शनात् ।
विचित्रभावधर्मांशतत्त्वप्रख्या च दर्शनम् ॥
स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठितः कविः ।
दर्शनाद्वर्णनाच्चाथ रूढा लोके कविश्रुतिः ॥
तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः ।
नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥—*Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 316.

Abhinavagupṭa wrote a gloss on it Vivaraṇa and mentions it in his Locana,[1] and quotes his views in Abhinavabhāraṭi. Ṭauṭa refuted the theories of Lollata and Śankuka on rasa.

839. Bhattenduraja was the son of Śrībhūṭirāja and grandson of Saucuka of Kāśyapagoṭra. His verses furnished easy illustrations for Abhinavagupṭa, who calls his teacher Viḍvaṭ-kavi-sahṛḍaya-cakravarṭin. He is quoted by Kṣemenḍra in Auciṭyavicāracarcā and Suvṛṭṭaṭilaka.

840. Ksira or **Ksiraswamin** was a pupil of Bhattenḍurāja. His drama Abhinavarāghava is quoted in Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa by Rāmacanḍra, a pupil of Hemacanḍra, where Sthāpaka says—

आर्ये चिरस्य स्मृतम्—

अस्त्येव राघवमहीनकथापवित्रं
काव्यं प्रबन्धघटनाप्रथितप्रथिम्नः ।
भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जमधुव्रतस्य
क्षीरस्य नाटकमनन्यसमानसारम् ॥

and Rāmacanḍra in introducing the above quotation says—

यथा क्षीरस्वामिविरचितेऽभिनवराघवे ।

841. Bhojadeva of Ḍhārā[2] has a distinquished place in poetics, and with his name are associated Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇa and Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa. In Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇa,[3] in five long chapters, Bhoja discusses the merits and faults of poetry, the figures of speech, and the sentiments. The general precepts are profusely illustrated from the

1. Bom. Edn. p. 178. भट्टतौतेन काव्यकौतुके अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतरकृतनिर्णयः ।
2. See S. K. De, *Agnipurana and Bhoja* [*JRAS* (1923), 537]
3. Ed. Benares. For a detailed description of the work, see Auf. Bod. Cat. No. 489 and R. Mitra's Cat. No. 3143 ; *DC*, XXII. 8703.

works of standard authors[1] and in this respect, the treatise forms a landmark in the history of Sanskrit literature.

There are commentaries on it by Raṭneśvaramiśṛa composed at the instance of Rāmasimhaḍeva,[2] by Bhatta Narasimha,[3] by **Lakṣmīnāṭhabhatta**[4] and by Jagaḍḍhara.[5]

842. Bhoja's Srngaraprakasa[6] is the most extensive work on Alankāra and has largely been used by Hemacanḍra and Śāraḍāṭanaya. It has 36 Prakāśas or Chapters. The first eight deal with grammatical technicalities and the theory of Vṛṭṭi; the ninth and the tenth with faults and merits of expression and thought, and the eleventh with Mahākāvya and the twelfth with drama; and the next twenty-four chapters are devoted to Rasas, of which the main is held to be Śṛngāra.[7]

In the last verses of these two treatises Bhoja invokes eternity for his work thus :

यावन्मूर्ध्नि हिमांशुकंदलभृति स्वर्वाहिनी धूर्जटे-
र्यावद्वक्षसि कौस्तुभस्तबकिते लक्ष्मीर्मुरद्वेषिणः ।
यावच्चित्तभुवस्त्रिलोकविजयप्रौढं धनुः कौसुमं
भूयात्तावदियं कृतिः कृतधियां कर्णावतंसोत्पलम् ॥

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1. Among rare works and authors quoted are, Kāḍambarīkaṭhāsāra, Bhāravi, Kumāraḍāsa, Gāḍhāsapṭaśaṭī, Candīśaṭaka, Caurapancāśikā, Daśakumāracāriṭa, Bhallaṭaśataka, Bhāsa, Mahānāṭaka, Mālavaruḍra, Ruḍrata, Bhāmaha, Muḍrārākṣasa, Lakṣmīḍhara, Vikataniṭambā, Vijjakā, Rājaśekhara, Hayagrīvavaḍha. For a fuller reference, see Jacobi, *Notes on Alankara Literature*, [*JRAS* (1897), 281.]
2. Ed. Benares. *DC*, XXII. 8505.
3. *TC*, III. 3518.
4. *CASB*, 215.
5. Ed. by Kedarnath Sarma, Bombay.
6. *TG*, IV. 4831. Ed. partly by Sri Yaḍugiriswāmi of Melkote.
7. Among works and poets quoted are the following that are rare :

अनङ्गवती, अब्धिमथनम्, अभिसारिकावंचितकम्, चौरपञ्चाशिका, इंदुलेखा, इंदुमती, उदयनोदयम्, उषाहरणम्, उदात्तराघवम्, कुंदमाला, कुवलयाश्वचरितम्, कृष्णचरितम्, चारुमती, चित्रलेखा, छलितराघवम्, तापसवत्सराजम्, त्रैलोक्यसुंदरी, दमयंती, देवीचन्द्रगुप्तम्, पार्थविजयम्, फुल्लसकम्, बृन्दावनम्, बृहत्कथा, भीमकुल्या, मत्स्यहसितम्, मलयवती, मदालसाख्यायिका, माधविका, मारीचवधम्, मालतिका, मुकुटताडितकम्, रतिविलापम्, रामचरितम्, रामाभ्युदयम्, राघवानंदम्, रावणवधम्, लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरम्, लीलावती, विक्रान्तशूद्रकम्, विनयवतीशूद्रकम्, शकुन्तिका, शाखाविशाखोपयमम्, शूद्रककथा, स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्, स्वयंप्रभा, सुभद्राहरणम्, हयग्रीववधम्, हरविलासम्, हरिवंशम्, हरिविजयम्, हरिश्चंद्रचरितम्.

843. **Ajitasena** was a Jain ascetic. He was priest of Cāmundarya, minister of the Ganga King Rācamalla of the 10th century A.D. He was the teacher of the Kanarese poet Nāgavarma, head of a Mutt at Bankipore. His Śringāramanjarī is a small work in 128 verses meant for elementary instruction,[1] but Alankāracūḍāmaṇi[2] is more elaborate.

844. **Ksemendra's** Aūcityavicāracarcā has been noticed. It propounds the theory that *aucitya* is the mark of poetry.[3]

In his Kavikanthābharaṇa (p. 126) Kṣemendra quotes a verse of Bāṇa, from a source unknown:

कटु क्वणन्तो मलदायकाः खलास्तुदन्त्यलं बन्धनशृङ्खला इव ।
मनस्तु साधुध्वनिभिः पदे पदे हरन्ति सन्तो मणिनूपुरा इव ॥

and from Laliṭamahākāvya of his pupil Uḍayasimha.

845. **Kuntaka** or Kunṭala came between Rājaśekhara and Mahimabhatta and was very probably a younger contemporary of Abhinavaguptạ. He must have lived between 10-11th century A.D. Bhāmaha had declared that vakrokṭi embellishes poetry. Ḍandin classified poetry as svabhāvokti and vakrokṭi:

भिन्नं द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्रोक्तिरिति वाङ्मयम् ।

Kunṭaka laid down in his VAKROKTIJIVITA[4] that vakrokṭi is the life of poetry and combatted the theory of ḍhvani by saying that ḍhvani should be included in upacāravakraṭā, vakrokṭi based on resemblance or attribution.[5]

846. **Mahimabhatta** or Mahimā was the son of Śrīḍhairya. Mahimā courted renown and the means he chose was to make a destructive critique on the most famous work of his day.[6] Ānanḍavarḍhana's Ḍhvanyāloka was the target[7] and with a sagacity of thought, scarcely rivalled by any other rhetorician, Mahimā brought into his work a width of learning and a logic of argument which can only be appre-

1. Ed. by Padmaraja Pandita in Kavyāmbudhi (1893-4). *CC*, I. 6, III, 2.
2. *CC*, I.661; *SR*, II. 83, 231; *DC*, XXI. 8699.
3. See para 69 *supra*.
4. Ed. by S. K. De with a valuable introduction in *COS*, Calcutta.
5. K. A. Sankaran, *Kuntaka's attitude towards Dhvani*, *JOR* (1927), 45.
6. *TC*, III. 3891.
7. On Mahimabhatta, see Peterson, *PR*, II. 17; Aufrecht, *CC*, I. 616 (Rājānaka Mahimācārya); M. T. Narasimha Iyengar (*JRAS*, 1908, 65-69); V. V. Sovani (*Bh. Com.* Vol. 392); P. V. Kane (*IA*. 41-204).

ciated by a study of it. The latest writer Mahimā quotes is Abhnivagupṭa and the earliest writer who reviews the work of Mahimā is Mammata. Mahimā must therefore be placed between Abhinavagupṭa (about 1000 A.D.) and Mammata (middle of 1050 A.D.), that is about the beginning of the 11th century A.D.[1]

Mahimā was a dialectician par excellence. To him all the world was *anumāna* or inference. He would reduce any idea into a syllogism. In short, no knowledge there is that is not in scientific essence grounded on inference.[2] Bhatta Nāyaka had already taken up his cudgels against the theory of Ḍhvani,[3] but Mahimā hnd not seen his work Ḍarpaṇa, Hṛḍayaḍarpaṇa, because his aim was to achieve celebrity without delay and without being charged for not being original.

847. His VYAKTIVIVEKA, (called by him Kāvyālankāra[4] of that name), literally an inquiry into Vyakṭi (or succession), is in three chapters.[5] In the first, the definition of Ḍhvani as given by Ānanḍavarḍhana is attacked word by word and letter by letter and is merely a destructive criticism. In the second he takes up other sundry theories such as of Vakrokṭi of Kunṭaka and refutes his doctrine of that the merit of poetry is felicitous expression.

Mahimā's reasoning is thus epitomised: Vyakṭi is Ḍhvani. It is the manifestation of that which is desired to be manifested and it manifests itself along with its subject, that is, that which manifests it. For instance, a vessel contained in a dark room becomes visible along with the light that makes it visible.[6] Mahimā's object, viz., to gain celebrity, has been really attained. He cared not whether it was approbation or reprobation, for in any case his aim was not to sink into oblivion in the literary world.[7]

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1. अनुमानेऽन्तर्भावं सर्वस्यैव ध्वनेः प्रकाशयितुम् ।
व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम् ॥
2. See P. V. Kane, (*IA*, 41, 204).
3. सहसा यशोभिसर्तुं समुद्यताऽदृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः । See para 809 *supra*,
4. व्यक्तिविवेकाख्ये काव्यालंकारे ।
5. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandram.
6. See Mahadevasastri's preface to Edn. *l. c.* 2.
7. अन्यैरनुल्लिखितपूर्वमिदं ब्रुवाणो नूनं स्मृतेर्विषयतां विदुषामुपेयाम् ।
हासैककारणगवेषणया नवार्थतत्त्वावमर्शपरितोषसमीहया वा ॥

The commentary that is printed in the Trivandrum edition is nameless. Jayaraṭha in his commentary on Alankārasarvasva says that Ruyyaka had written a Vyakṭivivekavicāra. From the fact that the commentator mentions his other works Nāṭaka-

848. **Mammata** was the son of Jayyata[1] of the Rājānaka family. He was a native of Kāṣmir but had his education at Benares. Tradition says that he was the brother of Kayyata, the grammarian and Uvvata, the Vedic glossator.[2] He came after Bhoja and probably had himself seen the last years of that king's reign, and he distinctly mentions his greatness and liberality in his Kāvyaprakāśa.[3] The earliest commentary on this work, yet known, was written by Māṇikyacandra in 1159 A.D.[4] and we may safely assign Mammata to the middle of the 11th century A.D.[5]

Mammata was a staunch devotee of Śiva. He was a great grammarian and followed the views of the grammarian school.[6] His KAVYAPRAKASA (in 10 Ullasas) is often called Ākara. It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, treats as usual of the merits and faults of poetry, the operation of words and their sources, and the figures of speech. According to him, real poetry is that which is free from faults and

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mīmāmsa, Sāhityamīmāmsa and Harṣacaritvārtika and Bṛhatī, it is likely that this commentary is the work of author of Alankārasarvasva, (Mankhuka ?). See Int. to Alankārasarvasva, *TSS*.

1. Jayyata was probably the joint author with Vāmana of the Kaśikāvṛtti.

2. This account is given in Bhīmasena's commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa. But Vāmanācārya (Int. to Kāvyaprakāśa, Bombay) says that Uvvata calls himself in his Bhāṣya the son of Vajrata and that his Bhāṣya was composed when Bhoja was the reigning king. He therefore thinks that this tradition cannot be true. See on this *JRAS* (1908), 65, 66.

3. The references are given by Vāmanācārya. *l. c.* pp. 5-6.

4. Ibid *l. c.* pp. 26-27 where the extract from the commentary is given.

5. Peterson (*Subh.* 85) notes that Mammata cannot be placed earlier than the commentary on it by one Jayanta written in 1300-1294 A. D. and that the earliest writer that is known to refer to Mammata is Ruyyaka, who wrote his Sanketa on Kāvyaprakāsa (*PR*, II. p. 13). Duff (*Chronology*, p. 189) refers to the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa by Narahari dated 1242 A. D (See Vāmanācārya *l. c.* p. 28-29.) Ganapatiśāstrin (*TSS*, No. 5 Int, p. 8-9) makes him contemporary of Bhoja. Vāmanācārya (*l. b.*) assigns Mammata to the end of the 11th century. M. T. Narasimha Ayyangar (*JRAS* 1908, 65) discusses these dates and arranges the chronology thus; Abhinavagupta, the last decade of the 10th century; Mahimabhatta early part of the 11th century; and Mammata, middle of the 11th century. Buhler (*BKR*, 68) thought that Mammata was later than Jayaratha, the commentator of Ruyyaka, whom he assigned to the end of the 12th century, but G. A. Jacob (*JRAS* 1897. 282) says that Jayaratha refers to Mammata by name and that Buhler's view is impossible. Buhler later on agreed (*I.A.* Jan. 1884) with Peterson (*JBRAS*, 1883-84 Extra No.) in placing him in the beginning of the 12th century. See P. V. Kane (*IA*, XLI. 204).

6. The commentaries, Nidarśana and Sudhāsāgara say so. (See Vamanācarya, Int. *l. c.* p. 9.)

A collection of Mammata's grammatical views is found in Vamanācārya's introduction (*l. c.* pp. 10-12.)

adorned with merits.[1] It has two parts, Sūtras or Kārikas and Vṛtti or the gloss.[2] Bhīmasena expressly says that Mammata was the author of the Kārikas, but on this question there is a difference of opinion.[3] Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his Sāhityakaumudī calls the Kārikas Bharatasūtras and has written his own gloss on it.[4] Whatever it is, Kāvyaprakāśa has in fact eclipsed all earlier works by its popularity. Lucid and erudite it enchants the reader and infuses into his mind a thought of its sublime merit. Mammata begins by the invocation of Sarasvatī :

नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्लादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।
नवरसरुचिरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥

It is now almost accepted that Kāvyaprakāśa was the work of two authors Mammata and Allata.[5] Mammata's work ends with the Parikarālankāra and the rest was made up by Allata. The other work known

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1. तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनः क्वापि ।

2. Ed. by Vāmanācarya Jhalakikara wi a long introduction and commentary, Bombay and again revised with additional extracts from several commentaries and Ed. with Tr. and notes by H. D. Sharma. For other editions with notes, see Cat. of Or. Book Agency, Poona, p 57, Tr. into English by Ganganath Jha, by H. D. Velankare and by P. P. Joshi.

3. On this question, see *IA*, XLII. 23 ; *ZDMG*. LXVI. 477. LXVII. 35. The commentary Vivaraṇā says that the current tradition in Bengal is that Kārikas are the work of Bharata. But in the Rasagangādhara Mammata is referred to as the author. See Vamanācārya's Int. *l. c.* 13-16, where he shows that Mammata refers to Bharata as an author, p. 101.

4. Ed. Kavyamāla (Bombay), See on this *PR*, II. 20. and para 814 *supra*.

5. Ānanda in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says

कृतश्श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः ।
प्रबन्धः पूरितश्शेषो विधायाल्लटसूरिणा ॥

Jayanta in his commentary calls Mammata the author of the work (See *PR*, II. 20) It may be interesting to note (*PR*, II, 14) that in the colophon to that Chap. I. of the Kāvyaprakāśa-Sanketa, it is said that the whole work is discribed as of Mammata, Allata and Rucaka : इति श्रीमद्राजानकालकमम्मटरुचकविरचिते निजग्रंथकाव्यप्रकाशसंकेते ।

So says Sārasammuccaya also. But were Mammata and Rucaka contemporaries ? Peterson (*PR*, I. 21 and II. 1883-84, p. 13) takes Alaka to be the real name of the joint author. Some Mss. give the name Bhattarājānaka. The Jammu Manuscripts (*SKC*, xxv) contain the word Allata. Alaka who is mentioned in Ratnakantha's Sārasamuccaya as a commentator on Ruyyaka's Alankārasārvasva, who was also the son of Jayānaka, the author of a commentary on Ratnakantha's Hariviaya, says Stien, is a different person (See *SKC*, op. cit. p. xxvi). Peterson identified them (*PR*, II. 17). See also Buhler (*IA*, XIV p. 353). Vāmanācārya (*l. c.* p. 9) confounds one with the other and calls Allata author of theommentary on Harivijaya.

to be Mammata's is Śabdavyāparacarcā[1] on the derivation and function of words like Mukula's Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā.

The extent to which Kāvyaprakāśa was revered is seen from the numerous commentaries that have been composed on it in all these successive centuries. Every later writer of repute considered it an edification of his own learning to expound or discuss Mammata's views so much that it was said by Maheśvara that in spite of glosses written "from house to house,"[2] Kāvyaprakāśa was still unfathomable and and Bhāskara and Kamalākara said so too, though they saw "thousands of commentaries" written on it.[3]

So far as is available the commentaries will now be noticed.

849. **Manikyacandra**[4] was the pupil of Nemicandra and Sāgarendu[5] of the Rājagaccha of which Pradyumna was the founder.[6] He wrote his Pārśvanāṭhacariṭa[7] in ten cantos in Sam. 1276 (1220 A.D.) at Ḍevakūpaka (Divbandar) at the instance of Ḍehada, son of Vardhamāna, a councillor of kings Kumārapuṭa and Ajayaputa. His Nalāyana[8] or Kuberapurāṇa is a long poem in 100 cantos and relates the story of Nala, whom he takes to be a prior incarnation of Kubera. His merit in rhetoric is displayed in his commentary, *Sanketa* on Kāvyaprakāśa[9] composed in 1160 A.D.

850. **Sarasvatitirtha** was born at Ṭribhuvanagiri (near Kalpi in Cuddapah District). He was the son of Mallināṭha (nor the famous commentator of Śrivaṭsagoṭra). His original name was Narahari but

1. Peterson, *Subh.* p. 85. The book is in manuscript in Dacca Coll. Library.

2. काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे टीका, तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ।

3. i टीकाः काव्यप्रकाशस्य कामं सन्तु परश्शताः ।

ii काव्यप्रकाशे टिप्पण्यस्सहस्रं सन्तु यद्यपि ॥

4. Mānikyacandra mentioned in Meruṭunga's Prabanḍhaciniāmaṇi as contemporary of king Jayasimha is a different person.

5. Peterson (*PR.* IV. cxxviii) identifies him with Sāgarendu who wrote the first copy of Amāmaswāmicariṭa in Sam. 1252 (1196 A. D.)

6. *PR.* IV. xci. Praḍyumna was a great scholar in Nyāya and triumphed over Digambaras. He is reported to be the author of 84 works and was honoured by kings of Sapādalakkha, Ṭribhuvanagiri etc. *PR.* IV. lxxix.

7. *PR.* III. 160, 320.

8. *PR,* III. App. 35.

9. Ed. Mysore. See S. K.De, *SP*, I. 169; *CC*, I. 102, II. 20.; *PR*, III. 191 *IOC*, II. 1104.

after he became a sanyāsi he called himself Sarasvatī Tīrtha. He wrote his commentary at Kāśī in 1242 A. D.[1]

851. Jayantabhatta (1277-1297 A.D.) was the son of Bhāradvāja, a priest at the Court of King Śārangadeva, Vaghela king of Guzerat. He wrote his commentary Jayantī in 1264 A.D.[2]

852. Srivatsalanchana or Śrīvatsa was also a native of Bengal. He cites Vidyānātha and is mentioned by Kamalākāra. His commentary Sārabodhinī follows in substance Cakravartin's work. He must also be placed therefore in the 16th century. He refers to the commentaries by Vidyāsāgara and Jayarāma.[3]

853. Somesvara was the son of Devana of Bhāradvājagotra. He belonged probably to the 14th century A.D.[4]

854. Visvanatha was the author of Sāhityadarpaṇa and lived in 14th century A.D. He refers to the other commentaries by Caṇḍīdāsa and Śrīdhara.[5]

855. Candidasa was probably the granduncle of Viśvanātha. He mentions a work of his called Dhvanisiddhāntagrantha and cites commentaries of Śrīdhara and Vācaspatimiśra who was different from the author of Bhāmatī.[6]

856. Cakravartin or more fully Paramānanda Cakravartin was a native of Bengal and a great logician. He refers to Viśvanātha as well as king Pratāpa Rudra and is cited by Kamalākara and lived probably in the 15th century A.D. He wrote the commentary Sāhityadīpikā.[7]

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1. As for his other works, see Vamanacaārya, *l. c*, pp. 28-30 and *PR*, I. 25; among which commentaries are Meghaduta and Kumārasambhava. On this author, see para 81 supra.

2. *CC*, I. 101, II. 19. *BR*, (1883-4) ap. 326. See Vamanācārya, *l. c*. 30; *PR*. II. 16, 20; *BR*, (1883-4) 17-18. Jayanta, author of Kādambarīkathāsāra was an earlier author.

3. *CC*, I. 102, II. 20, 193; *DC*, XXII. 8628: *SKC*, 60. He wrote also Kāvyaparīkṣā (*CC*, I. 778, II. 19). Kāvyāmṛta (*CC*, 1. 103) and Rāmodayanāṭaka (*CC*, I. 526). See S. K. De, *SP*. 177-8. There is a Kāvyāmṛta, poem by Keśava (*CC*, II. 20)

4. See Vamanācārya. *l. c*. 30. *CC*, I. 102, II. 20, III. 22; *PR*, V. 52-3. The identification of this author with Someśvara, author of Kīrtikaumudī (*PR*, V. lxxxiv; *CC*, 1. 102, 737) is incorrect as the latter was the son of Kumāra.

5. *CBSC*, 299.

6. *IOC*, 491.

7. *CC*, I. 101, II. 19, III. 22; *PR*. II. 108-9. See *PR*, VII. 22; He also wrote a a commentary on Naiṣadha (*IOC*, VII. 1438).

857. Mahesvara Nyāyālankāra, or Subuddhimisra wrote his commentary Ādarśa at the end of the 16th century A.D.[1]

858. Ananda Rajanaka was a native of Kaṣmir and a staunch devotee of Śiva. He interpreted Kāvyaprakāśa as having an inner meaning referring to Śiva in his commentary Nidarśana which he wrote in 1765 A.D. He refers to the commentaries of Cakravartin and Subuddhi Misra.[2]

859. Kamalakara was son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, a Mahratta brahmin of Benares. His name is particularly known to us as the author of Vivādatāndava and Nirṇayasindhu which he wrote in 1612 A.D.[3] He refers to the commentaries of Ravibhatta, Padmanābha and Devanātha. He wrote a big poem Rāmakautuka and a commentary on Gītagovinda.[4]

860. Narasimha Thakura appears to have been of the same family as Govindathakura. He refers to Kamalākara's views as that of moderns and must have been either a contemporary of Kamalākara or followed him immediately. He was a great logician. He refers to the commentaries by Yaśodhara, Maṇisāra and Rucikara.[5]

861. Vaidyanatha was the son of Rāmabhatta of *Tatsat family*, He wrote his commentary Udaharaṇacandrikā on the illustrations only in 1684 A.D. and a commentary on Kāvyapradīpa called Prabhā.[6]

862. Bhimasena was the son of Śivānanda of the Śandilya family of Kānyakubja. He was a great grammarian. He wrote his commentary Sudhāsagara in 1723 A.D. He says Mammata, Kaiyata and Auvata were brothers. He refers to two other works of his, Alankārasāroddhāra and Kuvalayānandakhandana. It was his object to support the views of Mammata and to answer the faults attributed

1. Ed. Calcutta. *CC*, I. 193 ; *Tanj*, IX. 400). See Vamanācārya *l. c*, pp. 36-7 ; *PR*, II. 19 and III. Ap. 394.

2. *CC*, I. 102, II. 20. Is he the same as Rājānanda (*DC*, XXII. 822)? Buhler's statement that Nidarśana was otherwise called Sārasamuccaya (*IA*, 1884) is wrong. See *SKC*, xxvii, I. 21, 74. and II. 15-16. He wrote also Mādhavānalakathānakam and a commentary on Naiṣadha. See *PR*, I. 114 ; III. ap. 395 ; IV. x ; *BKR*, x. Weber, *ISt*. II. 143.

3. Ed. Benares. For a list of his works etc., see Vamanācārya *l. c*, 37-38 and *CC*, I. 80. where his works are given, See *PR*, Iv. cxxiii. Hall (*Int. to Vas*. 54) gives his name also as Mahesvara which according to *PR*, II. 19. is doubtful. On his pedigree, see V. P. Mandlik's int. to Vyavahāramayukha, lcxxvi ; *BR*, (1883-4), 50.

4. *CC*, I. 80. 5010.

5. Ed. Bombay. *CC*, I. 101; II. 19 ; *Adyar*, II 34.

6. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, II 22, 108. He is different from the author of the commentary on Kuvalayānanda.

to it by Govinda in his Kāvyapradīpa. He refers to other commentaries by Acyutabhatta, his son Ratnapāṇibhatta, and his son Ravibhatta, by Murāri Miśra and Pakṣhadhara (Jayadeva ?)[1]

Nāgojibhatta was a Mahratta Brahmin of the Kalag family of Benares. He was the son of Śivabhatta and Satī and grandson of the famous Bhattoji Dīkṣita. He was attached to the Court of Rāmasimha, the ruler of Śṛngaverapura, of the 18th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on Kāvyapradīpa, Rasagangādhara, Rasamanjarī, Kuvalayānanda, Gīta-Govinda, Sudhālaharī and Rāmāyaṇa.[2]

863. Rajanaka Ratnakantha was son of Śankarakantha of Dhaumyāyanagotra of Kāśmir "the land that is purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of Śāradā." Besides being an excellent scribe of Śāradā script, for in his hand are several manuscripts preserved at Śrīnagar,[3] he was a poet and rhetorician. His eulogy of Sūrya is contained in Ratnaśataka or Citrabhānuśataka composed in 1680-1 A.D. He wrote commentaries on Ratnākara's Haravijaya in 1681-2 A.D., on Vāsudeva's Yudhisthiravijaya in 1671-2 A.D.,[4] on Jagaddhara's Stutikusumānjali[5] in 1680-1 A.D. and on Yaśaskara's Devīstotra. On Kāyaprakaśa, he wrote the commentary Sārasamuccaya, containing a resume of Jayantī and other earlier expositions.[6] His descendants still live at Srīnagar as a respectable family of Karkuns.

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1. Ed. Benares, *CC*, I. 102, II. 20. On Bhīmasena's commentary, see *PR*, I. 26, 94; IV. lxxxvi.

2. Ed. Poona. For a list of his other works on grammar, see Vamanācārya, *l.c.* 43-44.

3. See Stein's. *Int. to Raj*, vii.

4. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bombay.

5. *Ibid* In the colophon his other works are mentioned.

6. *PR*, II. 16. In Stein Kashmir's catalogue, xxv, there is mention of a manuscript in which colophon to Ullāsa I reads thus: इति श्रीमद्राजानकाल्हटमम्मटरुचकविरचिते निजग्रन्थकाव्यसङ्केते—

Ānanda's gloss Kāvyadarśana was also called Śitikanthavibodhana. "By Sitikantha is meant the god Siva. Ananda calls his commentary the 'perception of Siva' since it is his endeavour to interpret Mammata's text as having besides its ordinary meaning a mystical sense relating to the worship of the god. Thus he says with reference to Mammata's Mangala: राजानककुलतिलको मम्मटनामा दैशिकवरः लौकिकस्य काव्यप्रकाशने प्रवृत्तोऽपि ... ... अभ्यन्तरस्य काव्यस्य शिवतत्वस्य प्रकाशिकामभेदप्रथोत्थापिकां शुद्धविद्यां ... दर्शयति.

Ananda who composed his commentary in A D. 1665. is still well-remembered in the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandits as the contemporary and friend of Rajanaka Ratnakantha." Seeins Kash. Cat, Int. xxvii.

863-A. Other Commentaries.—Besides those referred to elsewhere, there are also commentaries[1] by Gopīnātha, Caṇḍīdāsa, Janārdana Vyāsa (*SKC*, 61),[2] Devanātha Tarkapañcānana (*TC*, II, 2214)[3], Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, Nārāyaṇa, Baladeva, Bhānucandra, Bhāskaramiśra (*Tanj.* X. 298,[4] *TC*, III. 3976), Ratneśvara, Ravi, son of Ratnapāṇi (*Mys.* 298),[5] Rāmakṛṣṇa, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, Lauhitya Gopālabhaṭṭa (*Tanj*, IX, 4003, *DC*, XXII. 8629)[6] and by Śrī Vidyācakravartin (*DC*, XXII. 8626, *Tanj*, IX. 4011);[7] Venkaṭācalasūri, Vaidyanātha (*Mys*, 298)[8], Śivarāma, Śrīdhara Sāndhivigrahika, Śivanārāyaṇa and Jayarāma Pañcānana (*Mys*. 298); and by Vedāntācārya, son of Śrīnivāsādhvarin of Bhāradvājagotra (*TC*, III. 3878), Yagneśvara, son of Kṛṣṇadeva (*DC*, XXII. 8623),[8] Jayadratha, brother of Jayaratha,[9] Sāhityacakravartin (*Tanj*, IX, 400; Rucinātha (*Adyar*, II. 34), Hariśankara (Ed. Calcutta), and Śivadatta (Ed. Bombay), and by Bhānucandra,[10] Gadādharacakravartin,[11] Gokulanātha,[12] Gopīnātha,[13] Guṇaratnagaṇi,[14] Kaladhara,[15] Kalyāṇa Upadhyāya,[16] Kṛṣṇa

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1. See *CC*, I. 101–2; II. 19–20; III. 22 and 114, 108, 190; *PR*, II. 13, 16, 17, 21; III. 394.

2. He wrote commentaries on Raghuvaṁśa and Vṛttaratnākara.

3. His commentary Kāvyakaumudī answers the criticism of Viśvanātha. He also wrote Rasikaprakāśa on poetics (*CC*, I, 497). His son Rāmānanda wrote Rasataraṅgiṇī (*TC*, III, 3171).

4. About the 14th century A.D.

5. Ratnapāṇi wrote a commentary probably called Kāvyadarpaṇa on Kāvyaprakāśa which Ravi expanded. Ratnapāṇi or his father Acyuta was minister of Śivasiṁha, king of Mithila. See *JASB*, (1825), 143; (2899), 96, grant dated Saka 1321 (1399 A.D.) See Manmohan Chakravarthy, *History of Mithila* (*JASB*, 1915).

6. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum, earlier than 15th century A.D. He also wrote a commentary on Rasamañjarī.

7. His Bṛhaṭṭīkā is printed in *TSS*, Trivandrum. He calls the Kārikās as Bharatamuni's. See *PR*, IV. xxxi.

8. The commentary was composed at Patna in 1649 A.D. He was pupil of Bhavadeva Thakkura.

9. *PR*, II. 18.

10. *CC*, I. 101. He wrote a commentary on Daśakumāracarita.

11. *Mitra*, 1527; *CSC*, VII. 13.

12. Ganganatha Jha's Translation of Kāvyaprakāśa, *Int.* IX. He wrote the play Amṛtodaya about 1693 A.D. See para 693 *supra*.

13. *CC*, I. 101. He also wrote a commentary on Sāhityadarpaṇa, about the end of 17th century A.D.

14. *CC*, III. 22.

15. *CBod*. 501. It is a synopsis of the Kārikās.

16. Ganganatha Jha, *l. c.*

Dvivedin,[1] Kṛṣṇaśarman,[2] Kṛṣṇamitrācārya,[3] Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra,[4] Nāgarāja Keśava,[5] Narasiṁhasūri,[6] Nanayadīkṣita,[7] Rucaka,[8] Madhumatīgaṇeśa,[9] Raghudeva,[10] Ratneśvara,[11] Rājānanda,[12] Rāmacandra,[13] Rāmakṛṣṇa,[14] Rāmanātha,[15] Vidyavācaspati, Śivanārāyaṇadāsa,[16] Vidyāsāgara,[17] Venkatācalasūri,[18] Vijānanda,[19] Yagneśvara,[20] and some other anonymous commentaries.[21]

864. RAGHAVA's gloss called Avacūri is incomplete and extends only to the middle of the 7th Ullāsa.[22]

Maheśacandra was professor in the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1882.[23]

Narasimha's gloss Ṛjuvṛtti is a commentary on the Karikās only.[24]

Kāvyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī is an adverse criticism on Mammata's work of unknown authorship.[25]

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1. *CC*, I. 101.
2. *HPR*, III. No. 58.
3. *CC*, I. 101. He was the son of Rāmanātha and a logician. For his works, see *CC*, I. 191.
4. *CC*, I. 101. He lived at Nuddea in 17th century A.D.
5. *CC*, I. 101.
6. *CC*, II. 19.
7. *CC*, I. 101. He was son of Ranganātha who wrote commentary on Vikramorvaśī in 1656 A.D.
8. Ed. *OOJ*. 1935. See under Ruyyaka, para 870 *post*.
9. *CC*, I. 102.
10. *CC*, II. 20.
11. Mentioned in his commentary on Sarasvatī-Kanthābharaṇa.
12. *DC*, XXII. 8622.
13. *CC*, I. 102.
14. *CC*, I. 102 ; II. 20.
15. *CC*, I. 102. He lived about 1625 A.D.
16. *Weber*, II. No. 81 ; *CC*, I. 102. He lived in the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 649.
17. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana. Was he identical with the commentator on Bhattikāvya ?
18. *CC*, I. 102.
19. *CSC*, 44. The manuscript was transcribed in 1683 A.D.
20. *DC*, XXII. 8623.
21. *CC*, I. 101, 778 ; II. 20, 193.
22. Vamanācārya, *l. c.* 35.
23. Printed, Calcutta.
24. *TC*, III. 4115. He belonged to the Āndhra country.
25. *Mitra*, 2874.

865. **Govinda** was the son of Keśava and Sonoḍevi of the Ravikara race. Rucikara alias Śrī Harṣa was his younger brother. His fifth ancestor Narasimha lived in the 18th century and he was himself prior to Kamalākara who wrote Nirṇadyasinḍhu in 1612 A.D. He may be assigned to the middle of the 16th century. His Kāvyapraḍīpa[1] though usually considered as a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa is in fact a distinct commentary on the Kārikas of the Kāvyaprakāśa. His reference to Mammata's lines are much in the way of possible criticism, though likewise explanatory. At the end of his work, he says that in the composition of his work, his brother Rucikara or Śrī Harsa was a collaborator.[2]

866. **Hemacandra** lived in 1088-1174 A.D. and for some time in the Court of King Jayasimha of Anhilwid. His Kāvyānuśāsanam in eight chapters with his own commentary is very valuable in literary history.[3]

Jayamangala also flourished in the Court of king Jayasiṃha and wrote Kaviśikṣā,[4] and NAGAVARMAN wrote Kāvyālokanam.

867. **Vagbhata.** Among the contemporaries of King Hemacanḍra was Vagbhata I,[5] the son of Soma. Vāgbhata (Bahaḍa) was the minister in the Court of the Calukya king Jayasimha Siḍḍharāja of Anhilwid[6] (1094-1143 A.D.), for such is the description given by Prabhācanḍra in his Prabhāvakacariṭa.[7] The work on poetics known after his name Vāgbhatālankāra[8] describes in easy verse and in five chapters the forms and functions of poetry and refers to that king and his capital. It is likely Vāgbhata wrote also the poem Neminirvāṇa.[9] There are commentaries on Vāgbhatālankāra by Āḍināṭha or Jina-

1. Ed. Bombay.
2. *PR*, I. 27-28 also refers to another commentary on the Kārikas called Kāvyalaṭā at Odeypore. This may show that the Kārikas are considered as of distinct authorship.
3. See para 70 supra.
4. *CC*, I. 88.
5. His Prakrit name was Bābada. Vāgbhata, the writer of medicine was the son of Simhaguptа and was a different author.
6. Haricand (*Kalidasa*) wrongly says this Jayasimha was King of Kaṣmir. According to Lassen (*IAlt*, III. 562) Jayasimha ruled 1093-1154 A.D.
7. This work gives the dates for Vāgbhata, 1123 and 1157 A.D.
8. Ed. Bombay and Calcutta. But Weber's Manuscript (1718) has a sixth chapter on Yamaka.
9. Winternitz (*IL*, II. 3986 ; III. 642) thinks so. The work is printed in Bombay.

vardhanasūri,[1] Simhadevagaṇi,[2] Mūrṭidhara,[3] Kṣemahamsagaṇi,[4] Samayasundara,[5] Gaṇesa, son of Ānnaṭabhatta,[6] Rājahamsa,[7] and Vācanācarya,[8] and two anonymous.[9]

Ādināṭha was a priest of Kharaṭaragaccha in about 1405 or 1419 A.D.

868. Devesvara or **Devendra** was the son of Vāgbhata,[10] who was a Mahāmāṭya to the King of Malava. In one of his verses he praises Hammīramahīmahendra, who, if he was the Chauhan king, ruled about 1283 A.D. His Kāvikalpalaṭā follows the Amarasimha's Kāvyakalpalatā and a verse from it is quoted in Sārngadharapaddhaṭi. It was probably composed about the year 1300 A.D. He also mentions a work Candrakalāpa[11] on poetics.

There are commentaries on Kāvyakalpalaṭā by Vecārāma Sārvabhauma,[12] by Rāmagopāla Kaviratna,[13] by Śaraccandrasāsṭri,[14] by Sūrya Kavi,[15] and one anonymous.[16]

869. Vagbhata (II)[17] was the son of Nemikumāra,[18] and Vasun-

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1. Ed. Bombay. Granthamala, VIII. 1889-90. *CC*, I 5599.
2. Ed Bombay. Klatt, *IA*, XI. 249; *PR*, V. 191.
3. Ed. Bombay.
4. *SKC*, 274; *CC*, II. 132.
5. *PR*, IV. cxxvi; *CC*, II 132. He was a pupil of Sakalcandra, who was pupi of Jinacandra. He wrote also a commentary on Raghuvamśa.
6. *CC*, I. 559; *PR*, (1833-4), 156, 279. The manuscript was copied in 1430 A.D.
7. *CC*, I. 559, 794. He was pupil of Jinaṭilakasuri who was pupil of Jinaprabhasuri of Kharataragaccha. Composed between 1350-1400 A D. See *COJ*, II. 312.
8. *CC*, I. 559. It was composed in Samvat 1889 in Marwad during the reign of Gajasimha.
9. Ed. by Kṣemarāja, Bombay; *CC*, II. 132; III. 118: *CSC*, VII. 45.
10. It is not likely that this Vāgbhata was identical with the two rhetoricians of that name. On Devesvara, see S.K. De *SP*, 212, *JRAS*, (1922) 578.
11. मत्कृतकाव्यकलापेऽमलमतिभिः तदवुधैर्ज्ञेयम् ।
The reading however is different in other editions.
12. Ed. Calcutta. He was son of Rajarāma. His other work Ānandaranginī describes a tour from Candarnagore to Benares (*Mitra*. 305).
13. Ed. Calcutta.
14. Ed. Calcutta (*Bibl. Ind*) and in *Pratna Kramanandini*, *Benares*, *Nos.* 1-31.
15. *CC*, I. 87; III. 19; S. K. De, *PS*, II, 214.
16. *CSC*, VII. 8.
17. Eggeling wrongly identifies this Vāgbhata with Vāgbhata I. *IOC*, III. 330.
18. Peterson (*HR*, III app. 124) notes one Nemikumāra who lived in Sam. 1295 (1239 A.D.) was probably Vāgbhata father.

ḍharā, and lived at Rāḍhāpura. He refers to Vāgbhata (I)[1] and of the two kings he mentions, Mūlarāja and Vibhākara. Mūlarāja was the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilwiḍ and may have lived about the end of the 13th century A.D.[2] His Kāvyānuśasana with a vṛtti on it is a work full of quotations of fine poetical illustrations and must have suggested itself to him after the work of Hemacandra of the same name. He alludes to his Chandonuśāsana, a work on metrics and Ṛṣabhadevacarita, a big poem, but they are not now available.[3]

870. Ruyyaka[4] was the son of Ṭilaka.[5] He lived in Kāśmir and was the teacher of Mankha, the author of Śrikanṭhacarita,[6] who was attached to the Court of King Jayasimha (1129 to 1150 A.D.) His Alankarasarvaswa is reputed to be work of Ruyyaka.[7] But from the recent edition of the work published at Trivandrum,[8] with the commentary of Samudrabandha[9] it appears that Alankārasarvasva is only the name of the gloss, while the sūtras alone were the work of Ruyyaka.[10]

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1. दण्डिवामनवाग्भटादिप्रणीतादश गुणाः, वयं तु माधुर्यौजःप्रसादलक्षणान् त्रीनेव गुणान् मन्यामहे ।

2. See Harichand, *Kalidasa*.

3. Ed. Bombay.

4. Rajānaka Ruyyaka is identical with Rai Rupaka and Rucaka (Aufrecht, *Oxf. Cat.* 210; *BKR*, 69.) In Buhler's List 1875-6 No. 247 and *PR*, II. 14, 17 the manuscripts make Rucaka the author of Alankārasarvasva and Kavyaprakāśasanketa. Vidyācakravartin calls him Rucaka. Jayaratha, refers to Kāvyaprakāśasanketa as Ruyyaka's work. In a manuscript (*Buhler's List*, 1875-6 No. 265) of the Sahṛdayalila, there is an explicit statement of the identity (See Pischell *Gott. gel. Anz. Nr.* 19 p. 767). See G. A. Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897) 283. Peterson's *Subh.* and *PR*, II. 14, 106 and introduction to Vyaktiviveka (*TSS*,) p. 8.

5. Pischel (*op, cit.*) notes the name of his father as a commentator on Udbhata. Jayaratha calls it Udbhataviveka (See Bombay Edn. p. 205).

6. *PR*, II. 17-18.

7. Ed. Bombay. Ruyyaka's views as expressed in the Alankārasarvasva are criticised by Mammata. See Vāmanācarya's Int. to Kavyaprakāsā, p. 23.

8. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XL.

इति मंखुको वितेने काश्मीरकक्षितिपाल ...सान्धिविग्रहिकः ।
सुकविमुक्तालंकारं तदिदमलंकारसर्वस्वम् ॥

9. Samudrabandha also calls it Mankhuka's work. This commentator was a poet of the Court of King Sangrāmadhira or Ravivarma Bhupa of Kolamba (Quilon) in Travancore who was born in 1265 A.D. He was probably the father of Simharāja, the father of Prakṛtarupāvatāra (See Int. to Trivandrum Sanskrit Serice, Nos. 8. and 40).

10. In the opening Stanza, Mankha says that he was beginning a gloss on Gurvalankārasutras i.e., the alankāra aphorisms of his teacher. It must however be noted that at p. 15 and 17 in quoting from Śrikanthastava, it is said that Mankhiye Śrikanthastave and at p. 17 madiye. The latter is the reading in Bombay Edn. p. 19.

871. ALANKARASARVASVA,[1] meaning by it the gloss above, is in the nature of the Bhāṣya. It attempts to classify Alankāras, accompanied by criticisms refined in language and temper.[2]

Ruyyaka seems to have been the author of several other works. His SAHRDAYALILA is " a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formulary in four chapters and deals with attributes of beauty, adornments, youth and devises for preserving and enhancing beauty.'[3] His Alankāravimarśana is a commentary on the Jahlaṇa's Somapālavilāsa,[4] and a commentary on Mahimabhatta's Vyaktiviveka has been identified to be (Ruyyaka's ?) work.[5] This latter commentary refers to his four other works Nātakamīmāmsā, Sāhityamīmāmsā, Harṣacaritavārtika and Bṛhatī. Śrīkanthastava was probably also his work.[6]

872. Jayaratha wrote his commentary Alankāravimarsiṇī[7] He was the son of Śṛngāra,[8] the minister of King Rājarāja who ruled at Satīsaras.[9] He quotes from Pṛthvīrājavijaya, a poem describing the

1. There is an Alankārasarrasva of unknown authorship in praise of King Gopāladeva, *DC*, XXII. 8609.

2. For a summary of earlier views, see para 812 *supra.*

3. Ed. by Pischell, Kiel. Ed. Bombay, with the commentary of Jayaratha.

4. Ratnakantha's Sārasamuccaya yields this reference. See Peterson, *Subh.* p. 106; *PR*, II. 17.

5. In the introduction to Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 5) Ruyyaka is taken to be the author of the Alankārasarvasva and from this basis the commentary on the Vyaktiviveka is traced to be Ruyyaka's work, because in his Alankārasavasva the works Sāhityamimāmsā and Harṣacaritavārtika are mentioned in both as the author's other works. If as now opined in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 40, Alankarasarvasva is the work of Mankha, it would follow that all these four works and the commentary on Vyaktiviveka must also be Mankha's works.

6. Pischell rightly says that this was a hymn to Śiva. But Aufrecht takes it " to be a chapter in praise of the country so called standing at the head of a poem called the Harshacarita also by Ruppaka." See Peterson *Subh. l.c.* 106. This mistake seems to have been due apparently to Aufrecht's referring to a passage quoted from Harsacarita, in Alankārasarvasva (Bombay Edition. p. 47), Harsşacarite, Śrikanthākhyājanapadavarṇane. See also *JRAS*, (1897) 285.

7. Śṛngāra is quoted in Kavindravacanasamuccaya and Saduktikarṇamṛta, V. 25, 114. *CC*, I. 66 M. Duff calls the author of the commentary Jayadratha, brother of Jayāratha, author of Tantralokaviveka (*PR*. II. 181.

8. Ed. Bombay. He quotes from a romance Anangalekhā, (see para 145 *supra*), and

माघरिशुपालवधं विदधत्कविमदवधं विदधे ।
रत्नाकरस्त्वविजयं हरविजयं वर्णयन् व्यवृणोत् ॥

9. Buhler's *KR*. 62. See also C. A. Jacob (*JRAS*, (1897) 292-3).

victory of the Chauhan King Pṛthvīrāja, who died in 1193 A.D. and must have flourished probably in the 13th century. He wrote a poem Haracaritacintāmaṇi.

There are also commentaries by Śrī Vidyācakravartin[1] and by Alaka quoted by Ratnakantha.

873. **Malayajapandita** or Sarveśvara was the son of Trivikrama and pupil of Vāmarṣi. He was proficient in Bharataśāstra. Vāmarṣi is referred to in Belgaum inscriptions as having lived at Vanabāsi in 1168 A.D. His Sāhityasāra is a short treatise on dramaturgy.[2]

874. **Rajaraja** ruled at Calicut about the beginning of the 12th century A.D.[3] He, or a poet of his court, wrote Rājarājīyam, a name adopted in the absence of the real one. It is a treatise on poetics, music and dancing, but only that portion dealing with the drama is now available. In his days, the works of Manoratha and Bhattanāyaka were probably read and there is therefore a hope that their existence may be still be traced.[4]

875. **Asadhara**[5] was the son of Sallakṣaṇa and Rathī of the family of Vyaghravala. He was a Jaina teacher. His wife was Sarasvatī and his son Chabada, a favourite of King Arjunavarman of Mālva who ruled in the 1st quarter of the 13th century A.D.[6] He lived till Sam. 1296 (1240 A.D.). He wrote about fifteen works, of which he gives a list.[7] His Triśasti-smṛti-śāstra was written in 1236 A.D.[8]

876. **Dharmadasa** was a Buddhist ascetic. His Vidagdhamukhamandana[9] in 4 parts describes poetic riddles and involved composition. Jinaprabha, pupil of Jayasimha, commented on it and he

1. *DC*, XXII. 8609. In this commentary he refers to a drama Hariscandracarita not known elsewhere.
2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.
3. If he is the great Cola king Rājarāja I. he ruled about 999 A.D. See *EI*. V. 48. *Trav. Arch. Series*, II. 1.
4. This verse is fine :—

उद्यन्मनोरथमतीं महिमानुयातानुत्सर्पिदर्पणहृदो विमतान्विधूय ।
आनन्दवधनपराभिनवोक्तिरेषा व्यक्तौरसस्य समया...राजराजः ॥

5. Āśādhara, son of Rāmāji, commentator on Kuvalayānandai s a different person. S. K. De, *SP*, I.199.
6. He gives this account at the end of his Dharmāmṛta.
7. *PR*, II. 85 ; *BR* (1883-84), 103-4.
8. *CC*, I. 54.
9. Ed. Calcutta, Bombay and elsewhere. S. K. De, *SP*, I. 227. See para 347. *supra*.

lived about 1293 and 1309 A.D.[1] Ḍharmaḍāsa may therefore be assigned to about the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century A.D. There are other commentaries on it by Āṭmārāmā or Svapnārāma,[2] by Tārācanḍra Kāyasṭha,[3] by Nariharibhatta,[4] by Ṭṛilocana,[5] by Ḍurgāḍāsa,[6] son of Vāsuḍeva.

AMRTANANDAYOGIN's Alankārasangraha in 10 chapters is an extensive work written at the instance of king 'Manva,' son of Bhaṭibhūmipaṭi who probably lived about 1250 A.D.[7]

877. Saradatanaya was ṭhe son of Bhatta Gopāla of Kāśyapagoṭra. "His great grandfather lived in a village called Māṭarapūjya in Merūṭṭara-Janapaḍa. He performed thirty Vedic sacrifices to please the god Visṇu, and wrote a commentary entitled the Veḍabhūṣaṇa on the Veḍas. His son Kṛṣṇa, the grandfather of Śāraḍāṭanaya, was also equally well-versed in the Vedas and in the Śāsṭras. He worshipped Mahādeva in Benares and obtained a son by name Bhattagopāla the father of Śāraḍāṭanaya through the god's favour. Bhattagopāla was likewise well-versed in eighteen sciences (Viḍyas); he propitiated Śāraḍā the goddess of learning and obtained through her favour a son whom he named after the goddess as Śāraḍāṭanaya." He studied theatrics under Ḍivākara,[8] who was prificient in the art and kept up a theatre (nāṭyaśālā). "He was a follower of the Praṭyabhijnā School of Philosophy which had its origin in Kashmir and was elaborated by

1. Weber, 1798; *PR*, IV. xxxvii; Klate's *Onomasticon*. His Guru Jinasimha fonnded Laghu-Kharaṭaragaccha in 1275 A.D.

2. *CC*, I. 573.

3. *CC*, I. 574; II. 135; III 121. For other works, see *CC*, I. 229.

4. *CC*, I. 573.

5. *CC*, II. 135; *SKC*, 274.

6. *CC*, II. 135; III. 121; *PR*, IV. 36.

7. The rare works he quotes from are the plays Mārīcavaucana, Vālivaḍha, Uḍaṭṭarāghava, Nalavijaya, Devīpariṇaya. The first five chapters were edited at Calcutta with English translasion. *DC*, XXII. 8604, and *CC*, I. 29, contain only 5 chapters. The copy in the Gautami Library of Rajamundry and *TC*, III. 2980 contain all the nine chapters.

8. Probably he is the same as Divākara, quoted by Purṇasarasvaṭi in his commentary on Meghasanḍeśa. The teaching is this described:

प्रीतस्सोऽपि सदाशिवस्य शिवयोगीर्या मतं वासुके-
र्वाग्देव्या अपि नारदस्य च मुनेः कुम्भोद्भवव्यासयोः ।
शिष्याणां भरतस्य यानि च मतान्यध्याप्य तान्यञ्जना-
सूनोरप्यथ नाट्यवेदमखिलं सम्यक्तमध्यापयत् ॥

the great Abhinavagupta. While describing the origin of Music on page 181, our author deals with the 36 Taṭṭvas in accordance with the tenets of the Pratyabhijna system, and defines the functions of Paramāṭman, Jīva and Prakṛṭi in the beginning of Creation. Following the principles of the same philosophy, he has introduced in his work a very interesting simile for the enjoyment of dramatic Rasas by the audience, and refers to a few early works of Śivāgama in this connection. This enjoyment, he said, is similar to Jīva's enjoyment of worldly pleasures. In the course of his arguments he also defines certain Taṭṭvas of the Praṭyabhijnā philosophy such as Rāga, Viḍyā and Kalā."[1] He has summarised chapters of Bhoja's Śṛngāraprakāśa. He is quoted by many writers of the 13th century and must have flourished in the 12-13th century A.D.

Sāraḍāṭanaya wrote a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa[2] and a work on music SARADIYA.[3]

In his BHAVAPRAKASANAM,[4] a treatise of extra ordinary merit in 10 adhikāras, Śāraḍāṭanaya summarises the views of earlier writers like Saḍāsiva, Drauhiṇi, Vāsuki, Vyāsa, Nārada, Śrī Harsa etc. In generality he follows the plan of Bharaṭa's Nāṭyāśāsṭra and notices the deviations of later authors from Bharaṭa's views. He reiterates Abhinavaguptа's theory that rasa is the soul of poetry, but differs from him on occasions. "For instance, he differs from Abhinava on the point that Rasas must always be Vyangya in the best poetry and not Vacya. Here Saradatanaya following the Dasarupaka opens a new path by suggesting that Rasas are the soul of poetry whether they are expressed or suggested by the poems. In the same way he does not want to

1. Int. to Edn. *GOS*, Baroda, pp. 10 11 by Yadugiri Yaṭirājaswamin.

2. मयापि शारदीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे सुष्ठु दर्शितम् ॥ (*l. c.* p. 194)

3. *l. c.* pp. 14-15.

कृतश्श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः ।
प्रबन्धः पूरितश्शेषो विधायाल्लटसूरिणा ॥

4. Among raro authors and worbs he quotes are plays:

अब्धिमथनम्, अमृतमन्थनम्, इन्दुलेखा, उदात्तकुंजरम्, कलिकेलिः, कुसुमशेखर,ः कृत्यारावणम्, गंगातरंगिका, गंगाभागीरथम्, गौडविजयः, तरंगदत्ता, त्रिपुरमर्दनम्, तारशोद्धरणम्, केळिरैवतकम, त्रिपुरदाहः, कुंदमाला, देवीपरिणयम्, देवीमहादेवम्, नलविक्रमम्, नृसिंहविजयः, पद्मवतीपरिणयः, मदलेखा, महानाटकम्, माणिक्यवल्लिका, मारीचवञ्चितम्, मेनकानहुषम्, वीणावती, वृत्रोद्धरणम्, शारदचंद्रिका, शृंगारतिलकम्, सैरन्ध्रिका, स्तंभितरंभकम्, वालिवधः, रामाराधा, स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्, सौभद्रिका.

give altogether a separate existence to the suggestive capacity (Vyanjana) of the words from their Tatparya Vrtti, and brings the Dhvani also under the Tatparya-sakti. He holds that if at all there must be some difference between these two-Dhvani and Tatparya—it is just like that of the Brahmana and the Brahmacarin; or in other words, that Dhvani occupies a less important position under the wider scope of Tatparya. There are two other important points where Saradatanaya differs from Abhinava. There is difference of opinion as to the exact mode in which the enjoyment of Rasa is brought about, amongst the authors Lollata, Sankuka, Bhattanayaka and Abhinava-nupta. Most of the later writers followed Abhinava on this point but Saradatanaya, strange as it may seem, follows the original view of Bhattanayaka as developed and modified by Dhanika in his Dasarupa-kavaloka. He approves of the theory as formulated by them that the connection between the poetry and the Rasa, is Bhavya-Bhavaka-Bhava and not Vyangya-Vyanjaka-Bhava. The Vrttis such as the Abhidha, Laksana, and Tatparya help the audience to understand the Kavyartha or the Rasa, and the audience through the Bhavana Vrtti get the Bhoga of the Rasa, which is similar to Brahmananda. In the same way, Poetry and Rasa are also connected with each other as cause and effect. Because, when poetry is presented before the audience, the necessary Vibhava, etc. create the sense of enjoyment in the mind of the audience. The second point where Saradatanaya criticises the views of other writers on Dramaturgy, especially Abhinava, is about the nature of Santa Rasa. Udbhata was the first writer to include Santa as one of the Rasas; it was approved by Anandavardhana, and Abhinava gave it a place of unique importance amongst the different Rasas. Rudrata or Rudrabhatta not only accepted Santa as an important Rasa but included Preyas also as a Rasa, and boldly declared that the Vyabhicari and the Sattvika Bhavas such as Nirveda, Harsa etc. also when properly developed contribute to the pleasure in the same way as Srngara or Karuna, and therefore, they should also deserve to be admitted as additional Rasas. Saradatanaya, who follows Dhananjaya in this respect, condemns the views of all these thinkers and opines that Santa Rasa cannot be enacted on the stage, for no Vibhava, Anubhava and Sattvika can be produced by the Sama, the Sthayibhava of the Santa. But unlike Dhananjaya our author thinks that it is the chief among the Rasas and it can be realized in the form of poetry except in the Dramas. Thus the scope of this work is to collect as far as possible all theories existing before and after the time of Bharata

and to examine and state them in a final form with certain modifications. Being a firm believer in the theory of Rasa as promulgated by Bharata, Saradatanaya haa mainly dveloped the Srngara Rasa on the lines suggested by Bhoja in his Srangaraprakasa."

Kāvyakamaḍhenu is on the same lines as Bhāvaprakāśa and treats of rasa, bhāva and śabdavyāpara elaborately.

878. **Sobhakara** was the son of Ṭrayīśvaraṃiśra. His Alankāraraṭnākara[1] is in the form of a commentāry on aphorisms that had been extracted by YASASKARA of which his Ḍevīsṭoṭra is meant as an illustration. He probably lived about the 13th century A.D.[2]

879. **Singabhupala** was the son of Ananṭa or Anapoṭa[3] and Annamāmbā and was the seventh in descent from Vetala Naidu[4] (Beti Reddi), the original founder of Kingdom the Rajas of Venkatagiri. Vasanṭarāya was his brother. Singabhūpāla had six sons and ruled over a vast extent of territory between Vinḍhya and Śrīśaila (in the Kurnool District) about the year 1400 A.D. from his capital Rājācala (Racakonda).[5] He was a great literate and patron of letters. He bore the title of Sarvajna In his court flourished Viśveśvara and Appayācārya. The latter wrote a commentary on Amarakośa.

It was in his Court that Nārāyanācārya alias Kumāra Veḍānṭa Ḍeśika, the son of the famous Veḍānṭaḍeśika, vānquished Śākalyamalla, the opponent of the Vaiṣṇava religion in disputation and then it was

1. BKR Ap. XXVIII.

2. For these sutras, see *PR*, I. 12, 77-81. *CC*. I. 32, II. 6.

3. Anapoṭa wrote a drama Abhirāma-Rāghava, quoted in Rāsarṇavasuḍhākara. There is a drama of that name written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1390 A.D. (*Levi*, 268).

4. *The Biographical Seketches of the Rajas of Venkatagiri* published by the Venkatagiri State Singabhupaṭi is given as the tenth in descent. In our manuscript the name is given as Śivabhupaṭi. Venkatagiri is a flourishing Zamindari in the Nellore District.

5. Śingabhupāla, the present author, was the son of Anapota who was the son of Śingabhupala I. It was the latter who bore the title Sarvajna and Śrīnāṭha was the poet of his Court. Śrīnāṭha refers to him by the title Sarvajna In the *Velugotivari Vamsacaritram* (in Telugu) the author of Rasarṇavasudhakara is given as Singabhupala I That seems to be incorrect. There are inscriptions there given of Anapoṭa dated Śaka 1302 and of the wife of Mādhava, the last of Śingabhupāla II. dated Saka 1351. Another inscription dated Śaka 1291, also printed there, was composed by Nāganāṭha son of Paśupaṭi. Nāganāṭha wrote a bhāṇa Maḍanavilāsa mentioning Anapota and was a pupil of Viśveśwara, author of Camaṭkāracandrikā, in which Viśveśvara eulogised Śingabhupāla. It will be seen presently that Viśveṣvara was the real author of Rasārṇavasuḍhākara.

(See Veturi Prabhakarasastri's Śṛngāra Śrīnāṭham, 196 *et* seq.

that a commentary on Vedāntadeśika's Subhāṣitanīvī, called Ratnapeṭikā, was composed and presented to the king.

His Nāṭakaparibhāṣā appears to be a work on dramaturgy.[1] His RASARNAVASUDHAKARA[2] presents in three chapters a vivid and elaborate treatment of the canons of dramaturgy inclusive of the governing Rasas and is probably the most comprehensive work on the subject so far available. Its importance is enhanced in literary history by the several works and authors quoted in it, and so far it forms a landmark for historical research.[3]

Viṣveśvara, the author of Camaṭkāracandrikā, was a poet of his Court and in this work which is a treatise on rhetoric the illustrations are in praise of Singabhūpāla. Here and in Rasārṇavasuḍhākara (page 151), his work Kanḍarpasambhava is quoted. In many places in Camaṭkāracanḍrikā the reader is referred for details to Rasārṇavasuḍhākara. From these references it is inferred that the real author of Rasārṇavasuḍhākara was Viśveśvara.[4]

880. Visvanatha was the son of Canḍraśekhara,[5] a Mahāpaṭra brahmin of Kalinga. They were Sānḍhivigrahika, that is a high official in the royal Court. Candīdāsa the commentator on Kāvyaprakāśa was his grand uncle. He quotes Gīṭagovinda and Naiṣadha and mentions Allauddin.[6] Jayanṭa wrote his Prakāśadipikā in 1324 A.D. and Allauddin, the famous Khilji marauder, was assassinated in 1315 A.D.[7]

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1. *CC*, I. 284 791.
2. Ed. T. S. S. No. 50 and Ed. Venkatagiri.
3. Among the works and authors quoted are:

अभिरामराघवम्, अमोघराघवम्, आनन्दकोशप्रहसनम्, कलिकेलिप्रहसनम्, करुणाकंदलम्, पयोधिमथनम्, भगवदज्जुकम्, महेश्वरानंद:, मायाकुरङ्गिका, माधवी, वीरभद्रविजृंभणम् ।

4. We have several instances in Rāmābhyudaya of Sālva Narasimbarāya and in Mahānāṭakasuḍhāniḍhi of Immadi Devarāya, where the real author was Aruṇagirinātha.

See Veturi Prabhakara Sastri's Singarasrinatham, 203-4.

5. सन्धौ सर्वस्वहरणं विग्रहे प्राणनिग्रह: ।
अलावदीननृपतौ न सन्धिर्न च विग्रह: ॥

6. His works Puṣpamāla and Bhāṣārṇava and verses his are quoted in Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa.

7. S.K. De, *SP*, I. 233 gives the date 1300-1350 A.D. See also Kane, (Int. to Edn. VI; Cakravarti, *JASB*, lxxii. 146 and II (n. s) 167 n; Keith, *JRAS* (1911), 848.

VISVANATHAS, authors of (i) Śṛngāravāpikanaṭikā (ii) of Sangiṭa Raghunanḍana (iii) of Vṛṭṭakauṭuka (iv) of poem Jagaṭprakāśa and Śatruśalyacarita (v) of poem Amṛṭalahari (vii) of Śivastuṭi, of Śṭavāmṛṭalahari (x) of Bhāgavaṭaśārasangraha (xi) of poem Śambhuvilāsa, [mentioned in *CC*, I. 583-6, II. 123] are different.

Viśvanāṭha mentions Saugandhikāharaṇa of his namesake of the Court of King Praṭaparudrendra who ceased to reign in 1323 A.D. It is said in Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa that Nārāyaṇa, grand-father of Viśvanāṭha, vanquished a poet Dharmadaṭṭa[1] in the Court of King Narasimha of Kālinga. Viśvanāṭha himself composed a poem Narasimhavijayam, apparently in praise of a king of that name of Kalinga. These two Narasimhas must be different. There are four Kings (Narasimhas) of the East Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, of whom Narasimha II ruled between 1268-1302 A.D.,[2] Narasimha III ruled between 1326-1350 A.D. and Narasimha IV began to rule in 1376 A.D. A manuscript of Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa is dated Samvat 1440, (1384 A.D).[3] Sahiṭyadarpaṇa could not therefore have been composed after 1376 A.D., if we allow an interval for a manuscript to pass from Kalinga to Kāṣmir. We may infer safely that Viśvanāṭha was in the Crurt of King Narasimha III (1326-1350 A.D.) and that of his son Bhānuḍeva (1350-1376), and Nārāyaṇa his ancestor in the Court of King Narasimha II (1268-1302 A.D.)

881. SAHITYADARPANA[4] is an exhaustive treatise on the plan of Kāvyaprakaśa, on which also Viśnanāṭha wrote a commentary. In ten chapters, it traverses the whole field of poetics and his treatment is lucid and impressive.[5]

There are commentaries on it by Maṭhurānaṭha Śukla[6], by Ananṭadāsa,[7] by Gopīnāṭha,[8] and by Rāmacaraṇa Ṭarkavāgīśa.[9]

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1. Dharmadaṭṭa is cited in Prabhākara's Rasapradipa (composed 1585 A.D) in which Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa is also quoted.

2. *EI*, V, app. 53; VIII. app. 17. See JASB (1903), 29.

3. *SKC*. 64. It is therefore seen that Weber (*SL*, 231, 244-n), Eggeling (*IOC*, III. 337) and Harichand (Kālidāsa, 115) were wrong in their assumption of 15th century A.D.

4. Among rare works mentioned in it are:

लटकमेलकम्, हयग्रीववधम्, पुष्पमाला, उदात्तराघवम्, कुंदमाला, रामाभिनन्दम्, बालचरितम्, जानकीराघवम्, रामाभ्युदयम्, ययातिविजयम्, राघवाभ्युदयम्, पुष्पभूषितकम्, लीलामधुकरम्, कुसुमशेखरविजयम्, समुद्रमथनम्, शर्मिष्ठाययाति, छलितरामम्, धूर्तचरितम्, मेनकास्तंभितरंभम्, रैवतमदनिका, नर्मवती, विलासवती, शृङ्गारतिलकम्, देवीमहादेवम्, मेनकाहितम्, मायाकापालिकम्, क्रीडारसातलम्, कनकवल्लीमाधवम्, बिंदुमती, कर्णपराक्रमम्, भिक्षाटनम्, आर्याविलासम्, मुक्तावली, देशराजचरितम्, बिरुदमणिमाला.

5. *Ed*. Calcutta, Bombay, Calicut etc. Translated into English by Ballantine and P. D. Mitra, *Bib. Ind*. Calcutta. See S. K. De, *SP*.

6. *CC*, I, 715. He wrote a voluminous writer, see *CC*, I, 472. He wrote his Jyotissiḍhāntam in 1283 A.D. He also was a commentary on Kuvalayānanḍam.

7. *CC*, II. 171. He was son of Viśvanāṭha. A manuscript is dated 1636 A.D.

8. *CC*, I. 163.

9. *Ed*. Calcutta and Bombay. *DC*, XXII. 8710. He wrote his book in East Bengal in a Śāka 1623 (1701) A.D.

Alaṅkāravāḍārṭha discusses the views of Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa.[1]

Among his other works, from which he quotes are the poems Rāghavavilāsam, Kuvalayāśvacariṭam (in Prakrit) Nārasiṁhavijayam, and the plays Canḍrakalā and Prabhāvaṭīpariṇayam. His Praśasṭiraṭnāvalī is a Karambhaka in 16 languages, containing panegyrics.

882. Visvanatha, son of Ṭrimala and grandson of Ananṭa of Ḍharasura city on the Goḍāvari, wrote Sāhiṭyasuḍhāsinḍhu in 3 ṭarangas[2] and a play Mṛgānkalēkhā.[3]

883. Rasaviveka called Kāvyāḍarśa is an excellent treatise in three chapters on rasa probably of the 14th century A.D.[4] The author's name is not known, but he was the brother of Saujanyabhūṣaṇakavi and pupil of Ḍakṣiṇāmūrṭi. The illustrations are from ancient works,[5] of which the latest are Kṣemenḍra's Śilāśaṭaka[6] till now unknown and Bilhaṇa's Vikramānkaḍevacariṭa (I, 14).

884. Bhanudatta, known also as Bhānukaramiśra[7] was the son of Gaṇanāṭha or Gaṇeśvara of Viḍeha (Viḍarbha?) His Gīṭa-Gaurīśam[8] is a lyric modelled on Jayaḍeva's Gīṭa-Govinḍam and the commentary on his Rasamanjarī by Gopāla is dated 1428 A.D. Bhānuḍaṭṭa's father wrote Rasaraṭnaḍīpikā from which quotations are found in Rasaṭarangiṇī, and his great-grandfather Śankaramiśra who was the author of Upaskara and a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khandanakhāḍya lived about the year Saka 1327 (1405 A.D.)[9] From these references it

1. *HPS*, I. 13; *CC*, III. 7.

2. *SKC*. xxix, where the manuscript is dated 1602 A.D. He cites Canḍīḍāsa commentator on Mammata.

3. See para 710 *supra*.

4. *TC*, I. 804. Thus he begins discussion :

तत्रासौ रसः किमात्मा, किमधिकरणः कतिसङ्ख्यश्चेति त्रिविधो विचारः ।

5. An author Kāśmīrāḍhipaṭi is quoted. Can he be Harṣa mentioned as a dramatic writer by Abhinavaguptā?

6. " अलङ्कारजातस्य......अनुपादेयत्वे च काव्यस्य तदुत्पत्तिहेतोः शक्तिनैपुण्याभ्यासरूपस्य क्षेमेन्द्रप्रणीतशिलाशतस्य वैय्यर्थ्यं स्यात् "

7. There is a poet Bhānukara who was patronised by a king Vīrabhānu, who according to Haradatta Sarma (*IHO*, X, 478) was contemporary of Sher Shah (1540–1545 A.D.) For a discussion, see Chapter on *Erotics* post under Vīrabhaḍra's Kanḍarpacuḍāmaṇi. See *COJ*, I. 197, II. 251. In Sabhyālankaraṇa, Govindāji quote distinctly from Bhānukara and Bhānupandiṭa (*BR*, 1887-91, lxiii).

8. *CC*, I. 405, 793; *IOC*, VII. 1443-5.

9. Ananṭa Bhatta (17th century) commentator explains the verse तत्किं राजपथे निजामधरणीपालोऽयमालोकितः । as निजामाख्यो देवगिरिराजः ।

is inferred that Bhānudaṭṭa lived between 1350 to 1450 A.D.[1] His Rasamanjari deals with the phases of love as embodied in poetry and illustrates the conditions of lovers of different ages and experiences. In delineation of character, in appreciation of psychology in and choice of illustration, it is unsurpassed in excellence.[2] The reader feels himself in a land of enchantment and it is in short a book of pleasure.[3]

885. His Rasatarangini[4] is a similar work in eight chapters on rasas and refers to Rasamanjarī for elaboration. Among his other works are Alankāraṭilaka,[5] Śṛngāradīpikā[6] and probably the poem Kumāra-Bhārgavīyam.[7]

"In the sixth chapter of the Rasatarangini, Bhanudatta excuses himself from giving details about certain points because he says they are given in the Rasamanjari. From this it is clear that the author of both was the same; but there is some question as to his native country. In Professor Aufrecht's copy of the Rasamanjarī it is spoken of as 'Vidarbhabhuh' or the land of the Vidarbhas, and the manuscript before me agrees with his. But Dr. Burnell in his catalogue of the

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Ahmed Nizam Shah obtained possession of Deogir (Doulatabad) between 1497-1507 A.D. and founded Nizam Shahi dynasty in Dekkan which continued in possession till 1637 A.D. Briggs, *Ferishta*, II. 200).

B. N. Bhattacharya (*Jl. of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, Vol. IX, 163) refers to a tradition that Bhānu's father wrote Rasaratnadīpikā and his grandfather Śankara wrote a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khandanakhādya (*Pandit*, XIII. 172), *CC*, I. 125, II. 149, III. 130.

In Kumārabhārgāvīya (*IOC*, VII. 1540) mention is made of one Sureśvara, son of Ratneśvara, who wss an ancestor of Bhānudaṭṭa, separated by 6 generations from himself and who wrote Śārirakabhaṣyavārṭika.

1. S. K. De (*SP*, I. 249) says he cannot be earlier than the middle of the 14th but later than the 12th century. See his paper on the date of Bhānudaṭṭa (*Pro. of Or. Confce.*, Allahabad, 1926).

2. Ed. Madras, Bombay, Benares and Calcutta.

3. For instance:

स्नातं वारिदवारिभिर्विरचितो वासो घने कानने
शीतैश्चन्दनशीकरैर्मनसिजो देवस्समाराधितः ।
नीता जागरणव्रतेण रजनी व्रीडा कृता दक्षिणा
तप्तं किं न तपस्तथापि स कथं नाद्यापि नेत्रातिथिः ॥

4. Ed. Granthamala and by Regnaud, Paris.

5. *CC*, I. 32; II. 66; III. 7; *Tanj.* IX. 4107; *PR*, VI. App. 29.

6. *OC*, I. 661.

7. *CASP*, 47, with com. of Gopālānanda, Bharaṭamallika and Navanītarāma.

Tanjore manuscripts calls him Maithila Bhanudatta, i.e., Bhanudatta, the native of Mithila, and the copy of the Rasamanjari purchased by me in 1879 and another procured since the close of the year have Videhabhuh instead of Vidarbhabhuh, i.e., the land of the Videhas of which Mithila was the capital. That Vidarbhabhuh is a mislection is shown by the fact that the author represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country; while the country of the Vidarbhas, which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the South of the Narmada."

886. There are commentaries on Rasamanjarī by Mahādeva,[1] by Rangaśāyin,[2] by Anantapandita,[3] by Nāgeśabhatta,[4] by Bopadeva alias Gopāla,[5] by Śeṣacintāmani,[6] by Gopālabhatta,[7] by Anantaśarman,[8] by Vrajarāja,[9] by Viśveśvara[10] and one anonymous.[11]

There are commentaries on Rasataranginī by Gangārāma Jadi,[12] by

1. *TC*, I. 936,

2. *DC*, XXII. 8084. He was also called Gurijālaśāyin. He was son of Dharmācārya of Chilakamarti family of Gurjāla, Guntur District, Madras.

3. Ed. Benares. *DC*, XXII. 8685. He was son of Ṭryambaka and patronised by King Citrabhānu of Benares. Citrabhānu was son of Virasimha and was called Svasākhin. For particulars, see *IOC*, III. 356. His native place was Puṇyastamba on the Godāvari. He wrote his commentary in 1636 A.D. at Benares.

4. *CC*, I. 495; II. 116, 120; III. 106; *Ulwar*, 1076. On Nāgoji, see para *supra*.

5. *CC*, II. 116; *PR*, II. 36. When the date of composition is given as Saka 1494 but *SKC*, 273 gives the date as *Sam*. 1484. Bopadeva alias Gopāla Ācāya was son of Nṛsimha of Kauṇḍinyagotra of Jabolagrama of Mahārāstra.

6. *CC*, I. 495; II. 116, 220; III. 106 where his other works are given. Śeṣacintamaṇi was son of Śeṣanṛsimha of the 17th century. For Śeṣa family of Benares, see para 692 *supra*.

7. *Ibid*. He was son of Harivamśabhatta Dravida. He commented on Śṛngāratilaka and Kāvyaprakāśa. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 161.

8. *CC*, I, 495; II. 116. He also wrote Āryāsaptaśati, in 1645 A.D.

9. *CNWP*, II. 120. He was son of Kāmarāja and Jivarāja was his son and wrote a commentary on Rasataranginī. See para 903 *post*.

10. *CC*. I. 495; II. 116; III. 106. For Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmidhara, see para 312 *supra*.

11. *IOC*, 543.

12. *IOC*, III. 354; *DC*, XXII. 8680; *TC*, II. 1095. He was son of Nārāyaṇa and wrote Rasamimāmsā (Ed. Benares). His commentary is dated 1732 A.D.

Jīvarāja,[1] by Mahāḍeva;[2] by Gaṇeśa,[3] by Ayoḍhyāprasāḍa,[4] by Bhagavaḍbhatta,[5] by Ḍivākara,[6] by Nemisāha,[7] by Veṇiḍaṭṭa.[8]

Jīvarāja flouts Gangārāma's commentary Nāukā and praises his own Seṭu thus :

सेतुं परित्यज्य विमूढबुद्धयो नौकादिभिः क्षुद्रविसारसाधनैः ।
ततुं समिच्छन्ति यतन्ति चापि ये चक्षुष्मदन्धा इति तेऽपि मे मतिः ॥

इमां बत तरंगिणीं रसमयीं गभीरान्तरां
दुरन्तविषयाभिधैरथ तिमिंगिलैस्सङ्कुलाम् ।
वृतां विविधसंशयैर्विषधरैर्विना सेतुना
कथं बुधमतङ्गजाः प्रतितरन्तु नौकाशतैः ॥

887. **Jayadeva's Candraloka**[9] is almost a student's handbook in poetics. In ten Mayūkhas or chapters it describes the qualities of good poetry and illustrates the figures of speech. In the introductory verses, Jayadeva calls himself Pīyūṣavaṣa and in the concluding verses, gives the names of his parents as Māhāḍeva and Sumiṭrā. These references are conclusive on the identity of the authors of the Canḍrāloka and Prasannarāghava.[10] Besides Kuvalayānanḍa, there are commentaries on Canḍrāloka, by Venkatasūri,[11] by Payagunda Vaiḍyanāṭha,[12]

1. *CC*, 494 ; II. 229 ; III. 106. He was son of Vrajarāja and great-grandson of Sāmarāja Dīkṣiṭa who lived in the latter half of 17th century. Of Vrajarāja, see para 903 *post*.

2. *CC*, I. 494.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. He also wrote a commentary on Vṛṭṭaraṭnākara.

5. Ibid.

6. *CC*, II. 118.

7. *CC*, I. 494 ; III. 106. He was son of Bhimasāna described as Mahārājaḍhirāja.

8. Ibid. ; *Ulwar*, 1071. He was author of Alaṅkāracanḍroḍaya. His commentary is dated 1553 A.Ḍ.

9. Printed Venkateswar Press, Bombay and everywhere. There is another Canḍrāloka, *Ulwar*, 1058.

The identification of this author with the author of Giṭagovinḍa, made in the Introduction to this Edition is wrong ; likewise is the statement of Dayānanḍa that this Jayaḍeva was the same as the brother of Bopaḍeva, whose parents were Bhojaḍeva and Rāḍhā (see his Śaṭyārṭhaprakāśā, 335).

10. See para 674 *supra*. Peterson, *Subh.* 39 ; *DC*, XXII. 8650, 8656 ; *SR*, 68.

11. Called Buḍharanjani. It embraces only the chapters on Arṭhālankāra. The author was patronised by Rāmabhupāla. Ed. Madras. *TC*, III. 1526 ; *DC*, XXII. 8651.

12. Called Rāmā. *DC*, XXII. 8652. He is different from Vaiḍyanaṭha Ṭaṭsaṭ, the commentator on Kāvyaprakāsa.

by Viśveśvara alias Gāgābhatta,[1] by Pradyoṭanabhattācārya,[2] by Virūpākṣa,[3] by Vājacandra,[4] by Sūrya Balirama Caube,[5] and one anonymous.[6]

888. Sukhalalamisra was son of Bāburāya and grandson of Hṛdayarāma. He was pupil of Gangeśamiśra. His sixth ancestor Ḍamoḍara came to Kāśī from his native village Gharonda and having studied there became minister of Vairamapuṭra. Sukhalāla's Alankāramanjarī purports to follow Jayaḍeva's Kārikas. His Śṛngāramālā was written in Sam. 1801 (1745 A.D.)[7] The first verse imbeds the names of planets thus :—

अरुणिमरविनखचन्द्रं पावकभौमं बुधमणिभिः ।
सुरुचिसुमहिम कविवन्द्यं मन्दगमवतु पदपङ्कजं देव्याः ॥

Gangeśa's son Hariprasāda wrote Kāvyārṭhagumpha and Kāvyāloka in Sam. 1775 and 1784.[8]

Among Reddi Kings of Aḍḍanki, Prola Vema was a great patron of letters. Lolla Mahāḍeva Kavi adorned his Court. His grandson Kumāragiri or Vasanṭarāja wrote a work on dramaturgy Vasanṭarājīya.[9] From this work Kātayavema[10] who had married Komāragiri's sister Mallāmbikā, has quotations and so too do Mallināṭha, Kumāraswāmin and Nāḍindla Gopamanṭrin :

i. धृतातपत्रः शुभशुक्लवासाः पुष्पार्चितश्चन्दनचर्चिताङ्गः ।
विप्रश्शिखावान् कृतभोजनश्च ददाति दृष्टः पथि सर्वसिद्धिम् ॥

Commentary on *Vikramorvaśīyam.*

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1. Called Rākāgama or Suḍhā. He was also known as Viśveśvara alias Gāgabhatta, son of Dinakara and nephew of Kamalākara of the 17th century. *DC*, XXII, 8653 ; *PR*, II. 509

2. Called Śaradarāma. *DC*, XXII. 8665. This name was apparently suggested from the last verse of the Candrāloka. The author was the son of Balabhaḍra, and wrote at the instance of Prince Vīrabhaḍra son of King Rāmacandra and grandson of Vīrasimha of Vandella family (Vaghela ?). Vīrabhaḍra's commentary on Kāvyasuṭras is dated 1577 A.D.

3. Called Śaradaśārvarī (*HR*, III. vii).

4. *CC*, I. 182.

5. Called Dipikā. Ibid.

6. Ed. Benares.

7. *Ulwar*, 1083 ; *SKC*, 74.

सुधांशुव्योमवसिन्दौ वर्षे ज्येष्ठासिते रसे ।
शुभा शृङ्गारमालेयं रविपुण्ये सुगुंफिता ॥

8. *CC*, I. 103, II. 20 ; *PR*, III. 356 ; S. K. De, *SP*, II. 323.

9. See Essay on Vasanṭarājiyam in K.B. Pathak's Com. Vol. by N. Vtnkatarao

10. See para 620 *supra.*

ii. मदेन मदनेनापि प्रेरिता शिथिलत्रपा ।
योत्सुकाभिसरेत् कान्तं सा भवेदभिसारिका ॥

Commentary on *Māgha*, II. 8.

iii. यद्यप्यङ्गानि भूयांसि पूर्वरङ्गस्थ नाटके ।
तेषामवश्यं कर्तव्या नान्दी नन्दीश्वरप्रिया ॥

Commentary on *Pratāparudrīyam*.

iv. तथोक्तं वसन्तराजीये—

सूचने पात्रभेदानां तत्स्वभावार्थसूचनी ।
या गीतिः सा ध्रुवा तुल्यसंविधानविशेषणे ॥

प्रावेशिक्याक्षेपिकी च तथा प्रासादिकीति च ।
नैष्क्रामिक्यान्तरी चेति तासां लक्षणमुच्यते ॥

प्रवेशसूचकादौ तु ध्रुवा प्रावेशिकी मता ।
प्रसङ्गमध्येऽन्यार्थस्याक्षेपादाक्षेपिकी मता ॥

प्रासादिकी तु पात्राणां व्याकुलानां प्रसादनात् ।
निष्क्रामसूचिकायान्ते ध्रुवा नैष्क्रामिकी भवेत् ॥

विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रमादे संभ्रमे मदे ।
दोषप्रच्छादनादौ च गीयते या तु सान्तरी ॥ इति ॥

Commentary on *Prabodhacandrodaya*.

889. Vemabhupala[1] succeeded Komāragiri on the throne of Kondavidu in about 1403 A.D. as the nearest agnate in succession.

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1. On Vemabhupāla and his family, see Veturi Prabhākaraśāstri's Śṛṅgāranaiṣadham, 45; also *E.I* III. 288; III. 60.

The geneology is as follows :—

Komati Prolaya (1320 A.D.)
(with capital Addanki)

Māca — Prolaya Vema (1330 A.D.)

Peda Komati Vema (called Pallava, Trinetra &c., patron of Telugu poet Yerrapragada and Sanskrit poet Mahādeva the 7th ancestor of Lolla Lakṣmidhara, who lived about 1530 A. D.).

Rāca Vemana

Anapota (till 1366 A.D.) (removed capital to Kondavidu; Bālasarasvati was a poet of his Court).

Anavemareddi (till 1381 A. D.) called Dharma Vemana. Trilocana was a poet of his Court.

Komāragiri (till 1403 A.D.)

He is generally known as Peḍakomati Vemareddi. He was the grandson of Māca, the elder brother of Prolayavemana. A poet and scholar himself, he was a great patron of letters. He bore the title Vīranārāyaṇa. He gave away a portion of his kingdom to his brother's son Māca and installed him at Kondapalli. He claimed the territory of Rajahmundry which had been given away by his predecessor Komāragiri[1] to his wife's brother Kātayavema and had to wage war against the grandson of the latter and his adherents. His wife Sūramāmbā was known for her charity and some tanks and canals are associated with her name. He passed away about the year 1420 A.D. In his Court the great poets Śrīnāṭha and Vāmanabhatta Bāṇa flourished. Śrīnāṭha called him Sarvajnacakravarṭin[2] and Vāmana narrated his life in his romance Vīranārāyaṇacariṭa.

Besides his commentaries on Amaruka[3] and Sapṭaśaṭisāra,[4] he wrote Sāhiṭyacinṭāmaṇi[5] on poetics and Sangīṭacinṭāmaṇi[6] on music. The first is a learned treatise in 13 Paricchedas on the plan of Kāvyaprakāśa and criticises Mahimabhatta's theory of inference. Among the poets he quotes is one Kusumāyuḍha. The illustrations are sometimes in praise of himself and this leads to a doubt if the work was only a dedication by a poet of his Court, presumably Śrīnāṭha. Among the works quoted in these works, are his own Kāvya (or Bhāna) Vīranārāyaṇacariṭa[7] and Kāḍambarīnāṭaka[8] of Narasimha, a nephew of

2. Komāragiri alias Vasanṭarājā was found of feast and pleasure and he was free to enjoy them, while his wife's brother Kātayavema a warrior and scholar administered the kingdom with ability. Lakuma, a celebrated actress, was in his Court. He wrote a work on Nāṭya. called Vasanṭarājiya and this is referred to by Kātayavema in his commentary on Bākunṭalā. At his instance Kātayavema wrote commentaries on the plays of Kālidāsa.

1. चूडामणिर्नृपाणां दुर्मदपरिपन्थि शिखरिदंभोळिः ।
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

2. Ed. Madras.

3. The manuscript in Oriental Mss. Library.

4. *DC*, XXII. 8708,

5. *Trav*. 60. This is a Sangitacintāmaṇi and Sangiṭāmṛta by Kamalolocana (*CC*, I. 79), and another anonymous in *Tanj*. XVI. 7265.

6. It is not known what this work was. For instance
यथा ममैव काव्ये वीरनारायणचरिते ।

7, For instance:

i. भुवनाय वितीर्णजीवनानां क्षितिभृद्भिरशिरसोपलालितानाम् ।
अधिकं विमलश्रियां घनानां लघुतापि प्रबभूव गौरवाय ॥

ii. क्षणं कपोले स्तनमण्डले क्षणं क्षणं हृदीयं फलकं क्षणं दृशोः ।
नितंबिनी न्यस्य निमीलितेक्षणा दध्यौ विदग्धेव न वेद चान्तरम् ॥

Agastya. In learning and patronage, Vemabhūpāla and his family were vying with the contemporary kings of Racakonda, of whom Sarvajnasinga[1] and his grandson of that name attained fame.

890. **Paundarika Ramesvara's** Rasasindhu treats of rasas and bhāvas in 14 ratnas (chapters). Among the works he mentions the latest is Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpana and he must therefore have lived in the first half the 15th century.[2]

891. **Anurathamandana** or Ratnamandanaguru was the pupil of the Jain priest Ratnaśekhara,[3] suri of Tapagaccha who died in 1861 A.D. His Jalpakalpalatā[4] in 3 parts is an instructor in poetic composition and Mugdhamedhākara[5] maily deals with figures of speech.

892. **Punjaraja** was the son of Jīvana and Maku of Śrīmāla family. Jīvaṇa and his brother Megha were ministers of Khalaci Sahi Garjasa of Mālva who ruled about 1475 A.D.[6] Of his two sons, Punja, who became king, abdicated in favour of his brother Munja. Punjaraja's Dhvanipradīpa is a treatise on Dhvani and Śiśuprabodhālankāra is an introductory work on figures of speech.[7]

893. **Haridasa** was son of Purusottama of Karaṇa family. His Prastāvaratnākāra deals with enigmatic composition and was composed in 1557 A.D.[8]

894. **Vitthalesvara** or **Vitthaladiksita** called also Agnikumāra was the son of Vallabhācārya the reformer and was born in 1515 A.D. His brother was Gopīnātha. He wrote Rītivṛttilakṣaṇa on literary style and Śṛngārarasamandāna[9] on the sentiment of love.

895. **Kesavabhatta** was the son of Harivamṣabhatta and disciple of Vitthaleśvara, the son of Vallabhācārya. His Rasikasanjīvanī in three chapters deals with heroines and their relation to the amorous sentiment.[10]

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1. See para 120 *supra*.
2. *CC*, III. 106; *BORI*, Poona, Ms. No. 595; P. K. Gode, *COJ*, II. 30.
3. *BR*, (1883-84) 156-7; *PR*, IV. cii; *IA*, XI. 256.
4. *Weber*, 1722, II. 278-80.
5. *PR*, VI. xv, 31.
6. See *BR*, (1882-3), 12.
7. *PR*, V. xliii, 168-9; *PR*, V. 169.
8. *CC*, I. 360; II, 212; III. 77.
9. *CC*, I. 661; II. 158; III. 137. For other works, see *CC*, I. 572: III. 121.
10. *CC*, I. 127, 497.

896. Appayyadikșita has a venerable place in poetics.[1] He composed KUVALAYANANDA, a treatise original in itself, but designed as a commentary on Jayaḍeva's Canḍrāloka.[2] In Āśāḍhara's commentary on Kuvalayānanḍa, we have the story of its composition :

किं च "काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते" इत्यादिकप्रामाणिकपण्डितोक्तं राजप्रसादादिकमभिहितम् । एवं हि श्रूयते । अप्पय्यदीक्षितो नाम चन्द्रालोकं नाम ग्रन्थं चिकीर्षुः पण्डितो रङ्ग राजसूनुः स पितुराज्ञया वेङ्कटाद्रिराजमुपजगाम । स च राज्ञाऽभ्यर्थितश्चन्द्रालोकं नाम ग्रन्थं चकार । राज्ञा वर्षाशनं दत्वा प्रहितोऽलङ्कारविवेचनाय प्रार्थितश्चेमाः कारिकाः कुवलयानन्दं च कृत्वा वेङ्कटेशं प्रसादयामास ।

It is said that Appayya who wished to compose a work on Alankāras was sent by his father to go to the king Venkaṭāḍri. The king induced him to compose the work and settled on him an annual allowance in consideration of his scholarship. Appayyaḍīkṣiṭa returned with the boon and wrote the kārikās on the subject under the name of Canḍrālōka and wrote also a commentary called Kuvalayānanḍa.

The name of the king is given at the end of the work :

अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षितः ।
नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

" Appayyadīkṣita composed the Kuvalayānanḍa by the command of Vēṅkaṭapati who was the mine of disinterested mercy."

"From the steatement of Appayyadiksita in the beginning of the work, it appears, however, that he did not compose the whole original work, but adopted the work of Jayadeva (5th chapter) and added definitions of new alankaras and their illustrations. This perhaps roused the indignation of Jayadeva, the author of Candraloka and was referred to by him in his drama of the Prasannaraghava as an unworthy plagiarism. In the introduction, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama; that he objected to being called भरताधिराज 'prince of players' owing to the fact that his elder brothher was living; that the title should be conferred on the latter; that he wrote a drama called Haracaparopana which was acted at the court of a king called Ratijanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor. A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated

1. For his life and works see paras 142-3 *supra*. In a discussion in *JOR*, P. P. S. Sastri fixes his date as 1520-1593 A.D. विक्रमे भूतलं प्राप्य विजये स्वर्गमाययौ ।

2. For commentaries on it, see *l.c.* and also by Kuravi Rāma (HR. I, xi)

the fame to himself. Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukantha and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of southern India. While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader, Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadiksita's modification of the Candraloka and commenting upon the work. Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the courts of king of Southern India where Appayyadiksita was living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled."[1]

897. His Citramīmāmsa, also a treatise on alankāra is supposed to have been left unfinished, and Vaidyanātha in his commentary on Kuvalāyananda thus supports the general tradition: "Citramīmāmsā is not seen anywhere beyond the Utpreksālankāra." Jagannātha made a ruthless criticism of this work in Citramīmāmsākhandana,[2] and this was in its turn answered by Nīlakantha and Candamārutācārya.[3]

898. **Gangananda** was a protige of Mahārāja Karna of Bikaneer (1506-1527 A.D.) and belonged to Mithila (Tīrabhukta). His Kāvyadākinī is divided into 5 dristis and deals with poetrical blemishes (dosa) "In the last chapter there appears also a discussion whether a dosa is regarded as a guna when it does not involve any defect at all or when it is neutral, so that it cannot be treated as a guna or a dosa."[4] Gangānanda also wrote Karnabhūsana[5] a treatise on rasa, a poem Bhrngadūta[6] and a play Mandāramanjarī.[7]

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1. *HR*, II. 68.
2. Ed. Bombay, along with Citramīmāmsā. For instance on the verse:

   निश्शेषच्युतचन्दनं स्तनतटं निर्मृष्टरागोऽधरः
   नेत्रे दूरमनञ्जने पुलकिता तन्वी तवेयं तनुः ।
   मिथ्यावादिनि दूति बान्धवजनस्याज्ञातपीडागमे
   वापीं स्नातुमितो गतासि न पुनस्तस्याधमस्यान्तिकम् ॥

3. *HR*, II. viii. The latter manuscript is with S. A. T. Śingaracārya. Triplicane. Madras.
4. Ed. *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares by P. Jagannatha Sastri.
5. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay.
6. *CC*, III. 30.
7. Mentioned in Kāvyadākini, p. 44.

899. Jagannatha.[1] His charming lyrics have already been described. His Rasagangādhara[2] testifies to his high culture in the appreciation of poetry. It stops with Uttarālankāra, probably in imitation of Appayadīkṣita's Citramīmāmsā, whose views he criticises in his Citramīmāmsākhandana.[3] In his disquisitions he is self-conscious and the language of his rhetorical works, particularly of Rasagangādhara is not lucid and a knowledge of dialectics will facilitate its appreciation. He declares that his illustrative verses are his own.[4]

900. Krsnasudhi was the son of Śivarāma and descendant of Jagannātha Panditarāja of Upadrastṛ family. He lived in Uttaramallur on the banks of the Seyyar near Kāncī. He wrote Kāvyakalānidhi,[5] a very comprehensive work on poetics, with illustrations in praise of his patron King Rāmavarman of Kollam.

In Alankāramīmāmsā, Śāntalūri Kṛṣṇasūri, son of Gopalācārya of Tanuku, Krishna Dist., criticises the views expressed in Rasagangādhara. He also wrote Sāhityakalpalatikā.[6]

Bhallata was a poet of the Court of King Pratāparudradeva, He was called Vīra Bhallata and was a proficient in Nātyaśāstra. He wrote Nātyaśekhara; so says Śṛngāraśekhara, author of Abhinayabhūṣaṇa.[7]

901. Krsnasarman was a pupil of Vāsudeva Yogīśvara of Guṇapura. His Mandāramanandacampū though so named is in fact a treatise on poetics and prosody of an encyclopædic variety. He copied his definitions from Appaya Dīkṣita and might have probably lived in the 17th century A.D.[8] His Rasaprakāśa is a commentary on Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa.[9]

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1. See para 311 *supra*.
2. Ed. Bombay, with a commentary on Nageśabhatta. Views here expressed are criticised by Kṛṣṇasudhi in his Alankāramimāmsa (*TC*, III. 3852). There is also an anonymous commentary, *CC*, I. 4946.
3. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay.
4. His stray verses have been collected and printed under the name Panditarājaśatakam in Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.
5. *TC*, IV. 4209.
6. *TC*, III. 3852, 3733. His son Jayajaya Rāmānujācārya is a scholar and poet.
7. *Andhrapatrika*, Annual number, 1917-8, 225.
8. Ed. Bombay, with a commentary Mādhuryaranjani.
9. See para 863-A *supra*.

902. **Prabhakara** was the son of Māḍhavabhatta and grandson of Rāmeśvara of Viśvāmiṭragoṭra.[1] His Rasapraḍīpa[2] in which Alaṅkārarahasya is quoted was composed in 1583 A.D. In three chapters it deals with the essentials of poetry, rasa and dhvani. He wrote an epitome of Ḍevīmāhāṭmyam in 1629 A.D. called Laghusapṭaśaṭikāsṭava, Ekāvalīprakāśa and commentaries on Kumārasambhava and on Vāsavaḍaṭṭā.

Rāmeśvarabhatta has three sons, Nārāyaṇa, Śrīḍhara and Māḍhava. Nārāyaṇa was born in 1513 A.D. and was a favourite of Todarmal, the finance minister of Emperor Akbar. He wrote the commentary on Vṛṭṭaraṭnākara. Prabhākara's son Kṛṣṇa wrote Vāgīśvarīsamsṭava.

903. **Samaraja Diksita** son of Narahari of Bindu Puranḍara family composed his play Śrīḍāmacariṭa in 1681 A.D. He also wrote poems Ṭripurasunḍarīmānasapūjanasṭoṭra,[3] Akṣaragumpha and Āryāṭrlśaṭī[4] and in poetics Śṛṇgārāmṛṭalaharī.[5]

Samarāja's son KAMARAJA,[6] (or Kāmarūpa Śastrin) wrote the poem Śṛṇgarakalikā and on poetics Kāvyenḍuprakāśa[7] or Rasanirṇaya.

Kamarāja's son VRAJARAJA alias Haraḍaṭṭa wrote a commentary on Rasamanjarī, and poems Śṛṇgāraśataka, ṣadṛṭuvarṇana and Āryāṭriśaṭīmukṭaka or Rasikaranjanakāvya.[8] Vrajarāja's son JIVARAJA was in

1. According to **Hall** (*Bibl.* 181) Prabhākara was born in 1564 A.D. For Prabhākara's works, see *CC*, I. 358 For the story of this family, see the poem Śaṅkarabhatta's Gāḍhivamśavarṇana. Haraprasad Sastri, *IA*, (1912). S. K. De, *SP*, I. 302, Printed Mirzapur). In Kantanātha's Bhāttavamśakāvya Rāmeśvara is thus described :

गुणोन्मुखी श्रीश्च सरस्वती च निसर्गमात्सर्यमपीह हित्वा ।
तं भेजतुरसख्यमिवोपयाते गुणैर्वरं वेदविदां वरिष्ठम् ॥
मीमांसयाऽभाजि यतश्चिरं श्रीश्चतुर्मुनिव्याकरणं च येन ।
आन्वीक्षिकी चक्षुरपि प्रपेदे वेदान्तविद्या जरती युवत्वम् ॥
कृतं मुदा येन च लीलयैव काव्यं प्रियं रामकुतूहलाख्यम् । I. 10-12.

2. Ed. *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares by Narayana Sastri Khiste, with a long introduction.

3. S. K. De, *SP*, II. 320.

4. *CC*, I. 708.

5. Printed Bombay. *Ulwar*, 1086.

6. There is a poet Kāmarāja quoted in *Śarng.* and another who wrote a gloss on Karpuramanjarī.

7. Printed, Bombay. *BR*, (1887-91) No. 601.

8. Printed, Bombay.

the Court of Maḍhavasena and he wrote Gopālacampū and a commentary *Setu* on Rasaṭaranginī.[1]

904. Caturbhuja wrote Rasakalpaḍruma to the delight of Saistakhan, who is described as son of Asakakhan, and grandson of Iṭamaḍdoula. It is an elaborate work in 1000 verses in 65 prasṭāvas covering the whole range of poetics and erotics. Saistakhan was himself a great Sanskrit poet and six of his verses are here quoted. The composition was in the year Sam. 1745 (1689 A.D.) Here is a fine verse :

यत्नादतस्त्वमलिना मलिनाशयेन किं तेन चम्पक विषादमुरीकरोषि ।
विश्वाभिरामनवनीरदनीलवेषाः केशाः कुशेशयदृशां कुशलीभवन्तु ॥

Among rare authors and works mentioned are: Acalaruḍra, Aniruḍḍha, Avilamba, Īśvaraḍāsa, Ugragraha, Kamsanārāyaṇa, Kubjakutīra, Gaudayaḍāva, Jaganmaṇirāja, Dhakkārava, Ḍaśāvaḍhāna, Navīnakavīnḍra, Nāṭhamiśra, Pancānana, Paraśurāma, Bhāraṭīkavi, Bhupaṭimiśra, Maṭi, *Maḍhuravallī,* Mahāmanuṣya, Mohanamiśra, Raghupaṭi, Ranṭiḍeva, Rāmacanḍra Sarasvaṭi, Ruci, *Lakhya*, Vasanṭa, Vaṇīrasāla, Viśvambhara, Vahinīpaṭi, Sanjayakavirāja, Sarvaḍāsa, Svasṭhānamiśra, Haribhatta, and Harinḍra.[2]

905. Baladeva Viḍyābhūṣaṇa was a desciple of Ḍāmoḍaraḍāsa and a follower of Caiṭanya and a native of Bengal. He lived during the days of kiug Jayasimha of Jaipur who ruled in the 18th century. His Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī[3] is a commentary on the Sūṭras of Bharaṭa and is accompanied by a gloss of his own. These Sūṭras are the Kārikas, embraced in Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammata and in the colophon, it is explicitly stated that the name of the work comprising the Kārikas is Kāvyalakṣaṇa[4] composed by Bharaṭa, and that his commentary thereon was following several commentaries of old, such as that of Mammata.[5]

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1. *Ulwar*, 1070. Here it is said "Jivaraja says that his grandfather Samaraja obtained the name Kamaraja and was the author of Kavyenduprakasa, Rasanirnaya, and of Nrsimhavijaya and other natakas. Jivaraja says that his father Vrajaraja was also called Haradatta."

2. *Ulwar*, 1067.

3. See S. K. De, *SP*, I. 184-5. A pun in the first verse of Sāhiṭyakaumuḍi refers to Gajapaṭipraṭāparuḍra of Orissa. See Sterling. *As. Res.* XV. 284; and Aufrecht *Bod. Cat.* 148 notes.

4. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, II. 10.

5. There is Kavilakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXVI. 9903) which describes the attainments and character of a good poet.

This reference to several commentaries on the Kārikas other than Mammata precludes the idea that Mammata himself wrote the Kārikas.[1]

Vidyābhūṣaṇa is an eminent rhetorician. He illustrates his comments with verses of his own composition in praise of Kṛṣṇa of whom Caiṭanya was an incarnation. He adds a supplementary (last) chapter where he formulates rules on topics not touched upon by Bharaṭa.[2]

An anonymous commentary on Śabīṭyakaumudī[3] is more explicit. It says that Bharaṭa threw into concise Kārikas the science of poetry as developed in Agnipurāṇa and other works and to explain these is the object of the Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī.[4]

Among other works of this author are Kāvykausṭubha,[5] Paḍyāvalī,[6] and a commentary on Uṭkalikāvallarī.[7]

906. **Visvesvara** was the son of Lakṣmīdḥara of Pande family of Almoda. His descendants of the ninth generation are now there.[8] He lived in the beginning of the 18th century. He was a literary genius and began writing when he was ten. Such men are *rarely long-lived* and he died at 34. In poetics, his writings are various, Alankārakausṭubha,[9] Alankārakarṇābharaṇa,[10] Alankārakulapraḍipā,[11] Alankāramukṭāvali,[12] Kāvyalilā and Kāvyaraṭna,[13] Rasacanḍrikā,[14] and a commentary on Bhānudaṭṭa's Rasamanjarī.[15] In Alankārakausṭubha, he mentions his plays Rukminīpariṇaya and Śṛngāramanjarī (in prakrit).

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1. व्याख्यातमिदं संपूर्णं काव्यलक्षणम् ।
मम्मटाद्युक्तमाश्रित्य मितां साहित्यकौमुदीम् ॥
वृत्तं भरतसूत्राणां श्रीविद्याभूषणोभ्यधात् ।

In all editions of Kāvyaprakāśa the words संपूर्णमिदं काव्यलक्षणम् are found.

2. For a full discussion see *PR*, II. 10-12.
3. Peterson (*l.c*,) suspects that Vidyābhuṣaṇa was himself the author of it.
4. See *PR*, II. 99.
5. *SKC*, 58, 268.
6. *PR*, III. App. 395.
7. *PR*, IV. cxiii. Aufrecht says that this work was written in 1765 A.D.
8. See para 312 *supra*. S. K. De, *SP*, 31.
9. Printed Bombay.
10. Ed. Bombay.
11. *CC*, I. 31 ; II. 187. Printed Benares.
12. *DC*, XXIII. 8603. Printed Benares.
13. See Kāvyamāla, VII. 51-52 *f.n.*
14. Printed Benares. *DC*, XXII. 8679.
15. *DC*, XXI. 8411.

907. Vasudeva Paro of Karaṇa family was a poet and doctor in the Court of Gajapaṭi Jagannāṭha Nārāyanaḍeva of Khimundi State, Orissa. His KAVICINTAMANI is large treatise in 24 Kiraṇas and deals particularly on Kavisamaya and Samasyāpūraṇa, and Saṅgīṭa also in the last three.[1]

908. Gauranarya was son of Ayaluprabhu, brother of Miṭarāya, minister of King Śingaya Māḍhava of Recarla family, probably of the 18th century A.D. His Lakṣaṇaḍīpikā or Prabanḍhadīpikā is a general treatise on poetics probably in 10 prakāśas.[2]

909. Ramadeva Ciranjiva Battacarya or Ciranjīva was the son of Rāghavendra. His Kāvyavilāsa[3] in two parts deals with Rasa and Alankāra. His Śṛṅgāraṭaṭinī[4] is a collection of erotic verses and Vṛṭṭaraṭnāvali[5] is an illustrative work on prosody meant as a panegyric of Yasvanṭasimha who was Naib Dewan of Deccan about 1731 A.D. His Viḍvanmoḍaṭaringiṇi has been noticed.[6]

910. Tirumala Bukkapatham Venkatacarya wrote Alankārakausṭubha.[7] He was son of Aṇṇayācārya, a poet of the court of the Zamindar of Surapuram in Nizam's dominions and lived about 1770 A.D. His brother's son Śrīnivāsācārya wrote Rasamanjari[8] and the celebrated work Ṭaṭṭvamārṭānda.

911. Acyudaraya Modaka was the pupil of Nārāyaṇaśasṭrin and probably son of Nārāyaṇa. His Sāhiṭyasāra[9] in 12 chapters describes the topics as taken from the "*ocean of poetics*", so that the chapters are called Ḍhanvanṭariraṭna, Airāvaṭaraṭna etc. He wrote also a commentary on Bhaminīvilāsa[10] and probably also Bhāgiraṭhīcampū composed on 1815.[11]

912. Rajasekhara son of Venkateśa of Kolluru family and of Gouṭamagoṭra lived in Peruru (Somaṇāṭhapura) on the banks of the

1. *TC*, IV. 4225.
2. *DC*, XXII. 8692, 8694; *Tanj.* IX. 4029. He quotes from Alankārasangraha and Kavikanthapāśa, Camaṭkāracandrikā, Sāhiṭyacanḍroḍaya etc.
3. *CC*. I. 102; II. 20; III. 22.
4. *CC*, I. 660.
5. *HR*, III. No. 280.
6. See para 768 *supra*.
7. *DC*, XXII. 8600.
8. *TC*, I. R. No. 369.
9. Ed. Bombay with commentary Sarasāmoḍa.
10. Ed. Bombay.
11. *CC*, I. 770. See also S. K. De, *SP*, I. 282-3.

river Kauśikī in the Godavari Konasīma about 1840 A.D.[1] His Sāhiṭya-kalpadruma is a work on poetics in 81 stabakas. He also wrote Śiva-śaṭaka, Śrīśacampū and Alankāramakaranḍa.[2]

913. **Ratnabhusana** belonged to a Vaiḍya family of East Bengal. In his Kāvyakaumudī composed in 1859 A. D., he deals with poetics in general, but in the first three chapters with nouns, genders and verbal suffixes.[3]

914. **Bhaskaracarya** was a descendent of Varaḍaguru of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra and lived at Śriperumbudur, Chingleput District, probably in the 19th century. His Sāhiṭyakallolinī embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing.[4]

915. **Srisaila Nrsimhacarya** was son of Ḍāsāmacārya. On Lakṣaṇamālikā of unknown authorship he wrote a commentary Alankārenḍuśekhara, dealing lucidly with all topics of poetics. He also wrote a commentary on Śānṭavilāsa, which is a work on music by Subrahmaṇyasuḍhi or Hariśābakavīnḍra. He refers to his work Campū-Jānakāpariṇaya and to Gīṭamanjarī of Hariśāba.[5]

916. **Venkatanarayana** was the son of Lakṣmī and Kameśvara Ḍīkṣiṭa of Godavarṭi family. He says he composed works in eight languages. His Śṛngārasāra in 6 ullāsas treats of heros and heroines, rasas and rūpakas. He refers the reader to another work of his, Śṛngārasārāvali, for fuller treatment.[6]

917. **Ramasubramanya Sastrin** was son of Rāmaśankara and grandson of Aśvaṭṭhanārāyaṇa and desciple of Śivarāma. He was an authority on Śasṭras and lived at Ṭiruvasanallur, Tanjore Dt. He was born in the last thirties and died in 1922 A.D. His works on several Śāsṭras are numerous and his commentaries on the Upaniṣads are very much respected.[7] In his Alankāraśāsṭravilāsa he criticises Viḍyānāṭha's definition of poetry.[8] His Bhakṭyānanḍaprakāśa is a treatise on Bhakṭi or devotion to God.[9]

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1. *TC*, III. 2895. First four Sṭabakas are printed. Bhāgavaṭacampu is partly printed.
2. Kuppusāmi Śāsṭri's I. Rep.
3. *HR*, II, vii. and No. 35.
4. *DC*, XXII. 8 706.
5. *DC*, XXII. 8696, 8715; *SR*, I. 11, 98.
6. *DC*, XXII. 8699.
7. See *TC*, II, 2528, 2532, 2541. He was ordinarily known as Rāmasubbāśastrin'
8. *TC*, II. 2520.
9. *TC*, II. 2546.

In Sāhiṭyakantakoḍḍhāra in two chapters Maḍhusūḍana, son of Nārāyaṇa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra, has a running criticism of works of well-known authors, such as Śrī Harṣa, Bilhaṇa and Bhāravi in regard to the use of certain nouns, verbs and euphony.[1]

918. **Sundaradeva Vaidya,** son of Govinḍaḍeva, wrote Rāmasunḍara-mahākāvya to illustrate particular poetic conceptions.[2]

. Kavikanthapāśa is a treatise on a poet's personal appearance, on the effects of the initial letters of a poem and of the time of composition etc. It is said to be based on Pingala's work.[3]

919. **Mudumbai Narasimha Acarya** flourished in the Courts of Vijiarāma Gajapaṭi and Ānanḍa Gajapaṭi, Māhārājās of Vizianagaram (Vizagapatam District). Besides the works already mentioned (in para 356 supra) he wrote the poems Ḍaivopālambha, Narasimhāttahāsa, Jayasimhāśvameḍhīya, Victoriapraśasṭi and Yuḍḍhaproṭsāhana, and in the field of poetics, Kāvyopoṭghāṭa, Kāvyaprayogaviḍhi, Kāvyasūṭravṛṭṭi and Alankāramālā and the following Sṭuṭis:[4]

क्षमार्पणस्तव, अस्वतंत्रस्तव, अर्चाभगवद्ध्यानयोग, कूर्मनाथस्तव, कूर्मनाथस्तवरोमन्थ, केशवस्तव, कुबेरस्तव, ज्वालानरसिंहस्तव, नाथस्तव, मंदहासस्तव, अवताररोमन्थ, ब्रह्मसमाधिस्तव, पुरुषोत्तमस्तव, प्रसादस्तव, भगवद्ध्यानयोग, दिव्यलीलावतारस्तव, मार्गस्तव, योगनिद्राप्रबोध, योगनिद्रास्तव, रामानुजचतुस्सप्तति, सिंहाद्रिनाथस्तव, राधास्तव, वासुदेवस्तवरोमन्थ, विशिष्टध्यानयोग, वेङ्कटेश्वरत्रिक, लक्ष्मीवेङ्कटेश्वरस्तव, वेदान्तदशक, वृत्तिशोधन, श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरप्रपत्ति, रंगेंद्रस्तव, कृष्णस्तवरोमन्थ, सूर्यस्तव, दुर्गास्तव, श्रीस्तव, प्राबोधकीस्तव, गायत्रीमाला, नवनिधिमहालक्ष्मीस्तव, भगवदौदार्यस्तव, पुमर्थभ्रमनिवृत्तिस्तव, निष्ठुरोक्तिस्तव, निरहंकारस्तव, निर्वेदस्तव, कामहरस्तव, निस्संदेहस्तव, संकीर्णचमत्कारस्तव, द्वयमंत्रस्तव, प्राशिगद्य, नैच्यानुसंधानस्तव, आराधनस्तव, भगवद्विग्रहध्यान.

920. **Other Works.** Kāvyālankārasūtra by Yāskamuni with the commentary of Akhilāndaśarman; Abhinavaśṛngārarasamanjarī by Bukkapatnam Venkatācārya (*Mys*, 639); Alankāravicāra (*Tanj*. IX. 3978); Alankāraprakāśikā (*DC*, XXII. 3602); Alankāraśekhara by Jīvanāṭha (*CC*, I. 32); Alankāraśirobhūṣaṇa by Kanḍālayārya (*Mys*, 296;

1. *TC*, III. 3199, 3714.
2. *CC*, I. 725. See for his other works para 767 *supra*.
3. *DC*, XXII. 3611; *TC*, III. 3771.
4. In the Introduction to Rāmacanḍrakaṭhāmṛṭa, an extensive poem on Rāmāyaṇa (printed, Vizianagaram), M. Venkataramanacharya gives a long history of the poet's family and of the royal patrons of the ruling house of Vizianagaram.

Adyar, II. 33); Alankārakramamālā by Ḍamoḍarabhatta (*CC*, I. 32, 250); Alankārakaumuḍī by Vallabhabhatta (Ed, Granthāratnamala, Bombay, II. 1189); Alankārasāra by Nṛsimha (*Mys*. 297); Alankāramanjarī by Nirmala (?) (*CC*, I. 32); Alankārakausṭubha (i) by Venkaṭācārya (*Adyar*, II. 33; *DC*, XXII. 8599; *Mys*. 295) and (ii) by Śrīnivāsa (*CC*, I. 103); [Alankārasūtra by Canḍrakānṭa Ṭarkālankāra (Printed, Calcutta, 19th century A.D.); Alankāracanḍrikā, Alankārakārikā, Alankārakaumuḍī (*DC*, XXII. 8599: *Mys*. 295); Alankāramayūkha, Alankārānukramaṇikā, Alankāraprakaraṇa (*SR*, I. No. 52); Alankāraprakāśikā (*DC*, XXII. 8602); Śaṭālankāranukramaṇikā (*Adyar*, II. 38); Alankārasangraha (*DC*, XXII. 8606; *Adyar*, II. 33); Alankāragranṭha (*Adyar*, II. 33; *TC*, III. 3907); Alankāravāḍārṭha[1]; Alankārasāra ky Bālakṛṣṇa.][2]

Alankārasangraha by Amṛṭananḍayogin (Ed. Calcutta, Trans. into English (*DC*. XXII. 8604); Alankāramukṭāvali by Rāma, son of Nṛsimha (Printed, Vizagapatam): Alankāramaṇidarpaṇa by Venkappayapraḍhāna (*CC*, I. 32; *Mys*, 296) and by Sampatkumara Venkaṭācārya (*Gough*, 189); Alankāralakṣaṇa by Śambhunāṭha (*CC*, III. 7); Alankāracinṭāmaṇi by Sanṭaraja; Alankāraṭilaka (i) by Śrīkaramiśra (*CC*, I. 32); and (ii) by Bhānūḍaṭṭa (*Tanj*. IX, 4107; *Mys*. 295); Alankārasarvasva by Ḍevarakonda Aubalarya Kṛṣṇa (*TC*, VI. 7186).

Alankāraprakaraṇa (*CC*, III. 7); Alankāranikāṣa by Suḍhinḍrayogin (*DC*, XXII. 8713); Alankāraviṣaya (*Ibid*. 8714); Alankāramanjarī (i) by Trimallabhatta and (ii) by Sukhalāla (*PR*, IV. 25; *CC*, II. 6); [Alankārapariṣkāra by Viśvanāṭha, Alankāramanjūṣa by Ḍevaśankara, Alankāraraṭnākara by Śobhākaramiśra, Alankārarahasya by Prabhākara, Alankāravṛṭṭi (*PR*, IV. 25); Alankārasamuḍgaka by Śivarāma],[3] Kāvyasaraṇi[4]

921. [Kāvyakalāpa, Kavikalpalaṭikā and Kāvyaḍīpikā (*DC*, XXII. 8618); Kāvyakaumuḍī, Kāvyakausṭūbha and Kāvyalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII. 8630); Kāvyalakṣaṇavicāra (*DC*, XXII. 8716; *Trav*. 76); Kāvyāmṛṭaṭaranginī, Kāvyapariccheḍa, Kāvyaraṭna, Kāvyopaḍeśa].[5] Kāvivibhāga (*Trav*, 70); Kāvikanthapāśa (*Adyar*, II. 33); Kāvikalpalaṭā by Ḍeveśvara (Printed, Calcutta; *Tanj*. IX. 3985; *DC*, XXII. 8612; *SR*, II. 80); Kāvikauṭūhala (i) by Viṣṇuḍāsa[6] and (ii) by

1. Cited in Śrīnivāsa's commentary on Vāsavaḍaṭṭā.
2. *CC*, I. 31–2.
3. *CC*, II. 6.
4. Quoted by Appayaḍīkṣiṭa in Vṛṭṭivārṭika.
5. *CC*, I. 101-3.
6. He was probably the author of Manoḍuṭa, *IO*, 1184. See para 323 *supra*

Kāṇṭicandramukhopādhyāya (Ed. Calcutta, 19th century); Kāvyataṭvavicāra by Haladhara (*HPR* (1895-1900), p. 16); Kāvyacandrikā (i) by Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa and (ii) by Kāvicandra, son of Kāvikarṇapūra[1]; Kāvyavṛttaratṇāvalī by Nārāyaṇa (*Tanj*, IX. 4012); Kavisanjivīnī (*TC*, VI. 7172).

Kāvyollāsa by Nīlakantha[2] (*TC*, III. 3348); Kāvyasārasangrahaṭraya by Śrīnivāsa (*Tanj*. IX. 4014; *Mys*. 298); Kāvikarpatikā[3] by Śankhadhara (*CC*, I. 86); Kāviṭāvaṭāra by Puruṣottamasudhī (*Tanj*. IX. 5992; *Adyar*, II. 34); Kāvyalakṣanasangraha by Śrinivāsa (*Adyar*, II. 34);[4] Vyanjananirṇaya by Nāgeśabhatta (Ed. Bombay); Kāvyakantakoddhāra by Narasimhaśāstrin of the Circars (14th century); Kāvyarasāyana by Samasandarbha (Ed. Calcutta).

922. Rasabindu, Rasagrandha, Rasāmṛṭasindhu and Rasasamuccaya (*CC*, I. 494); Rasaviveka (*Trav*. 72); Rasikarasāyana (*Adyar*, I. 36); Rasakalpadruma by Jagannāṭhamiśra, son of Ānandamiśra (1600-1700 A.D.) (*Adyar*, II. 37; *TC*, IV. 5619); Rasārṇavālankāra by Prakāśavarṣa[5] (*TC*, IV. 5566); Rasikarasāyana (*TC*, VI. 7223); Rasaṭaranginī by Rāmānanda (*TC*, III. 31; Rasaraṭnadīpikā by Lallarāja (*Tanj*, IX, 4073); Rasaraṭnāvali by Vīreśvara (*IO*, II. 359); Rasakāumudi (i) by Śrīkantha (*CC*, I. 494, early 17th century) and (ii) by Ghāsīrāma (*DC*, XXII. 8877); Rasamīmāmsā by Gangārāmajadin (*IC*, 176, 290); Rasacandra by Ghāsīrāma (*IO*, II. 351; 1696 A.D.); Rasasindhu by Paundarīkarāmeśvara (*CC*, III. 106); Rasapadmākara by Gangādhara (*CC*, II. 30); Rasikaprakāśā by Devanāṭha (*CC*, I. 497); Rasikajīvana by Gangādhara (*CC*, I. 497, II. 116); Rasikamohana by Raghunāthabhatta (1745 A.D.); Rasikapriyā by Indrajiṭ (*PR*, VI. No. 379); Rasasarvasva by Bhimeśvara (*Tanj*. IX. 4078); Rasadīrghikā by Vidyārāma (*PR*, III. No. 336); Rasasudhānidhi by Sonthi Mārabhaṭṭāraka (*TC*, IV. 4769); Rasamādhava by Daji Śivājipradhāna; Rasāmṛṭasudhā (*CC*, III. 106); Rasaraṭnahara by Śivarāma (*CC*, II. 116); Rasakalikā (*TC*, III. 3055).

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1. *IOC*, III. 344. He quotes from his own poem Rauṇāvali, Rāmacandracampu, Sṭavāvali, Sāṇṭicandrikā and also verses of his own sons Śrikavivallabha and Śrikavibhuṣaṇa,

2. He was the author of the play Kalyāṇasaugandhika.

3. There is a poem Kavikarpatikā by Vādīndra (*CC*, I. 86; *Tanj*. VI. 2711).

4. He is different from Raṭnakheta. S. K. De's identification (*SP*, I. 319) is not correct.

5. He is mentioned by his disciple Vallabha in his commentary on Māgha and quoted by Mallināṭha in his commentary on Bhāravi.

Śṛngārarasamandana by Vitthaleśvara and Śṛngārasāroḍaḍhi by Suḍhākara Pundarīkayajvan (*CC*, III. 137).

Bhāraṭībhūṣaṇa by Giriḍharaḍasa (1875 A,D.); Paḍmābharaṇa by Paḍmākara (1875 A.D.); Nāvikānuvarṇana by Rāmaśarman (*DC*, XXII, 8678); Uṭprekṣāmanjarī by Varaḍācārya (*Mys*. 297); Kankaṇabanḍha by Suḍarśanācārya (*Ibid*.); Vṛṭṭālankāra by Chavilal Suri of Nepal (1901 A.D.); Kākaṭālavāḍārṭha by Śambhuḍāsa (*Ibid*.); Ciṭramanjarī by Ranganāṭha (*Ibid*. 300); Lakṣmīlakṣaṇamālikā by Nṛsimha (*Ibid*. 303); Vṛṭṭāḍīpikā Venkateśa (*Ibid*, 303):

Ḍaśarūpakapaḍḍhaṭī of Kuravi Rāma[1] and Ḍaśarūpakavivaraṇam[2] (anonymous).

923. Sāhiṭyābḍhi by Venīḍaṭṭa (*Tanj*. IX. 4105); Sāhiṭyavicāra by Kṛṣṇaṭarkālankāra (*CC*, I. 716); Sāhiṭyavicāra by Ananṭa (*CC*, I. 13); Sāhiṭyaṭarangiṇī by Kṛṣṇa (*CC*, II. 171): Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī (*IO*, III. 33) and Sāhiṭyakautūhala by Yaśasvin (*CC*, I. 715) Sāhiṭyasūcī by Haraḍaṭṭasimha (*CC*, I. 716); Sāhiṭyakallolinī by Bhāśyakarācārya of Bhūṭapurī (*DC*, XXIII. 8706); Sāhiṭyasāra (i) by Sureśvarayaṭi (*TC*, III 3368; *Trav*. 72) (ii) by Mānasimha (*CC*, I. 716), and by (iii) Acyuṭaśarmamoḍak (Ed. Bombay; *Mys*. 304; composed in Saka 1753-(1831 A.D.); Sāhiṭyamīmamsā (*Tanj*. IX. 4104); [Sāhiṭyasaraṇī, (*Mys*. 304); Sāhiṭyasūkṣmasaraṇī by Śrīnivāsa, Sāhiṭyacūḍāmaṇi and Sāhiṭyaboḍha by Ṭīganara Seṭurāma (*TC*, III. 3593); Sāhiṭyaśārngaḍhara by Śārngḍhara, Sāhiṭyasangraha (i) by Kāla and (ii) by Śambhuḍāsa] (*CC*, I. 716).

Sāhiṭyacanḍrikā, Sāhiṭyamukṭāmaṇi, and Sāhiṭyaraṭnamāla (*CC*, I. 7156); Sarojakalikā by Kaviraṭna (*CC*, I. 87); Upamāsuḍhāniḍhi (*CC*, I. 68); Ekaṣaṣṭyalankāraprakāśā (*CC*, I. 74); Kiraṇāvali by Śaśaḍhara (*Opp*. II. 4531); Karpūrarasamanjarī by Bālakavi (*Rice*, 282); Kāvyarṭhacūḍāmaṇi (*TC*, I. 792); Nāṭakāvaṭāra (*CBod*. 142); Bhāvaviveka (*TC*, VI. 7151);

[Śṛngāracanḍroḍaya,[3] Śṛngārakausṭubha, Śṛngāramanjarī (*SR*, II. 23); Śṛngārapavana, Śṛngāraṭaranginī, Śṛngārarasa, Śṛngāraviḍhi][4]; Śṛngāraḍiviṣaya (*DC*, XXII. 8701); Śṛngārarasavilāsa by Ḍevaḍaṭṭa (*CC*, I. 258); Śṛngārahāra by Balaḍeva (*BKR*, 1880-12, 71);

1. *TC*. II. 1097.
2. *DC*, XXII. 8664. It is conjectured to be the nāṭaka chapter of bigger treatise.
3. Cited in Prasṭavacinṭāmaṇi, *Weber*, I. 229.
4. *CC*, I. 660-1.

Śṛngārasarasī by Bhāvamiśra (*CC*, I. 681; II. 158, 230); Śṛngārasāra by Venkaṭanārāyaṇa Ḍīkṣiṭa (*DC*, XXII. 8899): Śṛngāralaṭā by Sukhaḍevamiśra (*PR*, IV. app. 29); Śṛngārasāroḍaḍhi by Suḍhākara Puṇḍarīkayajvan (*CC*, III. 131); Śṛngārāmṛṭalaharī by Samarājaḍīkṣiṭa (*DC*, XXII. 8702),

Kāvyopaḍeśa,[1] Rasākara,[2] Rasaraṭnākara,[3] Rasasāgara,[4] Rasasuḍhākara,[5] Rājakanḍarpa,[6] Rasikasarvasva,[7] Rasakalikā,[8] Angahāralakṣaṇa (*Trav.* 75); Sāṭvikangikabhāvarasaviveka (*Ibid.* 172); Ṭṛtīyapuruṣārṭhasaraṇi.[9]

924. HALAYUDHA's Kavirahasya is really a guide to poets. It is called Kaviguhya or Āpaśabḍābhāsakavya by the commentator Raviḍharma.[10]

कविगुह्यं प्रसवत्याादिभावगम्यमनेकधा ।
यस्य येनोपसर्गेण धातोः कविपदं च यत् ॥
अर्थतरशब्दतो वापि समान् धातून्निबध्नता ।
तथा हलायुधेनेदं कृतं कविरहस्यकम् ॥
आभासन्ति पदान्यत्र प्रचुराण्यपशब्दवत् ।
तद्विषमं स्वभावेन निबन्धनमपेक्षते ॥

* * * *

अपशब्दाभासेऽस्य काव्ये टीकाशतानि चतुर्दशानि ।
रचितानि कविरहस्यं नाम काव्यं समासमिति ॥

"According to a Gujarat copy of the work its hero was one of the Kṛishnas of the Rashtrakuta line, possibly the first of that name (A.D. 760-80)."[11]

1. Cited by Hemāḍri on Raghu (*CC*, I. 103).
2. ,, by Mallināṭha in commentary on Meghaḍuṭa.
3. ,, ,, ,, on Kirāta IX. 71.
4. ,, ,, ,, on Māgha, XV. 89.
5. ,, ,, ,, on Raghu, VI. 12.
6. ,, ,, ,, on Kum, VI. 40.
7. ,, by Nārāyaṇa in commentary on Gīṭagovinḍa, V. 2.
8. ,, by Vāsuḍeva in commentary on Karpuramanjarī (*TC*, III. 3055).
9. It is about 400 years old and quotes several mediæval poets of 900-1300 A.D.
10. See Int. to Kāvyamīmāmsā (*GOS*), 1934 Edn, ix-x. Ed. with commentary, Bombay.
11. Bhandarkar inclines to identify the author of the Kavirahasya with the Halāyuḍha who wrote the Abhiḍhānaraṭnamālā, but Weber places the latter about the end of the eleventh century. *PR*, 1883-4, p. 9.

SECTION 2.

Yasobhusana.

925. A mode of composition, which may be styled Yaśobhūṣaṇa, was directly designed by Viḍyānāṭha, in which was attained a double purpose of a treatise on poetics and a eulogy of the poet's patron or deity of devotion. Uḍbhata inaugurated it in a way, when he imbedded the story of Pārvaṭī's wedding in illustration of his tenets of Alankāra.

But it was Viḍyāṇāṭha that developed the idea and called his work PRATAPARUDRA-YASOBHUSANA.

926. Vidyanatha was a poet of the Court of King Praṭāparuḍraḍeva of Ekaśilānagara of the Kākaṭiya dynasty (Warrangal),[1] who ruled between 1268 and (1319?) 1328 A.D.[2] The term Viḍyānāṭha appears now to be a mere appellation granted or assumed for proficiency in arts and behind that appellation is the name of AGASTYA[3]

1. For this word see Sewell's *Sketches of the Dynasties of Southern India*, 32.

2. Praṭāparuḍra also called Vīraruḍra or Ruḍra was the son of Mahāḍeva and Mummidiamba. He had a boar as a sign in his flag and he bore the title of Chalamartiganda. He was a patron of letters and it is said there were 200 poets in his Court. Among them was Mallikārjunabhatta who wrote Niroṣṭhya-Rāmāyaṇa. Sewell (*l.c.*) gives dates 1295 to 1323 A.D. Seshagiri Sastri (*SR*, II. 82) gives dates 1268 to 1319 A.D. For inscriptions referring to him and Kakaṭiyas, see *EI*, III. 84, 94; V. 148; VII. 128-32; VIII. 166-7; *IA*, XI, 9-20; XXI. 197; Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, II. 114, 172. K. P. Trivedi gives the following genealogy as made up from these inscriptions and from Praṭāparudrīya;—

Betma (Ṭribhuvanamalla)
|
Prola (Jagatikesarin)
|
├── Ruḍra (1182 A.D.)
└── Mahāḍeva
    |
    Ganapaṭi (1231, 1250 A.D)
    |
    Ganapambā (1250 A D)
    |
    Ruḍramba (known as Ruḍra)
    |
    Mummaḍambā (Mahadeva)
    |
    Prataparuḍra (A.D. 1298, 1299, 1315, 1316, 1317).

For the later history of the dynasty, see Sewell (*l. c.* 32). W. W. Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XIII. 521 and new edition XXIV. 358. For a general account of Kākaṭiyas by Seshadri and Ramana, see Andhra Patrika Annual No. (1921-22) 163-8 and Jl. of Andhra History Society.

3. This is inferred from the following verse in the Praṭāparuḍriyam (Bombay Edn. p. 91).

औन्नत्यं etc., quoted in para 126 *supra*.

who is known as the author of several works and as having been honoured by the Kings of Vijayanagar.

927. His PRATAPARUDRAYASOBHUSANAM shortly called Praṭāparudrīyam is an elaborate treatise on poetics with illustrations in praise of his patron. This mode of panegyric imbedded in a work of instruction is a new device of Viḍyanāṭha's creation. In dealing with the canons of dramaturgy he has ingeniously interposed a model play known as Praṭāparuḍrakalyāṇam, which performs at once the functions of apt illustration of the technique of the Sanskrit play and of giving a description of the goodnesses and exploits of Praṭāparuḍraḍeva. The object of the work is avowedly to show how the importance of composition depends on the apt characterisation of the merits of the hero. Accordingly the first Prakaraṇa classifies heroes and heroines and describes their qualities. The second Prakaraṇa propounds the nature of poetry and the several species of poetic composition. The third Prakaraṇa contains the model drama, describing the coronation of Praṭāparuḍra and his glorious rule and conquests. The fourth Prakaraṇa deals with Rasas, the next two with the faults and merits of composition and the last three with figures of speech.

This treatise has been very popular among later writers and is specially in Southern India never missed as a text book in rhetorical study. It is profusely quoted by Mallināṭha and it was apparently that appeciation by Mallināṭha that made his son Kumāraswāmin write a commentary on it. Appaya Ḍīkṣiṭa criticised some of these views in his Ciṭrmīmāmsā, but these criticisms were answered by Viśveśvara in his Alankārakausṭubha.

There are two commentaries[1] on it now extant, Raṭnaśāṇa and Ratnāpaṇa. Raṭnaśāṇa[2] is the work of Ṭirumalācārya of Sukavāta (Cilakamarṭi) family. He was the son of Rāmānujācārya and lived at Rāmaṭīrṭha near Kotipalli in Godavari District in the 18th century A.D. He mentions another work of his Hemanṭaṭilakabhāṇa[3] and he

1. Ed. *BSS*, by K. P. Trivedi and at Madras.

2. The first two prakaraṇams have been published in *BSS*, (l. c.). The rest is in Ms. *TC*, II. 8650.

3. The following verse is quoted at page 521 *l. c.*

शुद्धमर्थमर्थचित्रं तु मदीये हेमन्ततिलकभाणे :—

आहृतवसुः प्रतीच्या भानुः क्षिप्तोऽपराब्धिजलमध्ये ।
कथमपि पूर्वाब्धिगतो भ्रु.........मुद्रो भुवनानाम् ॥

wrote a commentary on the Kuvalayānanda also.[1] Ratnāpaṇa of Kumāraswāmi, son of Mallinātha,[2] is replete with illustrative quotations.

928. Vidyadhara wrote Ekavali[3] on the lines of the Kāvyaprakāśa, with Kārikas followed by an explanation in eight parts called Unmeṣas. Vidyādhara mentions Harihara and the prince Arjuna, from whom he got amazing wealth, who must have been the King of Malwa of that name who ruled early in 13th century A.D. Harihara, a Jaina poet named Madanakīrti, and Someśvara the author of the Kīrtikaumudī and Vastupāla were contemporaries and Vastupāla died in 1242 A.D. The illustrative verses are in praise of Narasimha, a King of Utkala and Kalinga, which means the modern Orissa and the province bordering on it to the south called Kalinga.[4]

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1. *TC*, II. 2695. Is his name Umāmaheśvara ? (*Mys*, 297).

2. Printed Madras. On Mallinātha, see para. 31 *supra*. In a commentary on the Campurāmāyaṇa called Padayojana (*DC*, XXI. 8212) by Venkatanārāyaṇa, Kumāraswāmin is described as the son of Peddibhatta, brother of Mallinātha. Venkatanārāyaṇa was a descendant of the family and gives the genealogy thus:

Mallinātha (honored by Vīrarudra)
|
Kapardin (author of Śrautakārikas)
|
Mallinātha — Peddubhatta (Mahopādhyāya commentator on Naiṣadha)
|
Kumāraswāmin.

For further information see K. P. Trivedi, (*l c*) xxii-v. While Kumāraswāmi says in his preface to Ratnāpaṇa that he was son of Mallinātha, his word must be preferred to that of Venkatanārāyaṇa, a descendant of several generations from Kumāraswāmi.

3. Ed. by K. V. Trivedi, *BSS*, Bombay with a valuable introduction.

4. Beginning:

प्रालेयाचलकन्यकाकुचतटीपत्रावलीशिल्पिना प्रेङ्खत्फालविलोचनानलशिखानिष्पीतचेतोभुवः ।
देवस्येन्दुविभूषणस्य रुचिरं पादारविन्दद्वयं युष्मान् पातु सुरासुरेश्वरशिरोरत्नांशुकिञ्जल्कितम् ॥

End: प्रतिभटटङ्काभुजतटमकरीलुण्टाकचापटङ्कारः ।
वीरनृसिंह इवाजौ वीरनृसिंहश्चिरं जयति ॥

अत्र लाटानुप्रासेन सहानन्वयस्य एकवचनानुप्रवेशेन सङ्करः ॥

Colophon: इति श्रीमतो महामहेश्वरस्य कवेर्विद्याधरस्य कृतौ एकावलीनाम्न्यलङ्कारशास्त्रेऽर्थालङ्कारनिरूपणं नामाष्टमोन्मेषः ॥

Śrī Vaidya Vidyādhara, author of Kelirahasya (*CC*, I. 125) is a different author. There are poets Vidyādhara, son of Lulla and Vidyādhara, son of Śaṣkatasukhavarman quoted in Subhāṣitāvali.

929. Vidyādhara calls Narasimha Hammira-mada-mardana i.e., to have humbled the pride of Hammīra. "Of Hamiras, three are known. The first belonged to the Harauti branch of the Chohan family and appears not to have been a person of note. He was a dependant of Prithviraja and was killed in 1193 A.D. As the terminus ad quo for Vidyadhara who must have been a protege of Narasimha, as no poet bestows such fulsome praise on a deceased prince, is, as shown above, the early decades of the 13th century, this Hammira cannot have been Narasimha's contemporary. Besides, Orissa was not ruled over by a king of that name from 1024 to 1237 A.D. Another Hammira was the prince who belonged to the Gehlote family and was, as stated in the introduction to the Rasikapriya, an ancestor of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapata or Mewar and reigned from 1301 A.D. to 1365 A.D. A third was the king of Sakambari of the race of Chahuvana mentioned by Sarngadhara in the beginning of his anthology and represented by him to have been famous for his bravery which equalled that of Arjuna. He is the hero of the Hammira Mahakavya of Nayachandrasuri and is represented to have begun to reign in 1339 of Vikrama Samvat, i.e., 1283 A.D. It was this Hammira who defended the fortress of Ranthambhor (Ranastambapura) with bravery against Allauddin Khilji for more than a year and fell at last when it was taken in the year 1301 A.D. Both these princes bearing the name of Hammira were famous. But as the Chohan prince is represented by Nayachandra as having attempted the conquest of southern countries, he was probably the Hammira alluded to by Vidyadhara.

From the last of the kings of Orissa given by Sir W. W. Hunter and copied by Mr. Sewell in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, it appears that there was a Narasimha who ruled over the country from 1282 A.D. to 1307 A.D.[1] If the Hammira alluded to was the Mewar prince of that name, our Narasimha may have been the one who reigned from 1307 to 1327. There were two more Narasimhas after 1327, but they reigned for only 2 years and 1 year respectively, and therefore neither can have been the hero panegyrised by Vidyadhara. There was another still, who reigned from 1257 to 1282. But he has been excluded by the whole trend of our argument. Thus then the Ekavali was written about the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era."

1. On Narasimhadeva, see *JASB*, LXIV. 132; LXV. 232. There were according to Sewell (i) Kesari Narasimha, 1282-1307 A.D. (ii) Pratāpa Narasimha, 1307-1327 A.D. and Nrsimha II of the inscriptions 1280-1314 A.D.

930. Ekāvali is quoted by Appayya Ḍīkṣiṭa by Jagannāṭha and Śingabhūpāla.

'The commentary called Tarala, or central gem, of Ekavāli, or one-stringed necklace, is by Mallināṭha, the celebrated commentator on the Kāvyas. In the sixth of the verses given below, which has a double sense, the commentator says that 'this Ekavali, though a work of merit and an ornament, was because it had not a commentary, (this Ṭarala), kept or secreted in treasure-houses as a necklace is, because it has not the central gem. Now that Ekāvali necklace has a bright central gem in the shape of an elucidatory commentary (Ṭarala), may blessed persons wear it round the neck and on the bosom, that is, get the work by heart and commit it to memory! It would thus appear that the Ekavali was not for some time studied and the work was neglected because it had no commentary; from which it is to be concluded that Mallinatha wrote the Tarala after a certain period had elapsed since the composition of the original."

Viḍyāḍhara was therefore almost a contemporary of Viḍyānāṭha and not improbably a rival on the field. It looks as if the name Viḍyāḍhara was assumed to vie with the name Viḍyānāṭha. It is noteworthy that while Mallināṭha commented on Ekavali, his son Kumāraswāmin commented on Praṭāparuḍrayaśobhūṣaṇa.

931. This mode of composition of rhetorical panegyrics has been fruitful in later imitations. The idea of flattering patrons was by some rhetoricians considered too vulgar and temporal and while adopting this mode of composition they used it in praise of deities of their particular devotion.[1]

932. Dharma or Dharmasudhi or Ḍharmabhatta was born at Pedapulivarru on the Kṛṣṇa.[2] He was a Telugu Brahmin of Velanati sect of Hariṭagoṭra and son of Parvaṭanāṭha and Yellamāmbā. He lived at Benares and his descendants are known as of Vāraṇāsi family. In his later days he became an ascetic and took the name of Rāmānanḍa or Goviṇḍānanḍasarasvaṭi. He was a devotee of Rāma and in his

1. In Rupa's Ujjvalanilamaṇi and Bhakṭirasāmrṭisinḍhu (*TC*, IV. 4434) and in Lakṣmīpati's Kṛṣṇālaukāraḍarpaṇa and in the anonymous Bhakṭirasarāt (*TC*, IV. 4529) (*Mys.* 639) the illustrations are in praise of Śrikṛṣṇa; in Raghupaṭirahasyaḍipikā (*Adyar*, II. 37), the verses adore Rāma.

2. See article by Srirangam Somesvarasastri in *Andhrapatrika*, Annual Number (1926-7.) and by V. Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati* (1931), 192. Aufecht (*CC*, I. 268) mentions another work Pancaṭanṭrakāvya.

philosophical writings understands Rāma as the Supreme Being. His brother Nārāyaṇa was a vedic scholar and his grandfather of all-round literary merit.[1] He lived in the 16th century A.D. He was particularly great in nyāya, but the attraction of nyāya did not affect his love of poetry and rhetoric. In his Sāhityaratnâkara, an extensive treatise on rhetoric, he expressed his devotion by illustrations in praise of Rāma. He blamed poets like Vidyānatha and Vidyādhara who for mercenary motives extolled kings in their writings on poetics and himself illustrated his precepts by the story of Rāma. He wrote a gloss on Śankarabhāṣya, Ratnaprabhā. His Kṛṣṇāstuti eulogises the river Kṛṣnā. His Hamsa-sandeśa is a prakrit poem. His vyāyoga, Narakāsuravadha, describes the heroic story of the slaying of Narakāsura. His Bālabhāgavata is a poem on the early life of Kṛṣna. There are commentaries on Sāhitya-ratnākara,[2] Naukā by Carla Venkatasāstrin,[3] Mandara by Malladi Lakṣmaṇasūri,[4] and Naukā by Madhusūdanamiśra Śarmā.[5]

933. In Alankāramaṇihāra, Śri Kṛṣṇa (Parakālaswāmi) has illustrations in praise of God Śrīnivāsa of Tirupati. So is his Locanollāsa.[6]

Śathakopālankāraparicaryā[7] is anonymous and describes various figures of speech with illustrations in praise of Śathakopa known as Nammālwar, the Vaiṣṇava Saint.[8] So is Śathavairivaibhavadivākaram by Maranganti Narasimhācārya.[9]

934. Sudhindrayogin's Alankāranikaṣa is a short work on Arthālankaras with examples in praise of Sudhīndrayogin, a Madhwa

1. In *HR*, I, No. 297 the gencology thus gireen.

Tripurāri of Benares
- Dharma;
  - Nārayana
  - Parvateśa;
    - Dharmasuri
  - Rāma

2. See paper by E. Veeraraghavacharyulu in *JASSP*, VI. 291.
3. Printed, Ellore; *DC*, XXII. 8712.
4. Printed, Benares, Orissa. He was patronised by Balabhadradeva (Gangā) Chief of Orissa. He also wrote poems Māyāśabarivilāsa and Hanumat-sandeśa-tārāvali.
5. Printed, Madras and Nellore. He died just before 1900 in Godavari District. He also wrote a commentaries on Campubhārata and Kāvyaprakāśa (Printed, Madras.).
6. See para 211 *supra*. His Locanollāsa is printed *Jl. Mys. Sans. College*, 1935.
7. *TC*, II. 2310.
8. See para 211, supra.
9. *Mys*, 303. He lived in Vizagapatam district, probably at Śimhācalam.

ascetic, disciple of Vijayindrayati.[1] Sudhindra wrote also the play Subhadrāpariṇayam while his master wrote the play Subhadrādhananjayam.[2] He lived in 17th century in Tanjore and was honored by king Raghunātha Naik.

VISVESVARA'S CAMATKARACANDRIKA is a similar work in which the illustrations are in praise of Śingabhūpāla who ruled at Rājācala about 1330 A.D.[3] Nāganātha was pupil of Viśveśvara. He wrote the play Madanavilāsa in honour of Māca, son of Sarvagna Singa of Recarla family.[4] He was the author of an inscription dated Saka 1291 (1369) during the reign of Anapoṭa.

In his Kaviṭāvaṭāra[5] composed about 1425 A.D. Puruṣoṭṭamasudhi has illustrations in praise of Nāgābhūpāla. Nāga was the grandson of Māca, the ruler of Gangāpura of about 1400 A.D.

935. Sahityaçudamani is ascribed to Vīranārāyaṇa but was is in fact composed by some poet of his Court in 7 chapters and the illustrations are addressed to Vīranārāyaṇa. Viranārāyaṇa or Peda Komati Vema lived in the beginning of the 15th century *A.D.*[6]

936. Bhairavosahanavarasaratna contains 41 verses depicting the nine Rasas, The hero is a prince named Bhairavasāha, son of Praṭāpa of the Raṣtraudha or Rāthor race, whose capital was Mayūrādri.[7]

937. KRSNAYAJVAN's Raghunāṭhabhūpālīyam as a similar work illustrating the greatness of Raghunāṭha Naik who ruled at Tanjore at

1. *DC.* XXII. 8713. There is Alankāramanjāri by Sudhindrayaṭi, (*Tanj*, IX. 3971).

2. *DC.* XXI. 8560. 8561. Vijayendra commented on Ṭrimalabhatta's Alankāramanjari, *Tanj*, IX. 3973.

3. *TC.* III. 3813. Eggeling, *Cat.* VII. 1507-8. He was the disciple of Kāśīśvaramiśra, the author of Rasamīmāmsa. See para 906 *supra.*

4. *TC.* II. 2619. See para 889 *supra.*

5. *TC.* III. 3037 ; *Tanj.* IX. 3992.

6. *CC.* I. 715. See para 482 *supra.* It is called Sāhiṭyacinṭāmāṇi in *DC.* XXII. 8708 ; *Mys.* 304.

7. " In the Kirtikaumudi, a Pratapamalla of the Rashtrakuta race is mentioned as a dependent of the Chaulukyas of Anahilapattana. Rashtrakuta is the sanskrit form of Rashtraudha or Rathor, but whether this Pratapamalla was the same as the father of our hero cannot be determined with certainty. Bhairavasaha is in some of the verses called Bahirammasaha which looks like a thoroughly Mahomedan name. But it is not impossible that a Rajput may have adopted it."

the end of the 17th century. There is commentary by Sudhīndra.[1] Likewise are Sāhityaratnākara and Alankāraratnākara of Yagnanārāyaṇa.[2]

Yajneśvara[3] was the son of Kondubhatta and nephew of Lakṣmīdhara of Cerukūri family. He wrote Alankārarāghava, Alankārasūryodaya[4] and a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa[5] and lived about 1600 A.D.

Kāśīlakṣmaṇa's Sāharajīyam[6] illustrates the merits of King Shahji of Tanjore (1684-1711). So is Guṇaratnakara of Narasimha in praise of king Sārabhoji of Tanjore (1712-1727).[7]

Devaśankara Purohita's Alankāramanjūṣa illustrates Alankāras with the glories of Peshwas Madhava Rao I and his uncle Raghunātha Rao (17 -1768 A.D.)[8] He was the son of Natanabhai and lived at Uratpattana near Surat.

938. In Kṛṣṇarājajayaśodindima, Anantārya, son of Singayārya, illustrates the greatness of Kṛṣṇarāja of Mysore (1714-1731 A.D.) It is quoted in his work on poetic conventions, Kavisamayakallola.[9]

Mangaleśa's Vibhaktivilāsam[10] with a commentary on it Darpaṇa, is a small poem in 31 verses eulogising a Vijayaramanṛpāla of the Pusapāti race, Zamindar of Vizianagaram. The verses illustrate the rules of poetics as well as the grammatical sūtras of Pāṇini.

In his NANJARAJAYASOBHUSANAM[11] in seven Ullāsas Nṛsimhakavi illustrates the greatness of Nanjarāja,[12] son of Vīrabhūpa of the family of Kaluve.

Nṛsimha was the son of Śivarāma and friend of Alur Tirumalakavi.[13] He bore the title of Abhinavakālidāsa while his friend

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1. *TC*, I. 896: *Mys. Sup.* 14. There is a commentary on it by Sudhindrayati. See paras 146 and 150 *supra*. *TC*, III. 4037.
2. See para 150 *supra*. It is a poem in 16 cantos. Ed. Madras. *Tanj.* IX. 3974.
3. *Tanj.* IX. 3975; *Mys.* 296; *CC*, I. 32, II. 171.
4. *Tanj.* IX. 3981; *SR*, II. 65. He commented on his son Venkateśvara's Citrabandharāyaṇa. *Tanj*, VI. 2728-31. See para 341 *supra*.
5. *DC*, XXII. 8623. Lakṣmīdhara commented on Gitagovinda and lived about 1570 A.D.
6. *Tanj.* IX 4094; *Mys.* 304.
7. *Tanj*, IX. 4023. See para 164 *supra*.
8. *CC*, II. 6; *BR*, (1887-91), lxiii (b).
9. There is his Kṛṣṇarājakalodaya, *Mys.* 299; *DC*, XXII. 8613.
10. *TC*, IV. 4324. He belonged to Nidrminti family of Vizagapatam District.
11. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda. *DC*, XXII. 8668; *Trav.* 71; *CC*, I. 275; *TC*, I. 30,
12. He wrote Hālāsyamāhatyam in Telugu prose.
13. *SR*, I. 5, 82.

Tirumalakavi was called Abhinava-Bhavabhūṭi. He also wrote a drama Canḍrakalāpariṇaya. Nanjarāja was minister and commander of the Mysore forces and was practically the king-maker of Mysore from 1734 to 1770 A.D.[1]

939. In Alankārasūṭrasangaṭi, a pupil of Mankha, the illustrations are in praise of King Ravivarman, who wrote Praḍyumnābhyuḍaya.

In Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam[2] Saḍāsīvamakhin describes the greatness of Rāmavarma Kulaśekhara Vancipāla (Karṭika Tirunal) who ruled in Ṭravancore in 1758-1798 A.D..[3] The author was the son of Cokkanātha[4] and Mīnākṣī of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. In the chapter on drama a model drama Vāsulakśmīkalyanam is imbedded describing the

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1. On Naujarāja, see Sewel's *FE*, 236-267; S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's *Ancient India*, 305-308.

2. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, V. 18. Called Bālarāmavamayaśobhuṣaṇa in *Trav.* 71.

3. He was the nephew of king Mārṭandavarman and author of the dramatic treatise Bālarāmabharaṭam. See *Trav, Arch. Series*, IV. III; V. 18. It was his nephew and successor Rāmavarman who wrote Rukmiṇipariṇayam.

4. "We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanatha at the end of the 17th century; *viz.*,

(i) the author of *Sevantikaparinayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin and who mentions a certain Basavakshitindra, in his drama.

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhishthiravijayam* of Vāsudeva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sundarsana-Bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvājagotra and a native of Sattaur; and

(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita (1693).

Of these No. i refers to Nilakantha-Makhin and was the auther of कान्तिमतीपरिणयम् composed at the instance of Shājirāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th centry. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa-Nāyaka of Ikkeri (1697 1714) and a chief named Basavarajendra (*c.* 1700 A.D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author. (*JMy.* X. p. 257); but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja-gotra to identify him with Sadāsiva's father.

No. ii is of that *gotra* and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama, month Nabhas (Sravana), Revati, Monday. *ba.* tritiya, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 936 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāsiva's father. Sadāsiva must have composed his *Yasobhushanam* in the early part of his patron's reign." See para 161 supra.

marriage of Rāmavarma with Vasulakṣmi, the daughter of the king of Sindhu.[1] Sadāśiva also wrote a drama Lakṣmīkalyāṇam.[2]

In praise of the same king Sadāśiva wrote thus ;[3]

यदृच्छासल्लापैः समधिगतषट्तन्त्रविभवैः
चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सपदि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
कवीन् धिन्वन् गानक्रमविवरणाद्गायकवरान्
परिष्कुर्वन् वञ्चिक्षितिपतिलकोऽयं विजयते ॥

In the Court of the same king Bālarāma Varman, Maharaja of

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1. This is the plot:

"The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmi and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Ramavarma-Kulaśekhara, whose accomplishment were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhala, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardurgapala*) Vasumadraja, the brother of the king's consort, Vasumati. The ship-wrecked princess was then sent by this captain to to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Ramavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāndya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidushaka, who in the disguise of the Pandya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhuraja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nītisagara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of King Ramavaman with Vasulakshmi which happuy coincides with his own inclinations.

2. अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्कनाथयज्वनः तनूजस्य मीनाक्षीगर्भशुक्तिमुक्तामणेः सदाशिवयज्वनः कृतिः अभिनवं लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

सतां मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां
विपक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विधेः ।
गतेऽस्तं मार्त्तण्डे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनकः
कलासिन्धू राजा हृदयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

This describes the late king Martāndavarman.

3. See on this author chapter on Sangita *post*,

Travancore (1758-1798 A.D.)[1] flourished KALYANA or KALYANA SUBRAHMANYA. He was the son of Subrahmanya and grandson of Gopāla. "He was a Smarta Brahmin of Paritalam in Central Travancore and was popularly known as Paritalam Subrahmanya Sastri. After education under the Rajas of Paritalam, went over to Trivandrum and composed ALANKARAKAUSTUBHA,[2] on the model of the great Appayya Dikshita's Kuvalayananda and Visvesvara's Alankarasarvasva and deals, like them, with Arthalankaras alone. He illustrates the figures of speech by verses in praise of the sovereign or his family deity, Sri Padmanabha. In the troublous times that followed the death of the illustrious patron, Kalyana Subrahmanya went over to Cranganore to teach Sanskrit to the young princes there and lived under the patronage of the Cranganore Rajas till peace returned to Travancore with the accession of Rani Lakshmi to the masnad. He was then invited to Trivandrum and passed his remaining years as the court pandit of Travancore. In 1814 he was directed by the Darbar to translate Vyavaharamala, a well-known Sanskrit work on law into Malayalam." He passed away somewhere about 1820.

Kalyāṇa also wrote Paḍmanābhavijaya. Here is a verse from Alankārakausṭubha :

रराजन्मधुराधरां प्रविलसच्चोळां कनत्कुन्तलां
कास्मीरांगविभूषणातिललितां काञ्चीगुणालंकृताम् ।
क्षोणीं श्रीरघुरामवन्निरुपमां रत्नाकरोरूर्मिकां
जालां तामानुरञ्जगत्वनुदिनं श्रीरामवर्मप्रभुः ॥

This King Rāmavarman was thus praised by the youngest brother of Edavettikattu Nambūḍri in his poem Rukmiṇīpariṇaya :

राजा किमिन्दुरपि नार्यभिमानहारी राजा परं विजयते भुवि रामवर्मा ।
नालीकभङ्गकृदतीव नदीनबन्धुर्निक्षत्रपो नवसुधाविभवैकहेतुः ॥

Among his friends and poets at the same court were Ḍevarāja and Rāmāpaṇivaḍa. Their works have been noticed.[3] They were

1. BALA is ordinarily added to the name of every ruler of Travancore and that the two predecessors of the sovereign referred to by the author were known as Bāla Mārtāṇda Varma (Vide Travancore Archeological Series, Vol. I, pages 27 and 40) and Bālārama Varma (Vide the Kakkur grant). See Travancore State Manual, I. 417.

2. *SR*, 1. 80, 231 ; *DC*, XXII. 8601 ; *Trav.* 70. There are other works of this name by Viśveśvara (*CC*, I. 31) and by Śriśaila Venkata (*Mys.* 298) by Śrinivāsa and by Kavikarṇapura (*CC*, I. 31) and Alankārakausṭubha (*Rice*, 280).

3. He was of Mārār caste and not of Warior caste as stated in para 177 *supra*.

also patronised by King Mārtānda Varman (1729-1758 A.D.) of Travancore. Besides a treatise on drama, Rāmapāṇivāḍa wrote the plays Candrikā, Līlāvatī, Laliṭarāghavīya, Sītārāghava and Pādukāpaṭṭābhiṣeka.

940. Krsnasudhi was son of Śivarāma and grandson of Upaḍraṣṭṛ Pandita Nārāyaṇa Sāstrin, probably a descendant of Jagannātha Panditarāja. He lived at Uttaramerur near Conjeevaram. He wrote Kāvyakalānidhi in Kali 4957 (1855 A.D.) with illustrations in praise of king Rāmavarman of Kollam.[1]

ARUNAGIRI KAVI wrote Goḍāvarmayaśobhūṣaṇam with verses in praise of king Goḍāvarman of Travancore.[2]

941. Alankāramanjarī of unknown authorship contains illustrations in praise of Rāmacandra, a Zamindar of Kākarlapūdi family, Vizagapatam District, of the 18th century A.D.[3]

In RAMACANDRAYASOBHUSANA, Kachapeśvara Dīkṣiṭa eulogises Bommarāja, Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Madras, who lived in the first part of the 19th century A.D. In three chapters he deals with Śṛngāra, rasa and bhāva. He was the son of Vāsuḍeva and lived at Brahmadeśa, a village in the N. Arcot District.[4]

In ALANKARAMAKARANDA, Kolluri Rājaśekhara treats of poetics (called a Kāvya) with illustrations in praise of Rāmeśvara, ruler of Manna and son of Kāmākṣī and Viśveśa of Anapindi family, Guntur District.[5]

RAMAKRSNA'S Yaśavanṭayaśobhūṣaṇa is an eulogy of Yaśvanṭa, a prince of Rājaputāna.[6]

Alankārasarvasva of unknown authorship as available is incomplete and refers to a rhetorical work by the author's teacher in praise of king Gopālaḍeva.[7]

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1. *TC*, IV. 4209.
2. *Trav.* 24.
3. *TC*, III. 2985.
4. *DC*, XXII. 8690. In that court was the poet Kuravi Rāma.
5. *TC*, III. 3130. The author quotes from Camatkāracandrikā. He is also the author of Sāhityakalpadru; see *Ibid*, III. 2895.
6. In praise of the Rajās of Ulwar, Māṇikyamaiṭhila wrote Vākhāteśvarakāvya and Gargadina wrote Vinayasimhakīrtiratna.
7. *Ulwar*, 964, 970.

Cavali RAMASASTRIN'S KUVALAYAMODA is a similar work with illustrations in favour of the poet's patron Raja Simhādri Jagapaṭi Rao of Peddapur, who lived in 1853–1911 A.D.

942. **Venkata Sastrin** was the son of Ānivilla Yajnanārāyaṇa of Kākaraparṭi agrahāram,[1] in West Godavari District. Proficient in all sāśṭras he was honoured by valuable gifts by the Jagapaṭi Mahārāja of Peddāpuram and Nīlāḍri Mahārāja of Ḍārlapūdi. Besides Māheśvaramahākāyam, Saṭīśaṭakam, Bhāskarapraśasṭi and Rukminīpariṇayam (poems) and Alankārasuḍhāsinḍhu and Rasaprapanca, he wrote APPARAYAYASASCANDRODAYAM with illustrations in praise of Meka Venkata Narasimha Appąrao, Zamindar of Nuzvid,[2] and was presented with the agrahāram of Vallurūmalli in 1745 A.D. There he performed Somayāga and wrote glosses on Śrauṭasūṭra. His son NARAYANA wrote a similar work Sāhiṭyakalpaḍrumam and dedicated it to the Zamindar Jagannāṭha Appārao of Nuzvid.[3] Nārāyaṇa's son VENKATA known as Bālakāliḍāsa dedicated his Ciṭracamaṭkāramanjarī to Sri Vaṭsavāyi Ṭimma Jagapaṭi Mahārāja of Peddapur and wrote also Sūryasṭava, full of ciṭra. Ānivilla Venkataśāsṭrin's pupil, Carla Venkataśāstrin, son of Lakṣmaṇa, wrote a similar work, Venkaṭāḍrīyam, as also Naukā, the commentary as Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara.

943. **Carla Bhasyakara Sastrin** of Lohiṭyagoṭra also lives at Kākaraparti Agrahāram in West Godavari, Madras. He is a unique relic of old-day Sanskrit scholarship and in the mastery of grammar, lexicons and poetics he is probably without an equal. Venkataśāsṭrin who was the donee of the agraharam aforesaid was his maternal ancestor. In grateful recollection of that munificent gift, Bhāṣyakāra has now composed a similar work on Alankāra, Mekāḍhīśa-śabḍārṭhakalpaṭaru.

His Mekāḍīśa-Rāmāyaṇa is a hemistich of 16 letters (sloka) which is interpreted by the separation and combination of the letters, so as to

1. To the same place belonged another Venkata Śāsṭri, who lived about 60 years ago and wrote a commentary on Lakṣmisahasram; and also another Venkata Śāsṭri (1860-1918 A.D.) who wrote Sīṭārāmacampu on Rāmāyaṇa and Buḍhamānasollāsa on Bhāgavaṭa.

2. See V. Krishnarao's *History of Nuzvid*. (Andhra Patrika Annual number, 1914, p. 208). Narasimha Apparao lived about 1700 A D. He was son of Venkatāḍri and Venkatāḍri's father built Nuzvid Fort in 1675 A.D. Among the friends of Venkataśāsṭri was Mādabhuṣi Vāḍimaṭṭebhakanthīrava Rāmānujācāryā who wrote a poem Śrīnivāsakāvya.

3. Printed, Nuzvid.

cover the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. His Kankaṇabandha-Rāmāyaṇa, has been noticed.[1] His Vināyakacaritra narrates the story of Syamanṭopākhyāna on the birth of Vināyaka, which is read ceremoniously on Vināyakacaṭurṭhi day.

By an ingenious and intricate splitting up of the letters, consonants and vowels, that are embraced in the term मेकाधीशा (Me-kā-ḍhī-śā), thousands of meanings are made out, so as to illustrate various topics of poetics as dealt with in Pratāparuḍra-Yaśobhūṣaṇa and this is Mekāḍhīśaśābḍārthakalpaṭaru. The commentary rightly describes his versatile learning in these words :—

ये शब्दार्थविचारतत्परधियो ये वा गुणालंक्रिया-
दोषासक्तहृदो विचित्रकवने ये वा ध्वनावुत्सुकाः ।
ये वा भावरसादरास्सुमनसो ये नाटके रागिणः
मेकाधीशपदे तमर्थविषयं पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥

ये साहित्यविशारदास्सुमनसो ये शाब्दिकास्तार्किकाः
ये वा चित्रकवित्वपाटवविदः कार्तांतिकास्तांत्रिकाः ।
येऽलङ्कारविचक्षणास्सुमनसो ये वैद्यका गायकाः
मेकाधीशपदे स्वशास्त्रविषयान् पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥

अथ शृङ्गाररसस्यांकुरितत्वपल्लवितत्वकुसुमितत्वफलितत्वहेतवो द्वादशावस्थाः कथ्यन्ते । ताश्च परिगणिता विद्यानाथेन—

चक्षुःप्रीतिर्मनस्सङ्गस्सङ्कल्पोऽथ प्रलापिता ।
जागरः कार्श्यमरतिर्लज्जा त्यागोऽथ संज्वरः ॥

उन्मादो मूर्छनं चैव मरणं चरमं विदुः ।
अवस्था द्वादश मताः कामशास्त्रानुसारतः ॥

केचित्तु प्रतापज्वरौ त्यक्त्वा दशावस्था इति वदन्ति ।

तत्र चक्षुःप्रीतिर्यथा—

आदरादीक्षणं चक्षुःप्रीतिमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।

मू ॥ मेकाधीशामेकाधीशा

पद ॥ मा-द्-का-आधीशा-मे-काधीशा

1. See para 97 supra.

व्या ॥ इ इति संबोधने मेव मा रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका कर्त्री आधीशा आदृष्टाः आधीशाः मेकाधीशाः यया सा आधीशा मेकाधीशदर्शनवतीत्यर्थः मे ममका भाग्यवत्ता केत्यर्थः इति इतेस्सामर्थ्यलभ्यत्वादप्रयोगः काधीशा कस्य आनन्दस्य आधीशा काधीशा आनन्दवतीत्यर्थः रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका चित्रादौ मेकाधीशान्दृष्ट्वा मदीया भाग्यवत्ता महतीति आनन्दपरवशा बभूवेत्यनेन चक्षुःप्रीतिः ।

मनस्सङ्गो यथा

प्रियैकप्रवणत्वं यन्मनस्सङ्गः प्रकीर्त्यते ।

मू ॥ मेकाधीशामेकाधीशा

पद ॥ मा-इ-का-धीशा-मेकाधीशा

व्या. इ इति संबोधने मेकाधीश मेकाधीशाविषयकमनोव्यथावती व्याख्यातमेतत् मेव रमासमाना का काचिन्नायिका धीशा धियि मनसि धीशब्देन धींद्रियं मनो लक्ष्यते ईशाः मेकाधीशाः यस्यास्सा तथोक्ता, मेकाधीशविषयकमनोव्यथाग्रस्ता, रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका मनसाध्यातमेकाधीशेत्यनेन मनस्सङ्गः ।

944. Sri Yatirajaswami, more fully known as Śrī Yaḍugiri-Yaṭirāja-Sampaṭkumāra-Rāmānuja, is the present head of the Yaṭirāja Mutt at Melkote, Mysore. Before he became a Sanyāsin his name was Ananṭācārya and he was an official of the Mysore Archæological Department. He is a great rhetorician and his dissertations on Bhāmaha etc., are very original. He discovered the first copy of Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa and to him likewise is due the credit of the printed edition of a few chapters on Śṛngāraprakāśa prefixed with a learned introduction.

[In KALIDASA ET L'ART POETIQUE DE L'INDE (ALANKARA SASTRA) [pp. XIV. 360. (Paris 1917)], P. HARI CHAND, Sastri accomplished the collossal task of tracing the verses of Kāliḍāsa in works attributed to him to quotations in several works on Alankāra and has expressed an opinion on their comparative authenticity thus :

"Six works are by universal consent considered the authentic productions of the great poet : the three dramas *Śakuntalā*, *Vikramorvaśi* and *Malavikagnimitra*, the two epics *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumarasambhava*, and the lyric *Meghadūta*. All these are frequently quoted in Alankara works. The *Rtusamhara* is also commonly attributed to Kāliḍāsa, but a strong argument adduced by our author against this attribution is the fact that the treatises on Alankara ignore this poem

completely with a striking unanimity. He has not found a single stanza quoted from it in the whole Alankara literature, though as he justly remarks, descriptions of the seasons would naturally lend themselves to quotation. But when the occasion for such quotation arises, only the undoubted works of Kālidāsa, such as the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Vikramorvaśi*, are drawn upon (pp. 241-2). Dr. Hari Chand further points out that no commentary on the *Rtusamhara* appears till the eighteenth century while the *Meghadūta*, the *Raghuvamśa*, and the *Kumarasambhava*, were already commented upon in the tenth century. An anthology of the fifteenth century is the first work to cite stanzas from the *Rtusamhara*, two under the name of Kālidāsa.]

CHAPTER XXV.

Bharata.

945. **Bharata's Natyasastra** is probably the earliest extant work in music and dancing. The name of Bharaṭa appears in two forms Vṛḍḍha Bharaṭa[1] or Āḍibharaṭa and Bharaṭa merely. There are two works Nāṭyaveḍāgama and Nāṭyaśāsṭra. The former is called Ḍvāḍaśasāhasrī[2] and the latter Satsāhasrī,[3] about half the former in volume. Ḍvāḍaśaśāhasrī is likely the work of Vṛḍḍhabharaṭa and as only sixty-three chapters of it are available now, it is not possible to verify quotations as from Vṛḍḍhabharaṭa from the manuscript.

"Satsahasri and Dvadasasahasri" says Śāraḍāṭanaya "were simultaneous compositions, the former being meant as an epitome of the latter":

एकं द्वादशसाहस्रैश्श्लोकैरेकं तदर्धतः ।
षड्भिश्श्लोकसहस्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य संग्रहः ॥ (*Bhav.* 287).

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1. Bharaṭa Vṛḍḍha is quoted by Śāraḍāṭanaya thus:

एवं हि नाट्यवेदेऽस्मिन् भरतेनोच्यते रसः ।
तथा भरतवृद्धेन कथितं गद्यमीदृशम् ॥

"यथा नानाप्रकारैर्व्यञ्जनौषधैः पाकविशेषैश्च संस्कृतानि व्यञ्जनानि मधुरादिरसानामन्यतमेनात्मना परिणमन्ति तद्भोक्तृणां मनोभिस्तादृशात्मतया स्वाद्यन्ते तथा नानाप्रकारैर्विभावादिभावैरभिनवैस्सह यथार्हमभिवर्धिताः स्थायिनो भावाः सामाजिकानां मनसि रूसात्मना परिणमन्तस्तेषां तादात्विकमनोवृत्तभेदभिन्नास्तत्तद्रूपेन तैरस्यन्ते (*Bhav.* 36.)

Says Bahurupamiśra in his commentary on Daśarupa (I. 62):

समाप्यमानमेकस्मिन्नङ्केऽन्यार्थत्वसूचनम् ।
समाप्यति हि नाट्यज्ञैरङ्कावतार इष्यते ॥

इति द्वादशसहस्रीकारः—

2. *Trav*, VI. 12; *Tanj*. XVI. 7223. The book called Bharaṭarasaprakāśanam published in Madras with Telugu meaning deals with Rasa and Bhāva and it is attributed to Bharaṭa. While Nāṭyaśāsṭra deals with eight rasas, that book refers to nine rasas including Śānṭa. This portion may have formed part of Dvāḍaśasāhasrī.

3, Bahurupamiśra (*Das*. I. 61) has: सूत्राणां संकलाङ्काणां ज्ञेयमङ्कमुखं बुधैः । इति षट्सहस्रीकारः ।

Dhanika (IV. 2) has; षट्सहस्रिकृताप्युक्तम् ।

Abinavagupṭa (Baroda Edn. p. 8) has: अपि तु यथावसरं महावाक्यात्मना षट्सहस्रीरूपेण प्रधानतया......निरूप्यते ॥

Even as it is extant, the Nātyaśasṭra, is a very ancient work. It quotes from Aiṇḍravyākaraṇa and Yāska and not Pāṇiṇi. It frequently quotes from earlier literature verses and sūṭras prefaced thus :

अत्रानुवंश्ये आर्ये भवतः । तत्र श्लोकः । etc.

In language and in its treatment of the subject it has the archaic tenor and it is natural that Bharaṭa has come to be mentioned as Bharaṭamuni with divine veneration.

The extant work has itself been called sūṭra, meaning by it a terse and authoritative composition :

Nānyaḍeva has कलानामानि सूत्रकृदुक्तानि यथा—

Abhinavaguptạ says

षट्त्रिंशकं भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन् वन्दे शिवं तितदर्थविवेकि धाम ।

According to the chronology of the Purāṇas, therefore, the antiquity of Bharaṭa would be very great. Fearing that the tendency of modern scholarship is towards a distrust in anything traditional, it may be sufficient to state that barring the epics it is the earliest available literature in Sanskrit of the period when the sciences came to be restated in the garb of poetry, explanatory of sūṭra literature that preceded it.[1]

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1. Ed. M. R. Kavi, *GOS*, Baroda, with Abhinavabhāraṭi : by Sivadatta and in parts by J. Grosset, with a pereface by P. Regnaud, Paris ; and by Hall, Calcutta and by Regnaud, Paris. " The words printed in the end समासश्चायं नन्दिभरतसङ्गीतपुस्तकम् (See S. K. De, *SP*, 24) which have led to much misapprehension are not found in any of the manuscripts I have examined and on the face of it was written by some scribe who knew no grammar."

On this work generally, see S. K. De. *SP*. 80, 23-44 ; H. H. Dhruva, *Natyasastra or Indian Dramatics*, *As. Quar*. II. 349–59 ; H. A. Popley, *The Music of India*, 12 ; Pischel, *Gg. A*, (1885) 753 ; P. R. Bhandarkar, *JA*, XLI, 157 ; H. P. Sastri, *JASB*, V. 352 ; Sten Konow, *Indian Drama*, 2 ; Rapson, *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, tit- *Indian Drama*, V. 886 ; T. Ganapati Sastri (Int. to Pratimanataka xxi–iii (says Natya. śāsṭra was posterior to Bhāsa). These scholars assign this work variously to the period, 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. S.K. De (l.c. 26) says that the work assumed its present shape after several modifications by the end of the 8th century A.D. and this extraordinary conclusion is reached in spite of the admission that before Abhinavaguptạ there were several commentators whose works are now known only from quotations. In another place (l. c. 32) he places the chapter on music and the rest too in the 4th century A. D. (See also IA. XII, 158). Pischel's (l.c.) argument based on reference in the text to Pahlavas comes to be of no value. On Bharaṭa's Rāgāḍhyāya see Andhrapatrika, Annual Number, VII. 155.

"The present work consists of 37 according to the northern or later recension but only 36 according to the southern or earlier texts. The difference lies in the numbering of the chapters, as the southern or older texts combined the 37th with the 36th. Abhinava, the commentator, appears to be the author of this numerical extension of the text, though he himself states that the work consists of 36 chapters. He actually comments upon the 37th chapter also. Should one be tempted to call the excess a copyist's error, it would be an error: for the commentator begins each chapter with a verse in praise of Siva as incorporate of one of the 36 *tattvas* of the *Saiva Siddhanta* in some order while tbe 37th chapter is headed with a verse Indicating *anuttarah* (nothing beyond) a doctrine in Kashmirian Saivaism propounded by Utpaladeva, the commentator's *paramaguru* (teacher's teacher). The reason for this extension of the text is not a mere fanciful device for introducing his Saiva *tattvas*. The subject-matter thus separated from the rest was probably composed by one of the *Vartikakaras*, either Rahulaka, Sini, or Sriharsa. But he himself says in two places that Bharata's work consists of 36 chapters and hence the 37th must be according to him an interpolation by one of the *Vartikakaras*.

Bharata divides the work broadly into four sections based on *abhinayas* or modes of conveyance of the theatrical pleasure to the audience, which pleasure, called *rasa*, is pure and differs from the pleasure we derive from the actual contact with the objects of the world which is always mingled with pain. These modes or *abhinayas* are four, viz. *Sattvika* (conveyed) by the effort of the mind, *Angika* or the natural movement of the organs when any thought is expressed or conveyed, *Vacika*, the delivery through expression and *Aharya*, the dress, deportment, and *Mise-en-scene*. The sage attaches great importance to the first of these modes and deals with it in chapters 6 and 7. Expression of feeling is conveyed to a stranger only by gestures or through the orga ns of speech. Hence *Angika-abhinaya* comes next and is dealt with in chapters 8th to 13th. Then delivery of *vacika* is taken up which extends over chapters 14 to 20. Then comes *aharya*, i.e. dress and scenic appliances and mutual conduct or movements on the stage along with the musical auxiliaries behind the stage to intensify the emotional effect produced on the stage. To this four-fold division of the subject are added chapters on the origin and greatness of the theatrics, the forms of the stage and rules for their construction, and the auspicious ceremonial of the foundation and the opening days. The fourth and fifth chapters treat of *purvaranga*, preliminaries

before the commencement of the actual drama. These include music and dancing in praise of Gods and in averting the evil influence of the demons. The postures recommended in dancing to please the *daityas* are numberless and a selected list of 108 of them called *Karanas*[1] or single postures and 32 selected *Angaharas*, (combinations of two or more of the these *Karanas*) are fully described in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter gives details about the preliminaries. Chapters 35 and 36 are supplementary and deal with the qualifications and behaviour of the actors and actresses on the stage and how the theatrics descended from Heaven to the earth. Thus excluding the preliminary and supplementary chapters the subject proper is dealt with in 29 sections (6 to 34).'

"From time immemorial Bharata's work is considered authoritative on the science of Natya. In spite of the fact that Bharata treated dramaturgy in extenso, he had to summarise the general principles of gita and nrtya in order to add an element of grace in dhruvagana and purvarangavidhi. Though the two latter subjects are only auxiliaries to Natya, Bharata gave them such a comprehensive shape that the writers on those sister sciences had looked upon him as their authority. Bharata has not dealt with ragas. For, in his exhaustive enumeration of jatis where any of the 63 svaras can be chosen as *amsa svara* he has made the field of ragas so wide that it covers almost every raga in the world :—

यत्किंचित् गीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषु स्थितम् ।

He left the choice of a particular raga to the sutradhara himself as befits the occasion. The case is similar in nrtya also. For he has enumerated the general and natural movements of the hand, eye, etc., but their combinations which produce endless variety in each sort are left to the actors to frame new poses without detriment to *rasa* and which have possibility of use in actual life. Bharata has condemned

1. M. R. Kavi says, *l. c* ;—

"In the compartments of the east and west gopuras in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram in South India *karanas* were cut on rocks with appropriate verses from the Natyasastra underneath each of the postures. But unhappily only 93 of the postures were recovered ; the remaining fifteen were either damaged or the compartments altered during the repairs. These postures are found in Bharata's order for about 60 numbers and then owing to masons' or supervisors' ignorance or on account of some subsequent alteration in the construction the remaining 48 are not in the order followed by Bharata. Koppesunjingadeva (Rajasimhadeva, the Great ?) who set up an independent kingdom against the Cholas between 1243 and 1273 A.D. was the patron of the above decorative sculptures."

the use of angikabhinaya for actors of *uttama* or great *sattvic* type. Angika is intended for *adhama* characters and to some extent it is tolerated in the *madhyama* also. So the stand point of Bharata makes him reject much of the technical side of sangita and nrtya."[1]

"There are two main recensions with greater difference purely on exegetic principles. The older recension, so called because the older commentators have used it, was followed by Udbhata and Lollata. The later recension seems to have been adopted by Sankuka, Kirtidhara and was actually used by Abhinavagupta. Undoubtedly, the merit decides the question in favour of the later version. For Abhinavagupta's sole aim is to make the work of Bharata completely based upon the principle of *rasa*; while Nandin and Kohala have imported greater conventions from gita and nrtya into natya i.e., in ordinary parlance they have made the science of stage rather unnatural or more conventional. Both of these recensions have on the other hand longer and shorter versions. Udbhata seems to have followed a shorter version, while Lollata appears to have used the longer or the older recension. Similarly Kirtidhara appears to have followed the longest of the later recension, while Ghantaka seems to have used the shortest. These are only tentative theories based upon certain remarks made in the Abhinavabharati, other commentaries and various works on sangita and natya.

Abhinava's text ends with Chapter XXXVII while most of the others end in XXXVI. The apparent reason for extension of the number, seems to be the introduction of the 36 *tattvas* one for each Chapter by Abhinava and the commentary of the 37th is headed by the verse indicating *anuttaram dhama* of the Pratyabhijna school.

आकाङ्क्षाणां प्रशमनविधेः पूर्वभावावधीनां
धाराप्राप्तस्तुतिगुरुगिरां गुह्यतत्त्वप्रतिष्ठा ।
ऊर्ध्वादन्यः परभुवि न वा यत्समानं चकास्ति
प्रौढानन्तं तदहमधुनानुत्तरं धाम वन्दे ॥

It may be added that Bharata looks upon the science of Natya as an anga to vedic rites allowing all its æsthetic profundity. His treatment of purvaranga (Chs. 4, 5, 29, 31, 32, 34) and of saptagitas (Ch. 31) amply illustrates his conception. Nandin sees an agamic vein in nrtya, gita and natya. Abhinava maintains in a high degree the vedic and æsthetic aspects of natya viewing it from a psychological

1. M. R. Kavi, *l. c.*

perspective, while others mix them up to produce only the pictorial effect."[1]

Abhinavagupṭa represents the three *matas* or schools of Saḍāśiva, Brahma and Bharaṭa and answers an objection that the Bharaṭa-Nāṭya-śāsṭra was the work of some pupil of Bharāṭa embodying the views of Bharaṭa.

यत्तु प्रयोगप्रश्ने प्रत्यक्षेण प्रयोगप्रकटनमुत्तरं स्यादित्याशङ्कां परिहर्तुं कथाग्रहणमिति, तत्त्वसत् । वक्तुमर्हसीत्युक्ते तस्याः कोऽवसरः ? एवं भरतमुनिः परवदात्मानं प्रकल्प्येयन्तं ग्रन्थमभिहितवान् ।

अन्ये त्वियन्तं ग्रन्थं कश्चिच्छिष्यो व्यरीरचन् । तत्र ब्रह्मणेति भरतमुनिः प्रथमश्लोके निर्दिष्टः, कथं ब्रह्मन्नुत्पन्न इत्येतदेवमेकवाक्यत्वेन निर्वहति । तदनन्तरन्तु भवद्भिः शुचिभिरित्यादिभिर्भरतमुनिर्विरचितो ग्रन्थो, मध्येऽत्र षट्त्रिंशदध्याय्यां यानि प्रश्नप्रतिवचनप्रयोजनवचनानि तानि तच्छिष्यवचनान्येवेत्याहुः । तच्चासत् । एकस्य ग्रन्थस्यानेकवक्तृवचनसन्दर्भमयत्वे प्रमाणाभावात्, स्वपरव्यवहारेण पूर्वपक्षोत्तरपक्षादीनां श्रुतिस्मृतिव्याकरणतर्कादिशास्त्रेष्वेकविरचितेष्वपि दर्शनात् । एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतत्रयविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममतसारताप्रतिपादनाय मतत्रयीसारासारविवेचनं तद्ग्रन्थखण्डप्रक्षेपेण विहितमिदं शास्त्रम्, न तु मुनिरचितमिति यदाहुर्नास्तिकधुर्योपाध्यायास्तत्प्रत्युक्तम्, सर्वापह्नवनीयाबाधितशब्दलोकप्रसिद्धिविरोधाच्च ॥

946. In the Gopura of the temple of Śivakāmi at Chidambaram inside the prākāra there are the sculptured figures of various dancing postures as mentioned in Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra. This Gopura was built by the Cola king, Kuloṭṭunga III (1178-1216 A.D.) These sculptures are of exquisite beauty and photographs have been printed in Epigraphica Indica and in the Baroda Edn. of Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra Vol. I.[2]

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1. M. R. Kavi, *l. c.*

"Even in the commentary Abhinava is strictly scrupulous in offering additional explanations from the practical side to many of the definitions of Bharaṭa which do not place a practitioner in possession of all details required. The sage-like commentator draws his extra material from vartikas and not from the current practice of his day. For it is possible that time may bring upon alterations though imperceptibly in certain movements. Bharata's purvaranga bestows upon the audience both drsta and adrsta phala (pleasure and religious merit). In the latter case injunction (vidhi) should be strictly followed. This applies to *karanas* and *angaharas* which find prominent place in the various *angas* of purvaranga."

2. The pedigree of Cola kings is thus :—

Rājendra I (1013-1045 A.D.); (son) Rājādhirāja I (1013-1054); (brother) Rājendra II (1053-1062); (brother) Vīrarājendra (1062-1070); (son) Adhirājendra. He was murdered by Eastern Cālukya, Kuloṭṭunga I (1070-1118) or Rājendra Cola (who was the daughter's son of Rājendra I; Vikrama (1116-1135); Kuloṭṭunga II (1133-1143);

947. Bharatatika appears to be the earliest commentary. The author's name is unknown, but he was a pupil of Śrīpāḍa.[1] Abhinavaguptạ quotes the criticisms of Bharaṭaṭīkā, mostly in the chapters on music, on Bharaṭa's views and Abhinavaguptạ attempts a justification and at times his language is scathing :

"अत्र उपदेशातिदेशयोः उपमानस्य च साहित्यविषये तार्किकमीमांसकविषये विशेषप्रतिपादनं यत् टीकाकारैः कृतम्, तत्सुकुमारमनोमोहनं वृथाभ्रमणिकामात्रम्, प्रकृतानुपयोगादिह उपेक्ष्यमेव ।" Vol. III, p. 48.

948. Harsa is another glossator. His gloss is in the form of verses and is known by the name of Harṣa-vārṭika. He is frequently quoted by Abhinavaguptạ in his commentary and mentioned by Bhoja and Śārāḍāṭanaya as an authority. The following quotations from Abhinavabhāraṭī will elucidate some of his views :

वार्तिककृताप्युक्तम्—

"वाच्यानुगतेऽभिनये प्रतिपाद्येऽर्थे च गात्रविक्षेपैः ।
उभयोरपि हि समाने को भेदो नृत्तनाट्यगतः ॥"

"'रसभा * * * * यथङ्गं पूर्णं वा अपूर्णं वा कृत एव नाट्यनृत्तयोर्भेदः तुल्यानुकारत्वे' इति हर्षवार्तिकम् ।"

"यदाह श्रीहर्षः, 'अत एव हासो नाम (कविः) कस्मिंश्चिन्नाटके 'दिवं यातश्चित्तज्वरेण कलिरित एवाभिवर्तते । अशक्यमस्य पुरोऽवस्थातुम्' इत्यादि ।"

From these references, and others we can infer that he differed in his interpretation of Bharaṭa's work from other commentators in the description of Pūrvaranga and the species of dramas. Bahurūpamiśra calls him Śrīharṣaḍeva and probably therefore considers him the author of the dramas, Raṭnāvali, Nāgānanḍa and Priyaḍarśikā.

949. Rahulaka's (Rāhula or Rāhala) commentary is in verse. He was a very early writer, and he is mentioned in the Tamil epic Maṇimekalai which is now generally assigned to a date not later than 4th century B.C., though it was probably a much earlier composition. Abhinavaguptạ calls him Śākyācārya Rāhulaka, implying thereby that he was a Buddhist and does not accept his criticism of Bharaṭa, for instance on Alankaras of damsels.

Rajarāja II (1146-1161); Rājāḍhirāja Kārikkāla (1172-1178); Kuloṭṭunga III (1178-1216): Rājarāja III (1216-1257); Rājendra III (1246-1268). Th n Pāndyas overcame the Cola kings.

"तेन मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनामपि गत्या(शाक्या ?)चार्यैराहुलादिभिरभिधानं विरुद्धमित्यलं बहुना ।"

This is also mentioned by Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana (p. 316).

" शाक्याचार्यैराहुलादयस्तु मौग्ध्यमदभात्रिकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलङ्कारानाचक्षते । तेऽस्माभिः भरतमतानुसारिभिरुपेक्षिताः ।

Śārngadhara quotes this verse as Rahulaka's :[1]

उभिद्कन्दलदलान्तरलीयमानगुञ्जन्मदान्धमधुपाश्रितमेघकाले ।
स्वप्नोऽपि यः प्रवसति प्रविहाय कान्तां तस्मै विषाणरहिताय नमो वृषाय ॥

There is a manuscript of a Vārṭika, got by M. R. Kavi from the Cen-tral Provinces. The beginning and end are missing, but as it is it extends to 2000 granthas and the author's name is not known. It is expected to be published as an appendix to Natyasastra Edn. of Baroda.

950 **Nakhakutta** was an ancient author. Bahurūpamiśra writes
तथा तोटकस्यापि नखकुट्टादिभिर्नाटकान्तर्भावेनैवं लक्षणमुक्तम्,
दिव्यमानुषसंयोगस्तोटकं नाटकानुगम् ॥ इति नखकुट्टः ॥

But Śāradāṭanaya attribuṭes this to Harṣa

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्करविदूषकैः ।
तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥

Are Harṣa and Nakhakutta identical ?

951. **Matṛgupta** was a very early writer, probably of about the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier. In Rājaṭaraṅgiṇi (III. 129-229) Kalhaṇa gives a long account of the poet Māṭṛgupṭa and his relations with king Vikramāḍiṭya Harṣavarḍhana of Kāsmir :

Harṣavarḍhana, alias Vikramāditya, had in his court a poet by name Māṭṛgupṭa. He was very conservative and consequently was not prepared to push himself up to royal favour of his own accord. The king was not unaware of the high poetic talents and deep culture of his protege ; but he intentionally ignored him. In absolute poverty, without proper food, decent clothing, and timely sleep, the poet continued to serve his master with diligence. He knew no comfort.

At last the time came when his stars began to exert their influence, being in the ascendant. On a particular night it happened by chance

1. So does Vallabhaḍeva, *Subh.* 2900.

that all the guards were asleep; the lamp which was dimly burning in the apartments of the king was put out by a strong wind; the king wanted the lamp to be re-lit, but there was no servant to do it. He shouted at the top of his voice, but there was no response from any of the guards. Mātṛgupta who was waiting at the gate entered and did the needful. While he was about to retire, the king wanted to know his exact position in life and asked him how he alone was awake at that dead hour of night. The poet composed the following verse on the spur of the moment:

शीतेनोद्धूषितस्य माषशिमिवच्चिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः
शान्ताग्निं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकण्ठस्य मे ।
निद्रा क्वाप्यवमानितेव दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

Rājataraṅgiṇī III—181.

On hearing this verse, the king realised the sin he had committed by neglecting his duty in not having recognised the merits of the poor, needy and eminent poet and began to contemplate as to how best he could expiate the sin.

At dawn he rose, having already come to a conclusion with regard to Mātṛgupta. The kingdom of Kāśmir was then without a ruler. That kingdom was his vassalage and the responsibility of finding a suitable ruler to that country devolved upon him. Now he called upon Mātṛgupta and handed over to him a note in which there was an order to his ministers at Kāśmir that Mātṛgupta should be anointed their king, and bade Mātṛgupta deliver it unto the hands of his ministers at Kāśmir and do as they required. The poet was unaware of what the king had written and did as ordered. He marched along to Kāṣmir with many auspicious omens at every step. And as soon as he delivered the Royal message, he was anointed king of that country.

We also learn from Kalhaṇa that he was not of the same place to which Harṣavardhana belonged. Probably he was a southerner.

Mentha displayed his Hayagrīvavadha before Mātṛgupta and received appreciation.[1]

1. See para 37 *supra*. Hemacandra calls it a kāvya, but Vamanācārya (p. 249) says it was a Nāṭaka on the authority of Candrikā of Vaidyanātha etc. There is a quotation from it by Mammata (*KP*, I. 5).

विनिर्गतं मानदमात्ममन्दिराद्भवत्युपश्रुत्य यदृच्छयापि किम् ।
ससम्भ्रमेन्द्रद्रुतपातितार्गळं निमीलिताक्षीव भियामरावती ॥

Māṭṛgupṭa very probably wrote a commentary on Nāṭyaśāsṭra. This appears from a reference to Sunḍaramiśra's Nāṭyapraḍīpa on Nāndī.

अत्र च भरतः

आशीर्वचनसंयुक्ता

..................प्यलंकृता.

अस्य व्याख्याने मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः षोडशांघ्रिपदान्विता इयं उदाहृता ।

His opinions on Nāṭya, Alankāra and Sangīṭa have been quoted profusely[1] by Abhinavagupṭa,[2] Kunṭaka,[3] Bahurūpamiśra, Śāraḍāṭanaya and in the commentaries by Vāsuḍeva (on Karpūramanjarī), by Ranganāṭha (on Vikramorvaśīya), by Sarvānanḍa (on Nāmalingānuśasana) and his verses by Kṣemenḍra[4] and Vallabhaḍeva.

952. Kirtidhara is mentioned by Śārngaḍeva as a commentator on Bharaṭa. There are references io Kīrṭiḍhara's views in Abhinavabhāraṭī :

(i) एतदुक्तम्--'प्राह्णमेककलं साम द्विकलं वह्निजं तथा ।
चन्त्वन्तु (?) विकलं शुष्कं पूर्वयोः सार्थकं * * ॥'

इति कीर्तिधराचार्यः ।

(ii) 'ननु चत्वारि यथा कीर्तिधरोऽभ्यधात् इति ।'

The reading of the last quotation is doubtful. Is it possible that the original work of Nanḍikeśvara was not available to Abhinavagupṭa? The latter quotes Nanḍimaṭa largely in Chapter XXVIII, for instance:

यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शितं तदन्याभिः (तदस्माभिः) न दृष्टम्, तत्प्रत्ययात्तु लिख्यते ।

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1. See T. R. Chintamani, FRAGMENTS OF MATRGUPTACARYA, *JOR*, II. 118.

2. यथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ।

3. अनुसरणदिक्प्रदर्शनं पुनः क्रियते । यथा मातृगुप्तः—मञ्जीरप्रभृतीनां सौकुमार्यवैचित्र्यसंवलितपरिस्पन्दस्यन्दीनि काव्यानि सम्भवन्ति ।

4. नायं निशामुखसरोरुहराजहंसः कीरीकपोलतलकान्ततनुश्शशाङ्कः ।
आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिन्धुडिण्डीरपिण्डपरिपाण्डु यशस्त्वदीयम् ॥

Aucityavicāracarcā, 142.

953. Udbhata is mentioned by Śārngaḍeva as a commentator on Natyaśasṭra, next to Lollata and Aghinavaguptạ contrasts the views of Udbhata and Lollata. These commentaries are not available.

954. Sakaligarbha came after Uḍbhata and before Lollata. Unlike Uḍbhata who rejected four vṛṭṭis of Bharaṭa and substituted two of his own, Śakalīgarbha added one to Bharaṭa's four. Abhinavaguptạ thus critisises it:

शकलीगर्भमतानुसारिणो मूर्खादौ आत्मसंवित्तिलक्षणां पञ्चमीं वृत्तिम्........... आत्मव्यापाररूपां मन्यन्ते । तन्मतं भावानां बाह्यग्रहणस्वभावत्वमुपपादयद्भिः भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतिभिः पराकृतमिति न फलवृत्तिर्वा(आत्मसंवित्तिर्वा)काचिदिति चतस्र एव वृत्तयः ।

955. Abhinavagupta's Abhinavabharati is a commentary on Bharata's Nātyasāsṭra of Bharaṭa, and an extensive and erudite treatise on dancing and histrionics. The manuscripts now available cover the first thirty-two chapters except the seventh and the eighth. Abhinava recites and criticises the views of Śriharṣa (the Vartikakara of Bharaṭa-sūṭra), Rāhulaka, Śankūka, Bhatta Nāyaka, Lollata, Ghantaka etc. He refers to the following rare authors and works in the course of the commentary :—In Chapter I to Bhatta Tota (his preceptor) Kāvyakau-ṭuka, Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭā (by Bhāsa); in Ch. IV to Cūḍāmaṇi Dombika (a lyrical play), Rāghavavijaya, Guṇamāla (a lyrical play), Mārīcavaḍha (a lyrical poem), Rāṇaka (a poet, probably the author of the Marica-vaḍha), Viśākhila (a writer on music), Ḍaṭṭila (music), Parameśvara-cariṭa (Parameśvara), Battayanṭra and Lollata (commentators on Nātya-śāsṭra), Kirṭiḍhara (a writer on music), Śankuka; in Ch. V to Hejjala (author of Rāḍhāvipralambha); Kāśyapa (a writer on music); in Ch. VI to Ṭāpasavaṭsarāja (of Māyuraja), Ḍraupaḍīsvayamvara (probably a drama), Bhāsa, Rāmāyaṇa-nātaka; in Ch. IX to Uḍbhata (as a writer on Nātya), Bhīma (author of Praṭijnācāṇakya); in Ch. XIII to Māyāpuṣpaka (a drama), in Ch. XIV to Jayaḍeva (as a writer on music, also on metrics), Bhatta Nāyaka, Pāḍaṭāḍiṭaka; in Ch. XVIII to Kṛṭyārāvaṇa, Vāsavaḍaṭṭanātyaḍhāra by Subanḍhu, Samuḍraḍaṭṭaceṣṭiṭa, Puṣpabhūṣi-ṭaka, Muḍrārākṣasa, Ḍevīcanḍraguptạ (a drama); in Ch. XIX to Pāndavānanḍa (a drama), Rāmābhyuḍaya (a drama), Ḍariḍracaruḍaṭṭa, Praṭimāniruḍḍha by Bhīma, Uḍāṭṭarāghava (by Mayurāja), Canḍraka (a playwright); and in Ch. XXI to Abhisārikāvanciṭaka (a drama).[1]

" Abhinavagupta under the sublime teachings of his master, Bhatta Tota, has fixed the limits of Natya and rejected such matter as strictly

1. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda by M. R. Kavi with introduction [Vol. III is in press].

belongs to the province of music and dancing arts. He criticises his previous commentators in the light of his own theory whenever they had overstepped the boundaries of natya and fallen into the allied grounds. His conception of natya is very liberal and æsthetic, but it rejects all musical dramas: for Bharata in his opinion has recognised only ten kinds of dramatic compositions. In accordance with his theory such passages which were said to possess wider significance to include graces and flourishes in gita and nrtya by authors like Matanga and earlier commentators, are explained by Abhinava to apply only to Natya. Thus his text slightly differs from that of the others which he points out or criticises. It is the difference in interpretation that gave rise to various recensions. Variants in the text are also created by various other causes, viz., wrong deciphering, scholars filling up the omissions if letters are lost, scholars correcting the clerical errors, etc. Though every copy of Bharata's text abounds in errors of this description, interpretative differences alone constitute the difference in recension. Besides the two above influences the readers or commentators have added a number of slokas from Kohala and other writers wherever they are explanatory to Bharata's cryptic and terse expression. Such additions are plenty in the Taladhyaya (Ch, 31) and Avanaddha (Ch. 34)."[1]

956. About Bhattasumanas, Bhatta Vṛḍḍhi, Bhattayanṭra and Bhatta Gopāla who are quoted in Abhinavabhārati, nothing more is known except that they were writers on music. Vṛḍḍhi's verses are quoted profusely in Subhāṣiṭāvali. For instance:

अस्थिरमनेकरागं गुणरहितं निलवक्रदुष्प्रापम् ।
प्रावृषि सुरेन्द्रचापं विभाव्यते युवतिचित्तमिव ॥—1734.

उपलक्षवर्णसंकरमपगतगुणयोगमुज्झितस्थैर्यम् ।
पथिकास्समुद्विजन्ते कुदेशमिव वीक्ष्य शक्रधनुः ॥

आविरळधारानिकरं जलदैर्जलमुत्सृजद्भिरतिमात्रम् ।
मानिवधूहृदयेभ्यः कालुष्यमशेषतो मृष्टम् ॥

दयितभुजगेन सम्प्रति नृत्यच्चलचारुचन्द्रकिरणेन ।
वल्लभगृहेन कामः प्रदीपितो नीलकण्ठेन ॥

अपगतरजोविकारा घनपटलाक्रान्ततारकालोका ।
लम्बपयोधरभारा प्रावृडियं वृद्धवनितेव ॥—1734-8

1. M. R. Kavi, *Int. to AB.*

Bhattayanṭra is quoted by Abhinavaguptạ for his definition of Nṛṭṭa (p. 208).

शिक्षार्हास्विच्छान्यनृत्तकतिपयनाट्याङ्गकृतं नृत्तमभ्यासफलम्, इति भट्टयन्त्रः

Bhaṭṭagopāla wrote Ṭālaḍīpikā and was different from the author of the same name of a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa and from the father of Śāraḍāṭanaya of the same name. This is the reference:

अत एवैतदनुसारेण भट्टलोल्लटगोपालादिभङ्गिसर्वभङ्ग......ताळदीपिकादौ चिरन्तनमतो ध्रुवताळानां विनियोगः प्रपञ्चतो दूषितः ।

957. Dattila. Among the immediate desciples of Bharaṭa, of whom hundred are mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāsṭra, Ḍaṭṭila[1] and Kohala have written separate treatises. Ḍaṭṭila was a devout follower of Bharaṭa and never differed from him in his expositions, so that, when later writers wanted anything to support Bharaṭa, they invariably invoked Ḍaṭṭila. Ḍaṭṭila's work embraced music and dancing,[2] and its merit is seen from the existence of a *commentary on it* called Prayogasṭabaka.[3]

958. Kohala was the immediate desciple of Bharaṭa and comes next to Bharaṭa himself in merit of composition. While the Nātyaśāsṭra of Bharaṭa comprised 11 subjects, Kohala enlarged them into 13. Even according to Nāṭyaśāsṭra, Kohala was to write a treatise on Prasṭāraṭanṭram.[4] He is frequently cited by later writers, and largely by Abhinavaguptạ and commentators on Śārngaḍeva. But Kohala's work is lost, but for a fragment that is available, Ṭālāḍhyāya.[5] A study of the citations[6] there indicates that Kohala, though he followed Bharaṭa in the main, improved upon Nātyaśāsṭra in details of classification.[7]

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1. The name appears also in the form of Daṭṭila.
2. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum.
3. Simharāja quotes from Prayogasṭabaka in his commentary on Sārngaḍeva:—

   विवृतं चैतत् प्रयोगस्तबकाख्यायां दत्तिलटीकायाम् ।

4. आत्मोपदशसिद्धं हि नाट्यं प्रोक्तं स्वयम्भुवा ।
   शेषं प्रस्तारतन्त्रेण कोहलः कथयिष्यते ॥ XXVIII. 18.
5. *CC*, I. 130; *IOC*, 3025, 3089; *DC*, XXII. 8725 (with Telugu commentary).
6. For quotations from Kohala, see *PR*, IV. 43 and *Cat. Bod.* 199, 201.
7. For instance in the case of *Cāri* (dance). See Kallināṭha's commentary on Sārngaḍeva, pages 770-3.

Abhinayasāstram attributed to Kohala may be a part of Kohala's work or any later abridgment of it.[1] Daṭṭila-Kohalīyam purports to be a narration by Kohala to Daṭṭila[2] and Kohalarahasya by Kohala to Maṭanga[3] and these are epitomes of Kohala's work.

Kohala's work appears also to have been a narration by Kohala to Śārḍūla, and this is seen from Kallināṭha's long quotation.[4]

959. Matanga wrote Brihaḍḍeśi.[5] Though apparently meant to deal primarily with Ḍeśī music, the extant portion in six chapters embraces Śruṭis and Svaras. He mentions Bharaṭa[6] but differs from him in several places and particularly in the introduction of 12 Svaras in Mūrchana. Maṭanga is referred to by later writers as the originator of a new school and Maṭangamaṭa is quoted profusely, for instance, by Abhinavagupṭa and Śārngaḍhara. Among Prabanḍhas he is said to have introduced the form Harivilāsa[7] and among dances, a species called Zakkinī, and when speaking of the latter Kālī is described as

1. *DC*, XXII. 8722, 8725 (with Telugu commentary); *IOC*, 320.

2. *BTC*, 60. I am informed that the book is now missing from the library.

3. *TC*, I. 1039. This manuscript contains only 13th chapter, but I am told the whole book is available in Vadakkuttirumaligiri in Alvantirunagari, Tinnevelly District.

4. In commentary on Sārngaḍeva, pp, 675-89. A similar mention is made by Raghunāṭha in his Sangīṭasuḍhā.

5. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum. The manuscript so far available and printed contains chapters on Nāḍotpaṭhi, Śruṭinirṇaya, Svaraṇirnaya, Murchana, Ṭāna, Varṇa, 33 Alankāras, Jāṭi, Rāgalakṣaṇa, Bhāṣālakṣaṇa, Prabanḍha and ends with the line.

इदानीं कथयिष्यामि वाद्यस्य निर्णयो यथा ।

The name Bṛhaḍḍeśī suggests the existence of a smaller work called Laghuḍeśī. S. K. De (*SP*, 246) speaks of a work called Maṭangabharaṭa by Lakṣmaṇa Bhāskara but does not give any reference. In a manuscript (*BTC*, No. 11526), the manuscript though labelled Maṭangabharaṭam, is really Lakṣmaṇabharaṭam by Bhāskara Lakṣmaṇa of which there is a good copy there No. 11546. Lakṣmaṇabharaṭam, consisting of Abhinaya only, was composed by some later writer and had nothing to do with Maṭanga.

6. यथाह मतङ्गः, नन्वेते रागाः, ग्रामविशेषसम्बन्धात्, कुतोयं विशेषलाभः ? उच्यते, भरतवचनादेव । तथा चाह भरतः, जातिसम्भवत्वाद्रागाणामिति । यत्किञ्चिद्गीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषुस्थितमितिवचनाच्च, इति ।

(Kallināṭha commentary on Sangīṭaratnākara, p. 860),

7. It is so stated in Yāṣṭikamaṭam, Manuscript No. 12 of 745 Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

मतङ्गमुनिना प्रोक्तो नाम्ना हरिविलासकः ।

having requested her Maṭangamuni to create the new device.[1] In the Tamil epic Silappadhikaram[2] now generally assigned not later than 4th century B.C., Maṭanga as a writer on music and dancing is mentioned and the commentary frequently quotes from his work. Considering that Maṭanga was thus mentioned as a Muni and father of Kaḷī (and so called Maṭangī) and that his views are quoted with reverence, we may say that his work could not have been composed far later than Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra.[3] Maṭanga quotes passages from Kohala and Śārḍūla.

960. There is a noteworthy tradition that Maṭanga's sons were Ḍaṭṭila and Kohala, that they married Śuklā and Kṛṣṇā, daughters of Jhillikā and that these damsels transformed themselves into rivers so as to be of incessant service to Yajnavarāha of Śrīmuṣṇam. In the Sṭhalapurāṇa of Śrīmuṣṇam (in South Arcot District), a shrine where Śrī Viṣṇu is worshipped in his Varāhāvaṭāra, there is this passage (VIII. 17-20):

शुक्ला कृष्णेति नद्यौ द्वे विमानादुत्तरे शुभे ।
झिल्लिकातनये पुण्ये मतङ्गस्य स्नुषे उभे ॥
तयोः पती च विख्यातौ दत्तिलः कोहलोऽपि च ।
मतङ्गस्य मुनेः पुत्रौ गीतशास्त्रविशारदौ ॥
तयोः पत्न्यौ च तौ नद्यौ झिल्लिकातनये उभे ।
कोलदेवस्य पूजार्थं नदीरूपमवापतुः ॥

961. **Brahmabharatam**[4] represents the work of Brahma or Piṭāmaha. The small portion that is now available in six chapters deals with Abhinaya. It embraces Mārga, Nāṭya and makes no reference to Ḍeśī at all. There is no mention in it of any earlier work and

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1. पुरा देवी महाकाली लासितुं शम्भुना सह
जनकं प्रेक्ष्य पप्रच्छ मतङ्गं दीप्ततेजसम् ।
....
कालिकायाः कृता पूर्वं मतङ्गनैव झकिणी ॥—B. T. C. No. 11536.

2. Chapter V, line 184.

3. In Kallināṭha's commentary on Sangiṭaraṭnākara (p. 82) there is the following passage: यथा यात्षड्जमेवतारगतिर्मध्यमस्याप्यत्र संवादित्वादनाश्रित्वाच्च तारगतां रुद्रटेन कृता मध्यमस्येति न दोष इति मतङ्गोक्तम्. This might mean that Maṭanga was later than Rudrata. It is presumed that there is some error here in the reading and that the sentence ends at न दोषः and a quotation from Maṭanga has then been missed.

4. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

from the scantiness of the details, the book forms probably the earliest record of the science. In his Kuttinīmata Dāmodaragupta describes a character Bhattaputra as proficient in Brahma-Nātyaśastra.

ब्रह्मोक्तनाट्यशास्त्रे गीते मुरजादिवादने चैव ।
अभिभवति नारदादीन् प्रावीण्यं भट्टपुत्रस्य ॥

Padmabhū's (Brahma) view is mentioned by Sāradātanaya (*Bhav.* 47).

परिणेतुं न शक्नोति तस्माच्छान्तस्य नोद्भवः ।
तस्मान्नाट्यरसा अष्टाविति पद्मभुवो मतम् ॥

962. **Sadasivabharatam,**[1] ascribed to Sadaśiva, deals, so far as it is now available, with Nātya. It may be placed on a line with Brahmabharata for its merit and antiquity.

Sadāśiva's views are quoted by Śaradātanaya thus:

प्रोक्तस्सदाशिवेनास्य स्वरूपाश्रयनिर्णयः ।
"रसस्य एव स्वाद्यत्वाद्रसिकस्यैव वर्तनात् ॥
नानुकार्यस्य वृत्तत्वात्काव्यस्यातत्परत्वतः ।
द्रष्टुः प्रमोदव्रीडेर्ष्यारागद्वेषप्रसङ्गतः ॥
लौकिकस्य स्वरमणीसंयुक्तस्यैव दर्शनात् ।"

963. **Nandikesvara**, or Nandin shortly, was the first to receive initiation into the science of music from Śiva. With his name are associated works on Kāmaśāstra[2] and Sangīta, and his views have been referred to by later writers as a school of musical thought alongside of Bharata. While Bharata confined himself to music in relation to drama, Nandikeśvara interested himself in the music requisite for ceremonials and festivals.

BHARATARNAVA,[3] in 4000 verses, purports to be a narration of the principles by Nandin to Sumati, an actor of Indra's stage at Indra's recommentation. It is avowedly the work of Nandikeśvara. The manuscript in Tanjore Library has 5 to 14 chapters, that on Abhinaya only and is entitled Guheśabharatalakṣaṇa. The colophon reads thus:

1. *Mys.* 309, also Ms. No. 1298 noted at page 308 though catalogue as Ādibharatam.

2. So says Vātsyāyana :—महादेवानुचरश्च नन्दी सहस्रेणाध्यायानां पृथक्कामसूत्रं प्रोवाच ।

3. *DC*, XXII. 8735; *TC*, III. No. 2436; II. 1860. The Tāladhyāyam is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras. On Nandikeśvara, see S. K. De, *SP*, 24–26. (He is referred to Dāmodaramiśra in his Kuttinīmata (8th century A.D.) along with Bharata as an ancient writer).

इति श्रीनन्दिकेश्वरविरचिते भरतार्णवे नाट्यार्णवे सुमतिबोधके ससलास्यप्रकरणं नाम चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥

It is likely that the part of which this is a chapter is called Nāṭyārṇava.[1]

BHARATARTHACANDRIKA[2] is an epitome of Bharaṭarnavam and is in the form of a dialogue between Nanḍin and Pārvaṭī and deals so far as it is available with Abhinaya.

ABHINAYADARPANAM[3] in 13 sections deals with gesticulation, and the colophon says it is a part of Nanḍikeśvarabharaṭam. Its commencement presumes that there was a prior portion of which it is but a continuation.[4] It is also a narration by Nanḍin to Sumaṭi at Inḍra's instance; it is probable that it is a chapter in Bharaṭārṇavam and Nanḍibharaṭam is another name for Bharaṭārṇavam.

But later writers have expressed that Nanḍikesvara differed widely from Bharaṭa not only in his theories but also in the nomenclature. Abhinavagupṭa for instance quotes a verse as Nanḍimaṭa in connection with Mṛḍanga.[5] Raghunāṭha is more explicit in that he says he referred to Nanḍīśvarasamhiṭā and that Aumāpāṭam does differ from Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra. Kallināṭha contrasts the views of Bharaṭa with those of Nanḍin and Maṭanga.[6]

1. *DC*, XXII. 8735; *Tanj.* XVI. 7224. The manuscript of Ṭālalakṣaṇam (*Ibid.* 7312) begins with नन्दिकेश्वराय नमः

2. *DC*, XXII. 8737.

3. *Ibid.* 8717. Ed. Madras. Ed. Cambridge by A. K. Kumarasami.

4. अथेदानीं तु हस्तानां लक्षणं प्रोच्यते मया ।
असंयुतास्संयुताश्च हस्ता द्वेधा प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

5. यथोक्तं नन्दीश्वरमतेः—
षोडशस्वपि वर्णेषु भेदाः पञ्चदशोदिताः ।
ताडने ग्रहसन्धानमोक्षे मुखचतुष्टयम् ॥ (Chap. 34).

"The school of Nandikesvara seems to be older than Bharata's and from the available works bearing on Nandin, one is tempted to say that he has developed conventional side of natya, sangita and nrtya to a remarkable degree. Bharata seems to have rejected much of Nandin's technique and accepted only such forms as are really found in actual life or just to suit the theatrical conventions which he calls natya-dharmi. Kohala and Matanga seem to follow Bharata at the same time bringing in extraneous forms that are in vogue on the conventional side, of course basing their authority on Bharata himself as having given sanction by his expression." M. R. Kavi, *Int.* to *AB.* See V. Raghavan, *Nāṭyaḍharmi* and *Lokaḍharmi*, *JOR.* VII. 359.

6. Poona Edn. p. 47.

We have now therefore two sets of works, both going under the name of Nandin, the one agreeing with and the other differing from Bharata. Until the Samhitā mentioned by Raghunātha is discovered, for which there is yet hope, we cannot say whether Bharatārnavam is really the composition of Nandikeśvara.

964. Among Purāṇas, some have chapters on dancing and music, Vāyu (chap. 24-5), Mārkandeya (chap. 21) and Viṣṇudharmottara (chap. 16-14).

There are several names of the Hindu Pantheon of gods and demi-gods that are quoted for their views on music and dancing, Mādhava (Viṣṇu), Gaṇeśa, Sanmukha, Vāyu, Durgāśakti by Matanga, Viśvāvasu, Ānjaneya and Vyāsa by Śāradātanaya. Rāvaṇa, Rambhā, Kāmadeva, Dakṣa Prajāpati.

Nārada mentions Hari, Kamalāsya, Brahma, Candī, Sanmukha, Bhṛngin, Sarasvatī, Kubera, Bali, Viśvakarman, Kuśika, Angada, Guṇa, Samudra and Vikrama.

KAMADEVA

चरणनृत्यलक्षणं तु कामदेवेन—

उद्धता वाद्यवक्त्रेषु * * ।

सरसान्दोलनान्नानाप्रसादपदगुम्फनात् ।

* * * * ॥

करतालैरनुगतं पादन्यासैस्समुद्यतम् ।

भ्रमणैरपि लौहिलं शून्यं नृत्यं वितन्यते ॥

—Tālalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII, 8726).

VASUKI

नानाद्रव्यौषधैः पाकैर्यव्यञ्जनं भाव्यते यथा ।

एवं भावा भावयन्ति रसानभिनयैस्सदा ॥

इति वासुकिनाप्युक्तो भावेभ्यो रससम्भवः ।

—Śāradātanaya (*Bhav.* 37).

[The verse is quoted in Nātyaśāstra, but omitted in *GOS* Edn.]

DAKSA PRAJAPATI

दक्षप्रजापतिरपि—

अवधानानि गान्धर्वे पश्चात्स्वरपदादयः ।

अवधानातिरेकेण त्रिविधं नोपपद्यते ॥

इत्याह—Simhabhūpāla's commentary on Sangītaratnākara.

ḌHENUKA

कीदृक्षो नयमार्गे धेनुकरचिते च ताळके कीदृक् ।
प्रेक्षणकादावेवं पृच्छति नृत्योपदेशकं यत्नात् ॥

—Kuttinimaṭa, 82.

ḌRAUHINI

सात्वती वृत्तिरत्रस्यादिति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ।

(on Praśānṭanāṭaka)—Śaraḍātanaya (*Bhāv*. 239).

965. KAMBALA AND ASVATARA. According to Mārkandeyapurāṇa (Chap. 21) Kambala and Aśvaṭara propitiated Sarasvaṭī and learnt music and sang Śiva's praise:

नादविद्यां परां लब्ध्वा सरस्वत्याः प्रसादतः ।
कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ शम्भोः कुण्डलतां गतौ ॥

—Ḍāmoḍara's Sangīṭaḍarpaṇa.

SWATI played Bhāndavāḍya in the first drama in Inḍraḍhvaja festival enacted by Bharaṭa, while Nāraḍa did the music. So says Bharaṭa

स्वातिर्भाण्डनियुक्तस्तु सह शिष्यैस्स्वयम्भुवा ।
नारदाद्याश्च गन्धर्वा गानयोगे नियोजिताः ॥
स्वातिनारदसंयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।
उपस्थितोऽहं लोकेशं प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥

—Nāṭyaśāsṭra I.

and Abhinavaguptạ's commentary thus summarises Swāṭi's discovery of Puṣkara:

स्वाती ऋषिविशेषः येन जलधरसमयनिपतत्सलिलधारावैचित्र्याभिहन्यमानपुष्करदळविलसितरचितविचित्रवर्णानुहरणयोजनया यथास्वं वृत्तिनियमेन पुष्करवाद्यनिर्माणं कृतमित्यर्थः ।

as set out by Bharaṭa in Nāṭyaśāsṭra (XXXIII, 5-12).

VYASA

अस्याङ्कमेकं भरतः द्वावङ्काविति कोहलः ।
व्यासाञ्जनेयगुरवः प्राहुरङ्कत्रयं यथा ॥

—(on Uṭsritikānka) Śāraḍāṭanaya (*Bhav*. 251).

966. KASYAPA, sage, is quoted by Abhinavaguptạ (and other writers) as an authority on Sangīṭa and he gives a long extract, on the tunes appropriate (viniyoga) to each rasa and bhāva. He says

'तत्र लक्ष्यप्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिककश्यपाद्युदिष्टं (कश्यपाद्युदिष्टं)विनियोगजातं कथ्यते ।'
इत्येष कश्यपाद्युक्तो विनियोगो निरूपितः ।

And Hṛdayangama, commentary on Dandin's Kāvyādarśa (Madras Edn. p. 3), mentions Kāśyapa and Vararuci as ancient writers on Alankāra.

पूर्वेषां काश्यपवररुचिप्रभृतीनामाचार्याणां लक्षणशास्त्राणि संहृत्य...

Nanyadeva often quotes from Kāśyapa, as also from a Bṛhat-Kāśyapa.

967. **Narada**[1] is according to Hindu mythology the divine bard and he is represented as playing on the Viṇā. So is Sarasvatī. Nārada was the son of Brahma and was naturally the first to be initiated into the musical art. Besides being cited as an authority in the Tantras, Nātyaśāstra mentions that Bharata took Nārada and Swāti with him when he got leave of Brahma for his first performance at Dhvajamaha.[2] Nārada was indebted for his views on music to Nāradopaniṣat[3] and the principles therein enunciated were developed by him in his Śikṣā. Among the works that go under the name of Nārada is Nāradīyaśikṣa.

968. **Naradasiksa**[4] deals with the music of the Sāma Veda. In the Śikṣas of Śaunaka, Āpiśali, Vyāsa, Vyādi etc., Nārada is referred to as an authority. Bharata follows the views of Nārada on Sāmasvara and elsewhere quotes a verse from it.[5] Abhinavagupta refers to it in several places.[6] The whole of Śikṣā was reproduced in Nāradīya-

1. Nāradaśātaka by Vālmiki, Nāradastotra, Nāradapancarātra and Nāradavilāsakāvya by Tribhuvanalāla are noted in *CC*, I. 287.

2. स्वातिनारदसंयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।
उपस्थितोऽयं ब्रह्माणं प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥ I. 49-50.
ध्रुवासंज्ञानि तानि स्युर्नारदप्रमुखैर्द्विजैः ।
गीताङ्गानीह सर्वाणि विनियुक्तान्यनेकशः ॥ XXXII. 1.

3. Ed. Bombay.

4. Ed. by S. Samasrami, Bombay.

5. आचार्यास्समिच्छन्ति पदच्छेदन्तु पण्डिताः ।
स्त्रियो मधुरमिच्छन्ति विकृष्टमितरे जनाः ॥ XXXIV. 119.

6. For instance:

अत्र नारदाद्या नामनिर्वचनमकार्षुः । नासां कण्ठमुरस्तालुं जिह्वां दन्तांश्च य......त् । षड्भ्यस्तज्जायते षड्जः—इत्यादि......XXVIII. 18.

अत एव सामवेदे ग्रामविभागाभावात् तदुपयोगिन्यां नारदीयशिक्षायां तदभिधानमौत्तराधर्यमात्रमेवत्तूक्तम् ।— XXVIII. 26.

purāṇam. These references are sufficient to show that Śikṣā is an ancient work entitled to priority over the extant Nāṭyaśāstra. As a special feature of Śikṣā we may mention the recognition of Gāndhāra-grāma, a stage that cannot be reached by the human voice, and this therefore was ignored by Bharaṭa and his school.[1] Though the definitions and particulars of Śruṭis agree in Bharaṭa and Nārada, they differ in terminology. The opinions of Nārada were gradually departed from, and while Bharaṭa's differences were only limited, Maṭanga reached a very wide divergence.

Nāraḍaśikṣā is in two parts, each consisting of Khandas or chapters. It deals with the music of Sāman, generally and particularly as chanted at sacrifices. It furnishes the link between vedic and post-vedic music and is the earliest extant record of musical divisions and terminology. There is a commentary on it by Śubhankara,[2] who was the author of Sangīṭa-Ḍāmoḍara and lived before the 17th century A.D.

969. The other two works attributed to Nārada are Rāganirūpaṇa[3] and Pancamasārasamhiṭa.[4] Ḍaṭṭila-Nāraḍasamvāda[5] in three chapters deals with Rāgas, Śruṭis and Svaras. Because there is a reference in it to the name of Śārngaḍeva, it must be said that it is a later compilation of Nārada's views, as expressed in earlier books; and many of the verses in it are quoted under Nārada's name by writers earlier than Śārngaḍeva.

970. **Sangitamakaranda** of Nārada is a later work. In two parts Sangīṭa and Nṛṭya, of four chapters each, the views of Nārada Ṛṣi

1. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that Śikṣā is a late work of the 10th or 12th century A.D. In Popley's *Music of India*, 14, it is said "It shows considerable development on the Natyasastra in its *raga* system and in a number of matters agrees with the Kudimiyamalai inscription where that disagrees with the next important treatise, the Sangitaratnakara." The imaginary development in the rāgas is due to difference in views between Nārada and Bharaṭa. The Kudimiyāmala, inscription has not yet been rightly interpreted.

Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 287) gives the name as Bhatta Śobhākara.

2. The full manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras and an incomplete copy in Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

3. Ed. by D. K. Joshi, Poona. It is a metrical description of 140 ragas. Quotations are given in Sangiṭanārāyaṇa of Nārāyaṇadeva; e.g., नारदसंहितायां चत्वारिंशच्छतरागानिरूपण.........

4. *CC*, I. 287.

5. The manuscript is in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

are followed here and there is a reference to him in the prefatory benediction. It mentions two divisions of rāgas, principals and their wives, and classifies musical sounds into five kinds according to the source of percussion.[1] It mentions Mahāmāhesvara,[2] that is, Abhinavaguptạ, in dealing with the faults of the singer and its definition of Gānḍhāra is almost repeated by Śārngaḍeva. It may therefore be assigned to 11th century A.D.

971. Veda's Sangītāmakaranda[3] is a large treatise on music and dancing and in it are mentioned the later forms of modern dancing as influenced by European and Mohamadan art. Veḍa was a poet of the Court of Shahji, father of famous Śivāji, who was known as Makaranḍabhūpa and was tutor to the king's son Śambhu, elder brother of Śivāji, early in 17th century A.D.

972. Āṇjaneyabharaṭam[4] is a revelation of the science of music by Ānjaneya to Yāṣtika. So says Raghunāṭha. Yāsṭikamaṭam,[5] as is now available, deals only with music and seems to be only an epitome of it. Later writers speak of Yāṣṭikamaṭam synonymously with Ānjaneyamaṭam. According to Kallināṭha, Yāṣtika adopts the view of Maṭanga on rasas but with altered terminology.[6] Śāraḍāṭanaya and Kallināṭha quote Ānjaneya's (Māruṭi) views :

i. ये भावा रागचिह्नानि स्त्रीणामुक्ताः पृथक् पृथक् ।
साधारणास्ते सर्वासां स्त्रीणामित्याह मारुतिः ॥
—Śāraḍāṭanaya (*Bhav.* 251).

ii. तथा चाह आञ्जनेयः—
येषां श्रुतिस्वरग्रामजात्यादिनियमो न हि ।
नानादेशगतिच्छायाः देशीरागास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥
—Kallināṭha.

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1. Ed. M. R. Telang (*GOS*) Baroda with a preface and an appendix of works on music.

2. So does he call himself in the colophons to his works, particularly a commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra and Śaraḍāṭanaya says that Bhoja and Abhinavaguptạ were the only two writers who well dealt with Gīṭaḍoṣa.

3. *Tanj.* XVI 7268. The manuscript is dated 1650 A.D.

4. *Mys.* 309.

5. Ms. 12 of 745. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Some verses attributed to Maṭanga and Kohāla are also found in this book.

6. Poona Edition, page 853. Ānjaneya is quoted in Sangīṭaḍarpaṇa (*CC*, I. 41.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

Sangita

(MUSIC AND DANCING)

973. **Sangita** comprehends Gīṭa, Nāṭya aad Nartṭna. So says Caṭura-Ḍāmoḍara :

गीतं वाद्यं नर्तनं च त्रयं सङ्गीतमुच्यते ।
मार्गदेशीविभागेन सङ्गीतं द्विविधं स्मृतम् ।
यत्पुरा ब्रह्मणोद्दिष्टं प्रयुक्तं भरतादिभिः ।
महादेवस्य पुरतस्तन्मार्गाख्यं विदुर्बुधाः ।
तत्तद्देशस्थया रीत्या यत्स्याल्लोकानुरञ्जनम् ।
देशे देशे तु सङ्गीतं यत्तद्देशीति गीयते ॥

Śṛṇgāraśekhara thus explains[1] भरत

भकारो भावनैर्युक्तो रेफो रागेण मिश्रितः ।
तकारस्तालमित्याहुर्भरतार्थविचक्षणाः ॥

The divine origin of Sangīṭa is often referred to with veneration by several authors. In Bharaṭalakṣaṇa of unknown authorship, it is said :[2]

आङ्गिकं भुवनं यस्य वाचिकं सर्ववाङ्मयम् ।
आहार्यं चन्द्रतारादि तं नुमः सात्विकं शिवम् ॥

वागीशो भरताय नाट्यनिगमं संदिष्टवान्प्रेमतो
गन्धर्वैः सममीश्वरस्य पुरतो नाट्यं ततानाशु सः ।
स्मृत्वा तण्डुमजिग्रहत्तदखिलं शम्भुर्मुनिभ्यः पुनः
सन्दिष्टं भरताय तेन भुवने प्रख्यापितं तैरिदम् ॥

Kohala in Ṭālalakṣaṇa says :[3]

तकारश्शङ्करः प्रोक्तो लकारश्शक्तिरुच्यते ।
शिवशक्तिसमायोगात्तालनामाभिधीयते ॥

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1. *Tanj*, XVI. 7247.
2. *Tanj*, XVI. 7245.
3. *DC*, XXII. 8726.

In dealing with different kinds of Rāgas, forms and attributes, Rāgasagara records a discourse between Ḍaṭṭila and Nārada giving Ṛṣī, Chanḍas and Ḍhyāna of each rāga and predicating that Sangīṭaśāsṭra conduces to bliss temporal and eternal:[1]

एतानि सर्वरागाणां ध्यानानि मुनिभिः पुरा ।
कथ्यन्ते सर्वशास्त्रेषु निश्चितानीति सर्वदा ।
एतत् सङ्गीतशास्त्रन्तु सर्वकामफलप्रदम् ॥
अनन्तहरिरूपाख्यां रागभासिताम् ।
तदाखा(ख्या)यनमात्रेण भुक्तिमुक्तिफलं लभेत् ॥
पुत्रपौत्रकरं नृणां राज्ञां राज्यप्रदायकम् ।
एतच्छास्त्रं सदा विष्णुहरयोः प्रीतिदं भवेत् ॥

974. SARNGADEVA commences his work thus:

ब्रह्मग्रन्थिजमारुतानुगतिना चित्तेन हृत्पङ्कजे
सूरीणामनुरञ्जकं श्रुतिपदं योऽयं स्वयं राजते ।
यस्माद्ग्रामविभागवर्णरचनालंकारजातिक्रमो
वन्दे नादतनुं तमुद्धुरजगद्गीतं मुदे शंकरम् ॥

In his commentary on Sangīṭaraṭnākara Gangārāma thus describes Siṭa:

जीयाद्राघवसुन्दरी कुलपतिर्या नादभूमीश्वरी
या सादिस्वरनूपुरारणितयुक्ता नोभूवालापकीः (?) ।
ग्रामादित्रिकसप्तकावधिमयी मूर्छासमुच्छ्रायगा
सा श्रीचक्रमयीशितुः श्रुतिगुणीभूता विदेहात्मजा ॥

975. God Śiva in his well-known aspect of Naṭarāja is pre-eminently the Lord of Dances. Tradition attributes Nāṭyaśāsṭra in its earliest from to his divine authorship. It was the rattle of the drum (Dhakkā) played at the end of Śiva's dance that once gave ont 9 plus 5 sounds, which constituted the Māheśvarasūṭras forming the basis of Pāṇini's gramatical aphorisms.[2]

1. *DC*, XXII. 8743.

2. Definitions and particulars of varieties of Śiva's dances are given in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

The Aphorisms[1] are :

i	अइउ ण्	viiii	झभ ञ्
ii	ऋऌ क्	ix	घढध ष्
iii	एओ ङ्	x	जबगडद श्
iv	ऐऔ च्	xi	खफछठथचटत व्
v	हयवर ट्	xii	कप य्
iv	ल ण्	xiii	शषस र्
vii	ञमङणन म्	xiv	हल्

नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपञ्चवारम् ।
उद्धर्तुकामस्सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

Thus Nandikeśvara begins his Kārikas of 27 Ślokas on Māheśvara-sūtras, and expounds their mystical singificance. Nāgeśa extracts this first verse in his Śabdenduśekhara as from *Nandikeśvarakārikā*. There are some commentaries on the Kārikas, one of which is by Abhimanyu.[2]

Thus Śiva is the father of all that relates to *nāda* or sound, and so of the sciences of grammar and music. In Rudra-damarūdbhava-sūtra-vivarana,[3] there is an elaboration of this tradition that those sounds are the origin of music. The Nepal Library has another work Bharaṭanāma-dīpakanāda-sāstra.[4]

" The dance represents Siva's five activities (*Panchakriya*), namely, *Srishti* (creation), *Sthiti* (preservation), *Samhara* (destruction), *Tirobhava* (illusion) and *Anugraha* (salvation), symbolished in the iconographic equivalents of the sounding drum, the hand of hope, the hand holding fire, the foot trampling on the demon Muyalaga, and the uplifted left foot. Its deepest significance is felt when it is realised that this dance takes place within the heart and the self. Everywhere is God and Everywhere is the heart. The essential significance of Siva's Dance is threefold : first, it is the image of Rhythmic Activity as the Source of all movement within the Cosmos which is represented by the Arch (or the *prabhamandala*) ; secondly, the purpose of his dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion : thirdly, the place of the Dance, Chidambaram, the centre of the Universe, is within the

1. On the linguistic aspect of those aphorisms, see Introduction.
1. *CC*, I. 277 ; *BTC*, 41 ; *Oudh*, XIX. 54.
1. *Bik.* 519.
2. *Nepal*, 231.

heart.[1] Of all the impressions which the pilgrims to the sacred shrines along the Western Ghats carried home with them, the most vivid must have been the gorgeous spectacle of the sun in its descent towards the ocean, illuminating tier after tier of the rocky precipices and the forest-clad ravines with its slanting rays of crimson and burnished gold, until at the time of evening prayer (*sandhya*) it touched the far off sea-horizon and began the sacred Dance in response to the ceaseless time-beat of the waves—the Dance of the Cosmic Rhythm which all the Rishis and all the Devas knew. In fair weather, it was only a gentle swaying moment like the fluttering of the falling leaves in the forest on a still autumn evening, for Siva then only manifested his benign aspect. But even the setting sun flashed fierce red rays through banks of purple cloud and Siva's mighty drum began its thundering beat along the shore, while the long snake-like rollers sowed their glittering teeth, the Great God revealed himself in his tremendous world-shaking dance, the *Tandavam* which sumed up the threefold processes of Nature, creation, preservation and destruction; and woe betide the the unhappy mariner who was whirled within the ambit of that awful Dance. The corpses strewn along the shore next day increased the unrelenting toll, which the Lord of Death always demands from his worshippers. Such was the constant mental stimulus which the brahman at his evening meditation on the Western Ghats received from the wonderful nature he saw around him; until the Sacred Dance of the Cedic ritual with which he responded to the prompting of his spiritual self became interwoven with his philosophy and took a permanent place among the temple icons of the Deccan and Southern India, the natural imagery being translated into metaphysical concepts, for the brahman like the Platonic philosopher, used the beauties of earth as steps by which he climbed upwards to the higher planes of thought."[2]

976. MRDANGALAKSANA, an anonymous work in Purāṇic style, thus gives a legendary origin to the musical drum, *muraja*;

पुरा मुरासुरो नाम देवानामन्तको बली ।
वृत्रासुरस्तु बलवानिताद्व (भायु) तबलौ तथा ॥

सत्रयागप्रवृत्ते तं गङ्गातीरे मनोहरे ।
हिमवत्प्रान्तकान्तारे मुनिभिः कलिते पले ॥

1. A. K. Coomaraswami's article in *Siddhant.ıdipiha* quoted by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *l. c.* II, 231.

2. E. Havell's Monograph on *The Hymalayas in Indian Art*.

पुरोडाशनिमित्तेषु देवैस्साकं नियोध्यतः ।
तत्काले तु महाविष्णुस्सर्वलोकैकरक्षकः ॥

मुरासुरं प्रगृह्याशु हृत्वसादौ (हत्वा पादौ) (तथा शिरः) ॥
चर्मणा तच्छिरस्थेन वामपार्श्वद्वयं मिथः ॥

तत्पादचर्मणो बध्य चतुर्विंशतिसङ्ख्यया ।
तत्कुक्षिस्थेन पिण्डेन

* * * *

मुरस्य देहं हे नन्दिन् द्विमुखे कण्ठविष्टरे ।
मुखध्वनिर्महानासात् पृष्ठे धिमिधिमा इति ॥

एवं कृतं मया चाथ तकादत्तं महारवम् ।

* * * *

तन्यतां भरतोक्तेन शास्त्रमार्गेण सद्ध्वनिः ।
महाप्रलयकालस्य ताण्डवस्य च सन्निधौ ।
मृदङ्गं वादयामास महानन्दी लयानुगम् ॥

977. Vedas are eternal and at the beginning of every cycle of creation after a deluge are only revealed. Such is the belief of the Hindu. Vedās are self-contained in any branch of knowledge and to Vedas therefore the Hindu looks to the original source of any science or art.[1]

"The first public use of music by every nation has been in religious rites and ceremonies. The ancient Egyptians celebrated their festival with hymns. The classic Greeks used music in rhapsodising the Iliad. The Chinese, the Tartars and even the Negroes solemnised their worship with songs and dances. The reason is obvious. By music alone such rites and ceremonies and such worship could be amplified and prolonged: and by music alone some state of feeling could be raised and sustained in a great crowd of people. Even in Italy, music —when it revived in 33 A.D.—was used only in connection with the

1. "MUSIC IS ETERNAL. In Greece, Pythogoras is said to have brought music under arithmetical rule and found that the seven planets were ever related to one another as the seven notes and as such, produced in their movements "the Music of the Spheres" which in India, the Siva's Dance or rather the mystic dance of Nataraja was perhaps intended to symbolise. One thing is certain that in both, Greece and India, music has come down from the beginning of the world and is deemed to be as eternal as God. Indeed in India music is ever associated with Saraswati." Extract from *Hindu* (19—9—1922) of lecture by M; S. Ramaswamia Aiyar.

church. The Aryans of India did not form an exception to the rule but chanted Vedas—Rik, Yajur and Sama, on all occasions of festivals."

978. The literature of the Vedas reveals a good knowledge of music and musical instruments. Besides Sāmaveda, of which the mode of expression is musical chant, we have in the rituals of the Yajus and Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras following Vedas mention of occasions in all sacrifices and many household ceremonies (such as Seemanṭonnayanam)[1] when Vīṇāgānam, and particular tunes too, are prescribed. Passages in Yajus indicate the existence of professional singers and it is stated in one place that women are enamoured of musicians:—

i. तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे, iii–9.

अपवा एतस्माच्छ्रीराष्ट्रं क्रामति ।
योऽश्वमेधेन यजते ब्राह्मणौ वीणागाथिनौ गायतः ।
श्रिया वा एतद्रूपम् । यद्वीणा ।
श्रियमेवास्मिन् तद्धत्तः ।
यदा खलु वै पुरुषः श्रियमश्नुते ।
वीणास्मै वाद्यते ।
तदाहुः, यदुभौ ब्राह्मणौ गायेताम् ।
प्रभ्रग्शुकास्माच्छ्रीस्स्यात् ।
न वै ब्राह्मणे श्रीरमत इति । ब्राह्मणोऽन्यो गायेत् । राजन्योऽन्यः ।
ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रग् राजन्यः ॥

ii. यजुस्संहितायां, vii–5.

उदकुंभानधिनिधाय दास्यो मार्जालीयं परिनृत्यन्ति पदो निघ्नतीरिदं मधु गायन्त्यो मधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्यं परममेवान्नाद्यमवरुंधे पदो निघ्नन्ति महीयामेवैषु दधति ॥

iii. यजुस्संहितायां, vi–1.

अगायन्देवास्स देवाग् गायत उपावर्तत तस्माद्गायन्तग् स्त्रियः कामयन्ते कामुका एनग्-स्त्रियो भवन्ति ॥

979. "The Vedic Index shows a very wide variety of musical instruments in use in Vedic times. Instruments of percussion are represented by the *dundubhi*, an ordinary drum; the *adambara*, another kind of drum; *Bhumi-dundubhi*, an earthdrum made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with hide; *vanaspati*, a wooden drum; *aghati*, a

1. Āpastamba prescribes in the ceremony of Simantam गायतमिति वीणागाथिनौ सगशास्ति—*Grhyasutra*, 14–4.

cymbal used to accompany dancing. Stringed instruments are represented by the *kanda-vina*, a kind of lute; *vana*, a lute of 100 strings; and the *vina*, the present instrument of that name in India. This one instrument alone is sufficient evidence of the development to which the art had attained even in those early days. There are also a number of wind instruments of the flute variety, such as the *tunava*, a wooden flute; the *nadi*, a reed fluute; *bakurt*, whose exact shape is unknown."[1]

980. "The SAMAN CHANT pivoted on two notes called *udatta*—'raised'—the higher one and the *anudatta*—'not raised'—the lower tone. In course of time the interval between these was established as a fourth. Then, later, the notes of this tetrachord received distinct names. The highest was *prathama*—'first'—then *dvitiya, tritiya, chaturtha*, down the scale. These names are found first in the *Rikpratisakhya*. Later, a note called *svarita* is also mentioned, this seems to be graded *udatta*, thus indicating a note higher than the *prathama*. Later still we find this note definitely established and called *krushta*—'high' (*Taittriya-pratisakhya*, 400). About the same time two other notes lower than *chaturtha* appear. These are called *mandra*—'low,' and *atisvara*—'extremity.' This last was an extra note and was usually sung only in the cadence of the Saman chant. So we find the whole series of the seven notes, or *svaras* as they were called, of the octave."[2]

981. Naradīyāśikṣā thus connects the seven svaras of Sāmagāna with the seven svaras of classical music:

यस्सामगानां प्रथमस्स वेणोर्मध्यमस्स्मृतः ।
योऽसौ द्वितीयो गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषभस्स्मृतः ।
चतुर्थष्षड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत् ।
षष्ठो निषादो विज्ञेयस्सप्तमः पञ्चमस्स्मृतः ॥

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1. Popley, *Indian Music*, 8.

2. "Sama was the really musical portion of the Vedas and was indeed a mere melody for which words were found in the Rik or Yajur. It was mainly vocal and its scale—like its Greek prototype—was conceived downwards as a descending series, namely, G. R. S N. Indeed this scale was a primal tetrachord* of Samagamanam to the notes whereof the following names were respectively appended in those days, viz., Prathama, Dwithiya, Thrithiya and Chathurthi. Later on, a higher note M was added to which name of Krushta was given and two lower notes D and P called Mandra and Athisvara completed the scale of Samagamanam. Rikprathisakya however makes mention of three voice Registers or Sthayees as we call them; the Ramayana of Jathis and the Mahabharata of Gandharagrama."

* Tetrachord means group of four notes.

Saman.	*Classical.*	
Swara 1	Madhyama	(म)
„ 2	Gāndhāra	(ग)
„ 3	Ṛṣabha	(रि)
„ 4	Sadja	(स)
„ 5	Dhaivata	(ध)
„ 6	Niṣāda	(नि)
„ 7	Pancama	(प)

Thus the first hymn of Sāmasamhitā may be sung thus:

ओग्न इ । आयाहि इवो इतो या आयि । तोया आ इ ।
सासास । गागागरिमाममामागाग । मामागाग ॥

Nāradīyaśikṣa thus describes the svaras:

षड्जं मयूरो वदति गावो रम्भन्ति चर्षभम् ।
अजाविके तु गान्धारं क्रौञ्चो वदति मध्यमम ॥

पुष्पसाधारणे काले कोकिलो वक्ति पञ्चमम् ।
अश्वस्तु धैवतं वक्ति निषादं वक्ति कुञ्जरः ॥

Pāṇinīyaśikṣā thus describes the sources of svaras:

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ।
उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवतौ ।
स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥

982. "The velocity of slowness of sound" observed Sir W. Jones, "must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarification and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn and much quicker than in winter Hence the primary Ragas of the Hindus were arranged according to the number of Indian seasons. This restriction of the six Ragas to the six seasons, added on to the fact that the subject-matter of the songs sung therein were nothing else than that of the Vedas, kept the running water of music crystal and pure. It was however, when the Ragints and Puthras were introduced, that foreign elements, for the first time, mixed themselves into the original system and the strict discipline of the Indian music became not a little relaxed, just as the Italian music deteriorated immediately after the introduction of Madrigals into it. Thenceforward the Indian music carried with

it a fatal tendency which for a time threatened to vitiate or destroy the whole system, viz., the tendency of developing the 'secular,' as opposed to the 'religious' or 'spiritual' phase of music and of thus leading men and women astray to the baser side of human nature. The great Manu himself became afraid of it and wrote 'A student of Vedas must avoid ointments, collyrium, lust, anger, greed, dancing and (mark !) music.' The Bhākthi revival was expected to overhaul the whole system and bring it back to run in the proper groove. But, unfortunately, Buddhism and Jainism began to counteract the force of the Bhakthi revival. The former looked askance on music, while the latter gave it a positive set-back. The reason is that both Buddhism and Jainism developed an extremely perverted view on the philosophy of Desire. One of their chief tenets, it is well-known, was the extinction of desire. They worked up this tenet a little too much and argued in a vicious circle thus: 'the rose is good but the thorn is bad; since they persist in growing together, both of them must alike be destroyed" The idea of plucking the rose and chucking the thorn was not within their purview. Hence, together with thn thorn of its baser side, the very rose of music was attempted to be destroyed. Thank God that the Guardians of Humanity deported Buddhism to East Asia and interned Jainism in Mount Abu. With the disappearance of these two enemies of music, sangitham began to flourish again in India. To save it from slipping again into the hands of the dregs of society, high-minded sages like Bharatha took it up, enhanced its dignity and gave it a more and more scientific aspect."

983. The creator formulated the four Upaveḍas--Āyus, Ḍhanus, Gānḍharva and Arṭha—from the four Veḍas. These are the sciences of medicine, war, music and wealth. Gānḍhava the fourth, embraces a wide sphere, singing, acting, dancing etc.

Bharaṭa says:

जग्राह पाठ्यं ऋग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।

यजुर्वेदादभिनयं रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥

Gānḍharva treats of songs, dances and instruments. Early literature on the subject which appears to have been very extensive is lost and its vastness is seen from the description preserved in some Tanṭras.

984. Ṭanṭras are of Purāṇic antiquity and were composed when the sectarian forms of worship came into prominence. Music and dancing are to this day a particular feature in the daily worship of deities

and to this ritual must be referred the institution of Ḍevaḍāsis, that is, unmarried damsels devoted to the service of God. During these worships the gods are invoked, particularly the guardians of the quarters, the Ḍikpālas, and during such invocation the times and tunes adopted are those dedicated to or liked by the particular God. Among the instruments used in these festivals are the pipes and drums and all available genius is displayed at the closing ceremonial of the day, when the deity retires to rest. It is in these Ṭanṭras that much of the old musical literature is preserved. Among them Yāmalāṣṭakaṭanṭras is valuable for the purpose of literary history. It is as it were an elaborate index of contents of Sanskrit works on all branches of knowledge.

Of the 32 Yāmalaṭanṭras, some treat of music and the passages are worth quotation. Among the Śākṭeyaṭanṭras, Uddīsāmahoḍayam is valuable and in it we find a succinct description of 16 musical instruments. These ṭanṭrams mention the names of various early views of Umāmaheśvara, Bharaṭa, Nanḍi, Vāsuki, Nāraḍa, Vyāsa, Ḍurgā, Yāṣṭika, Ḍaṭṭila and this mention conclusively determines the age of those writers as of a very remote antiquity.

Yāmalāṣṭakaṭanṭra says :

गान्धर्ववेदः षट्त्रिंशत्सहस्रग्रन्थसम्मितः ।
यत्र सप्तस्वरोत्पतिकथनं परिकीर्त्यते ।
वीणातन्त्रं कलातन्त्रं रागतन्त्र मनुत्तमम् ।
मिश्रतन्त्रं ताळतन्त्रं गीतिकातन्त्रमेव च ।
लासिकोल्लासिकातन्त्रं मेळतन्त्रं महत्तरम् ।
जातिग्रहलयस्थानं मार्गाङ्गप्रक्रिया क्रिया ।
कालज्ञानं वाद्यवल्लीत्रिभिन्नाध्याय एव च ।
तुरङ्गगतिसारङ्गसिंहलीलाविजृम्भणम् ।
अङ्गहारप्रविक्षेपाध्यायस्संक्षोभणाक्रियाः ।
एवमादीनि गान्धर्ववेदे सन्ति सहस्रशः ॥

Of the 32 Yāmalaṭanṭras, the 9th, Kalāṭanṭra, treats of Rasa, Bhāva, Nāṭya and Kāmaśāsṭra, and the 19th, Vīṇāṭanṭra, embraces the whole field of music :

एकोनविंशं वीणाख्यतन्त्रं लक्षप्रमाणकम् ।
नादब्रह्मानन्दसिद्धिर्येन सिद्ध्यति वै नृणाम् ।
निषादादिस्वरोत्पत्तिर्गीतोत्पत्तैर्हि लक्षणम् ।
रागाणां भेदकथनं रागकालानुकीर्तनम् ।

ध्वनिप्रभेदकथनं मिश्रामिश्रावबर्हणम् ।
ताळश्रुतिलयादीनामुद्भवश्चोपवर्णनम् ।
चतुर्विधानां वीणानां लक्षणं तान्त्रिलक्षणम् ।
किन्नरस्वरयन्त्रादिलक्षणं मेळलक्षणम् ।
षड्गीतादिप्रकथनमुत्पत्तिस्थानवर्णनम् ।
एवमादीनि कीर्त्यन्ते यस्मिन् तन्त्रे सहस्रशः ॥

Ṭroṭālaṭanṭra, the 28th, deals with Ṭāla:

त्रोताळनामकं तन्त्रमष्टाविंशं सलक्षकम् ।
यस्मिन् भरतसर्वस्वं साक्षाच्छिवमुखोद्गतम् ।
लक्षणं ताळभेदानामङ्गुळोन्मानलक्षणम् ।
मार्गक्रियाङ्गजातीनां कलाग्रहलयोद्भवः ।
ध्रुवादिसप्तताळानां तद्भेदानां च लक्षणम् ।
वैनायिकानामैशानां वाग्भवानां च लक्षणम् ।
अन्येषां ताळकोटीनां शिवागमभुवां तथा ।
विधात्रिभिन्नलीलानां यस्मिन् तन्त्रे प्रकीर्त्यते ॥

985. Uddisamahamantrodaya[1] *appears to have been a work* devoted to the rituals of worship of Śiva under the name of Uddīśa. As usual with such works there are chapters in it, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters. The verse is fine and is in various metres.[2]

Kāśyapaṭanṭra has similar chapters on the subject.

986. Indian and Western Music. Popley sums up the main differences thus:

1. "The dominant factor in Indian music is melody, while that of western music is harmony. In the one case notes are related to definite notes of a *rage*, and in the other case to varying chords. Indian melody is produced by the regulated succession of concordant notes, while western harmony arises from the agreeable concord of various related notes. As a result of this differentiation, Indian music has developed solely along the lines of melody, while the greatest development of western music has taken place in the region of harmony. Does

1. *TC*, III. 3987. The name Ṭālavidhāna there given does not seem to be correct.

2. The instruments are all named; Ṭālavilasam, Salleri, Patana, Maḍḍala, Bherivigna, Himila, Thuthuka, Mithakkatha, Damaru, Murava, Angulisphota, Vīna, Ālamani, Rāvaṇahasṭaka, Uḍyanṭa, Ghoṣavaṭi, Brahmaka and each instrument has different kinds.

the fact that western music has developed a second dimension, so to speak, make it more advanced than Indian music? Can we call Indian Music has taken one line of development, that of melody, and in order to add to its charm and variety, has developed every phase of it, including time measure in ways that have never occured to the western mind. These are two lines of development, and perhaps one has travelled as far along its line, as the other upon its line.

2. Then again, Indian melody is cast in one definite mood throughout, and both time and tune are wrought into one homogeneous whole. Variations are not allowed to alter that mood, which persists with the *rage*. The balance of the music is obtained partly by time variations and partly by grace. In western music mood is used to articulate the balance of the whole piece. The particular times for singing the different *ragas*, the *rage* pictures and the emotions associated with them all fit into this idea to the Indian melody.

3. Then again and perhaps most important of all, in Indian music the salient notes are fixed by long association and tradition, and any alteration of such saliency is not as a rule possible in a melody. The relation of the individual notes to one another is settled by ancient tradition. In western music, on the other hand, the salient notes are made by the momentary impulse of the harmony or of the counterpoint, and it is the cluster of notes rather than the individual note which has special value.

4. Further in Indian composition the melody is dependent upon the relation to certain fixed notes which vary according to the *rage*. It sets no store by any progress through notes which suggest harmony, whereas western melodies tend to circle round the notes which are harmonically related to the tonic. As a result imitation at different levels, so common in western music, is very rarely found in Indian music, and the two tetrachords are seldom identical in the character of their constituents.

5. Indian music lays great stress on grace, gamaka—'curves of sound.' These are not mere accidental ornaments as in western music, but essential parts of the melodic structure.

6. The use of microtones in Indian music and the general absence of the tempered scale gives a very distinct flavour to it. To those whose ears have always been tuned to certain fixed intervals, this occurance of quite different intervals, some of them most strange to

western ears, alters the whole feeling of the music. Mrs. Mann says 'Western music is music without microtones, as Indian music is music without harmony.'

7. Another difference, that has a great deal to do with our appreciation or otherwise of music, is the matter of emphasis upon certain external qualities. Western music rightly has come to lay very great emphasis upon tone and timbre, whereas Indian music passes these by on the other side and gives all attention to execution and accuracy. The melody is not determined by canons of charm or pleasure, but by adherence to certain fixed standards; and the quality of tone in which the melody is sung or played does not have the importance it does in the west.

987. RABINDRANATH TAGORE goes down to the fundamental causes of the difference between music of East and West:

"It seems to me that Indian music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion, than with experience in an everyday sense. For us, music has above *all* a transcendental significance. It disengages the spiritual *from* the happenings of life; it sings of the relationship of the human soul with the soul of things beyond. The world by day is like European music a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. And the night world is our Indian music; one pure, deep and tender *raga*. They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit. But that cannot be helped. At the very root nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite. We men of India live in the realm of night; we are overpowered by the sense of the One and Infinite. Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lonely region of renunciation which lies at the root of the universe, while European music leads us a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy."

988. In the earliest literature on Gāndharva there were several schools of thought propounded by Nandikeśvara, Umāmaheśvara, Vāsuki, Sarasvatī, Nārada, Agastya and Vyāsa etc., Sāradātanaya mentions thus the names:

सदाशिवः शिवा ब्रह्मा भरतः काश्यपो मुनिः ।
मतङ्गो याष्टिको दुर्गा शक्तिः शार्दूलकोहलौ ॥

विशाखिलो दत्तिलश्च कम्बलोऽश्वतरस्तथा ।
वायुर्विश्वावसू रम्भार्जुनो नारदतुम्बुरू ॥

आंजनेयो मातृगुप्तो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।
स्वातिर्गुणो देवराजः क्षेत्रराजश्च राहलः ॥

उद्भ(रुद्र)टोऽन्यभिभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।
परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेकमहीपतिः ॥

व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोलटोद्भटशङ्कुकाः ।
भट्टोऽभिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरोऽपरः ॥

अन्ये च बहवः पूर्वे ये संगीतविशारदाः ।
अगाधं बोधमन्थेन तेषां मतपयोनिधिम् ।
निर्मथ्य श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवः सारोद्धारमिमं व्यधात् ॥

In Sangītamuktávali Ḍevenḍra sums up the names of earlier writers on music:

दुर्गाशक्तिदशास्यदत्तिलयुतः श्रीकाश्यपो याष्टिकं
प्रोक्तं कंबलकोहलावपि मुनिः श्रीमातृगुप्तार्जुनौ ।
देवः क्षत्ररुमाह्वनावपि च तौ राजा तथा राहलः
प्रोक्तः सोऽपि विशाखिलश्च मुनयः सङ्गीतविद्येश्वराः ॥

भोजराजो रुद्रसेनः प्राज्ञः सोमेश्वरोऽपि च ।
सङ्गीतविद्याकर्तारः कीर्तिताः सन्ति चापरे ॥

व्याख्यातार इमे ... शङ्कुकोद्भटलोल्लटाः ।
भट्टाभिनवगुप्तश्च प्रोक्तः कीर्तिधरोऽपि च ॥

989. Nanḍiśvarasamhitā was available about 350 years ago, but we now have the bare mention of it by King Raghunāṭha of Tanjore in his Sangītasuḍhā.[1] Yāska's views are found summarised in 200 vereses. Nāraḍasamhiṭā is not available, but Nāraḍa's views are found in Bṛhannāraḍiyapurāṇa and Nāraḍopaniṣaṭ. Rāgasāgara is in the form of a dialogue between Ḍaṭṭila and Nāraḍa.[2]

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1. समीक्ष्य नन्दीश्वरसंहितां तामालोक्य शास्त्रं भरतप्रणीतम्
ग्रन्थं बृहद्देश्यभिधं मतङ्गमुनिप्रणीतं निपुणं विलोक्य ।
विचार्य तां यष्टिकसंहितां च ज्ञात्वांजनानन्दनसंहितां च
उमापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रमुद्वीक्ष्य नन्दीशमतानुसारि ॥

2 See para 963 *supra*.

990. Aumapatam is an ancient but incomplete treatise on music, time, dancing and musical instruments, treated under 38 chapters. It purports to be a narration of Śiva to Pārvatī, and begins [1] with the origin of sounds (*nāḍa*) and the development of sounds into musical harmony. It differs in every respect from the works of Bharaṭa, Maṭanga and Kohala.[2] That it was a modern epitome of Nandīśvara Samhiṭā is mentioned by Raghunāṭha in his Sangīṭasuḍhā.[3] It was probably composed by Umāpaṭiśivārya of Cidambaram, the well-known writer on the Saivite worship, who must have flourished earlier than the 12th century A.D.[4]

991. Bharata's work is the most renowned. Having learnt the science from the Creator, Bharaṭa wrote two works, one the bigger in 12,000 verses and the other small in 6,000 verses. Thus says Śāraḍāṭanaya :[5]

नाट्यवेदाच्च भरतास्सारमुद्धृत्य सर्वतः ।
सङ्ग्रहं संप्रयोगार्हं मनुना प्रार्तितं व्यधुः ।
एकं द्वादशसाहस्रैश्श्लोकैरेकं तदर्धतः ॥

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1. *TC*, III. 3515. The treatment of dancing is incomplete.

2. प्रणिपत्य महेशानी शम्भुमासीनमन्तिके ।
पप्रच्छ तत्त्वतो ब्रूहि नादास्त्वद्रूपसंभवान् ॥

3. For instance he gives 126 minor divisions of svaras while Maṭanga mentions only 66 and Bharaṭa 22.

4. The whole of the 5th chapter is quoted by Caṭurakallināṭha (p. 228) in his commentary on Sangīṭaraṭnākara who lived in the days of king Devarāya II of Vijianagar (1423-1446 A.D.)

5. See S. Clement's Introduction to the *Study of Indian Music*, London. Here is an extract from a review of it in *JRAS*, (1914).

"An important chapter is that on the interpretation of the ancient textbooks, that is, the translation of relevant passages from the *Nāṭyāstra* of Bharata and the *Sangīta-ratnākara* of Śārngadeva, with the author's comments. It embraces conclusions as to the ancient system of tuning, propounds the theory that the ancient system required twenty-five *srutis* (not twenty-two as the textbooks say), and offers a theory as to the origin of the Indian scales. In the commentary on v. 25 of Bharata's ch. xxviii an interesting experiment is described, showing the relation of the *srutis* by taking two *viṇās* tuned in unison, and re-tuning one of them in successive stages. The experiment works out on the theory that the *srutis* are equal. As Mr. Clements says, they are not so, and the experiment is probably a merely theoretical one. But it has been the subject of great misinterpretation, and it would have been interesting to know the author's views on it. Unfortunately he breaks off his translation at this point. He has even been reproved by a critic for saying that Bharata thought the *srutis* were equal in size, and the critic adduced this passage to prove that Bharata taught the very opposite. The text, it is true, is slightly corrupt, but it is in such a case where an interpreter, or at least a sound translator, is most wanted."

षड्भिश्श्लोकसहस्त्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य सम्भवः ।
भरतैर्नामतस्तेषां प्रख्यातो भरताह्वयः ॥

"Bharaṭa attached more importance to rhythm than to time and devoted only 3 out of 27 chapters to music. He recognised the existence of 7 notes, of the four kinds thereof according to the number of sruthis between them and made mention of Grāmas, Mūrchanas and Jāthis. But it was significantly silent on those aspects, which had prior in its time degraded music, viz., the Raginis and the Puthras."

992. **Sanmukha**, also mentioned as Guha was an old writer on music, but the original work of Saṇmukha is lost. Sangrahacūdāmaṇi[1] is said to form part of Skanḍapurāṇa, composed by Saṇmukha. In three chapters, it deals with the origin of music, and musical tones. There are verses in it referring to Saḍānanḍa and Śārngaḍeva,[2] clearly showing that it must have been written far later than 14th century A.D. and could not have formed part of Skanḍapurāṇa. At best this must be a reproduction of the lost views of Saṇmukha.

Sangīṭacinṭāmaṇi is written in the Purāṇic style, as taught by Śiva to Pārvaṭī, Nāraḍa and others and apparently deals with the principles of Sāman chant.[3]

993. **Arjunabharatam** is the name borne by several works. The name indicates that the author was Arjuna. A work of that name composed by Nāgārjuna[4] is now available only in fragments and treats of music only. Nāgārjuna[5] was a Buddhist priest and lived in the reign of king So-to-po-ha-na. So says I Tsing.

994. ARJUNADIMATASARAM is an epitome on music by Madabhūṣhi Venkaṭācārya, son of Ananṭācārya of Naiḍhruvakaśyapagoṭra. He lived at Samalkot in East Godavari Dist. about 1880 A.D. He also wrote an allegorical play, Śūḍḍhasaṭvam, after which name he was known later.[6]

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1. The manuscript is found in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras). Cyavana is mentioned as a writer on music.

2. मनःकल्पितमार्गेण शास्त्रमुत्सृज्य दूरतः ।
गायन्ति शार्ङ्गदेवाद्याः ।

3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7265.

4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7229.

5. Virabhadra Row (*Andhrula Caritam* I. 152) gives date 134-200 A.D. Taranatha (*Annals of Tibet*) assigns him to 180-220 A. D. See his *History of Buddhism*.

6. Or. Ms. Library, Madras.

995. Vālmīki has a fierce metaphor on Vīṇa play with Rāvaṇa's prowess thus:

मम चापमयीं वीणां शरकोणैः प्रवादिताम् ।
ज्याशब्दतुमुलां घोरामार्तभीतमहास्वनाम् ॥

नाराचतलसन्नादां तां ममाहितवाहिनीम् ।
अवगाह्य महारङ्गं वादयिष्याम्यहं रणे ॥

In Śyāmilaka's Pādatāḍitaka, there is a fine reference to Vīṇa play:

इयमनुनयति प्रियं कुद्धमेषा प्रियेणानुनीता प्रसीदत्यसौ ।
सप्ततन्त्रीर्नखैर्घट्टयन्ती कलं काकळीपञ्चमप्रायमुत्कण्ठिता वल्गु गीतापदेशेन विक्रोशति ॥

(Mad. Edn.) IV. 24. 43-44.

996. **Rudra** or Rudrācārya is the author of a musical treatise, engraved on a rock at Kudimiyāmalai in Pudukkota State. His identity with Rudrata, the rhetorical writer is not probable. Maṭanga mentions a Rudrata as a writer on music and Kallinātha says so:[1]

"यथा यावत् षड्जमेव तारगतिः मध्यमस्याप्यत्र संवादित्वात् अनाशित्वात् तारगती रुद्रटेन कृता मध्यमस्येति मतंगोक्तम् ।"

So does Śārngadeva:

रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

Abhinavagupṭa probably criticises Rudrata as having misunderstood Bharaṭa:

रुद्रटादिभिस्तु एतमर्थमबुध्यमानैः उत्तानां श्लोकपाठविप्रलब्धैः सर्वत्रैव अष्टकलस्य उक्तः (?)

It is quite likely that this Rudra was a far earlier writer and lived at the beginning of the Christian era.[2]

"The tradition is that his full name was Rudrabhatta, and that on one occasion the King extorted from the poet the promise that he should remove the letter *bha* from his name and should be known as Rudrata, his famous namesake and predecessor."

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1. *EI*, XII. 231; Pudukkota State Inscriptions, No. 9. It is not established that he was the priest of King Mahendravikrama, author of Maṭṭavilāsa.

2. Can he be the same as Medhāvi Rudra?

In an inscription dated Śāka 1151 (*JBRAS*, XXIX 260) the following Canarese verse refers to Ruḍrata :

Adarol nija namekshara vide sasira
Ponge kottadan Bidipanitu dinam
Padedam Rudratanembi padematam
Rudrabhattanurvijanadim.

This shows that among the letters of his name he pledged one *bha* for a thousand gold coins ; so the world called him by the awkward name of Ruḍraṭa.

997. **Madanapala** was the son of Canḍraḍeva and king of Kanouj (whose inscriptions are dated 1104-1109 A.D.)[1] of Gahadavala dynasty. He was a patron of letters and after his name go a lexicon and a work on Ḍharmaśāsṭra. His Ānanḍasanjīvana[2] is a work on music.

Vīrabhattaḍeśika lived in the court of Kākaṭīya king Ruḍraḍeva and wrote Nātyaśekhara in 1160 A.D.

998. **Jayadeva's** GITAGOVINDA has been noticed. It is akin to the Song of Songs of Solomon in the Old Testament and has been translated with inimitable grace by Sir Edwin Arnold.

"It was only a lyrical composition to celebrate the triumph of true love between Radha and Krishna. It is true that Jayadeva assigned a definite Raga and a definite Thala to cach of his 24 songs or prabandhas. Jayadeva's Ragas were Malava, Gurjari, Vasantha, Ramakari, Malavagowda, Karnata, Desakya, Desivaradi, Gowdakari, Bhairavi and Vibhasa; and his Thalas were: Yathi, Roopaka, Eka, Nissara and Ashta. But can any one of the modern singers, etther in North or South India, sing at least one of the 24 prabandhas in the Raga and Thala assigned by him? There was neither the notation to record the songs and transmit them to successive generations nor any scientific treatment in it whereby to teach or suggest the methods of singing them."

Besides commentaries already noted, there are others by Nārāyaṇa Panḍiṭa, Rūpāḍeva and one anonymous.[3]

1. *IA*, XVIII. 11 ; *EI*, V. App. 18.
2. *Bik*. 509. The manuscript is dated Sam. 1585.
3. *Tanj*. XVI. 7386-40. See para 296 *supra*.

999. **Krsnadatta** (Maiṭhila) interprets Gīṭagovinḍa as referring to Śiva instead of Viṣṇu and compares his feat with the work of Maḍhusūḍana who wrested Mahimnasṭuṭi to the service of Viṣṇu.

विशदितशिवपक्षां गीतगोविन्दटीकां रचयति शशिलेखां मैथिलः कृष्णदत्तः ।
इह न विविधटीकाव्यंजितः कृष्णपक्षो विवृत उभयपक्षैकाभिधेयं पदं वा ॥

शैवं नाद्रियते सुधीरपि मतं प्रायोऽधुना वैष्णवः
शैवो नैव च वैष्णवं निजनिजासद्वासनावासितः ।
मत्वेत्थं मधुसूदनोऽपि मुरजित्पक्षे महिम्नस्तुतिं
व्याचख्यौ जयदेवसूक्तिमपि तां शैवे नयाम्यध्वनि ॥

1000. Visvanathasimha, Chief of Rewah, of the Vaghela race (1833-1854 A.D.) wrote a poem Rāmācanḍrāhnika in praise of Rāma on the style of Gīṭagovinḍa with commentary on it and under his patronage Priyaḍāsa, a poet of his Court, wrote a similar work Sangīṭa-Raghunanḍana in 16 cantos. The latter work has also been by courtesy attributed to Viśvanāṭhasimha.[1]

1001. Candrasekhara Sarasvati the 63rd Ācārya of Kāmakotipīṭha of Kancī (1729-1789 A,D.) wrote Śivagiṭimālikā in 12 cantos.[2] Cina Bommabhūpāla wrote Sangīṭa-Rāghava in 6 cantos on the story of Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

Besides works mentioned in para 298 supra there are the following works are in the style of Gīṭagovinḍa: Sâhajivilâsagīṭam by Dhundhirāja, Sāharājastapaḍī, Sangīṭasunḍara by Saḍāśiva Ḍīkṣita,[4]

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1. *HPR*, Cat. Nos. 5055, 5259. Viśvanāthasimha's ancestor was Bḥavasimha (1660-1690 A.D.) Bḥavasimha brought a copy of Somadeva's Koṭhasariṭsāgara from Kashmir, had it revised and transcribed by pandits of his Court. Among these pandits was one Rupaṇimiśra who added 99 verses describing the genealogy of Bḥavasimha and mentioning therein the names of the learned men of his Court, Balakrṣṇa, Kiśora, Govarḍhana Vājapeyin, Lālamaṇi, Vallabha, Kamalanayana and Laksmaṇabhatta.

"The Vaghela Rajaputs trace their descent from Viradhavala's son Vyaghradeva who migrated to Northern India from Gujarat in about 1233-4 A.D. His son Kamadeva got the fort of Bandhogarh from his father-in-law and Bandhogarh became the capital of the Vaghela Rulers. After its destruction by Akbar in 1597 the town of Bewah was established at the capital (Rewah State Gazette, Vol. IV, Lucknow, 1907). Since then the State is known by the name of Rewah State."—See Dr. Har Datt Sarma's article on "*Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit poets patronised by them*"—published in Dr. Krishnaswam Aiyangar's Comm. Volume.

2. *Tanj*. XVI. 7343-5.
3. *Tanj*. XVI. 7283.
4. *Tanj*. XVI. 7339-49.

Giṭa-Gangāḍhara by Nanjarājasekhara,[1] Kṛṣṇagīṭa by Mānaveḍa.[2] [Kṛṣṇalilavilāsa, Rāmāsṭapaḍī, Śankarasangiṭa of Jayanārāyaṇa,[3] Sankarigīti of Śārngaḍeva, Sangīṭa-Raghunanḍana of Viśvanāṭha,[4] Gīṭa-śankara of Ananṭanārāyaṇa, son of Mṛṭyunjaya.[5]

Nārāyaṇaṭīrṭha's Kṛṣṇalīlāṭarangiṇī has been noticed. Vijayagopāla was almost his contemporary and composed many stray songs of devotion. Bhaḍrāḍrivāsas' name is found in his Kīrṭanas, but his real name is not known ; his songs are simple and touching and are very popular. These are included and printed in Bhajanoṭsavakaumuḍī published in Kumbakonam.

1002. Nanyadeva (or Rājanārāyaṇa) was a king of Tirhaut (Miṭhila). He was subjugated by Vijayasena of Bengal in 1160 A.D. and probably (according to Levi) ruled in 1097-1147 A.D. He founded the Karnātaka dynasty in the valley of Nepal. Besides a commentary on Bhavabhūṭi's Malaṭīmāḍhavam, he wrote a Bhāṣya on Bharaṭanāṭya-śāsṭra, also called Bharaṭavārṭika, Sarasvaṭī-hṛḍaya-bhūṣaṇa or SARASVATI-HRDAYA-ALANKARA-HARA, in 17 chapters of about 10,000 granthas. The manuscript is in the library of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

"Every step in the advancement of music was closely traced to the rites of the Vēdic Epoch, and every instrument was brought face to face with that used in the sacrificial rites by sacred *Rshis.* He gives full information on every subject except on flute, where he is eclipsed by a voracious royal scholar, Kumbhakarna. Some chapters treat of *sapta-gītis, deśi-gītis* and the ancient *tāla* system which are now obsolete. The first of these topics was elaborately dealt with by Bharata, while the *deśi-gītis* the source of later *prabandhas* took a prominent place in the grand work of Matanga. Dattila and Abhinava seem to have bestowed greater attention upon the *sapta-gītis,* knowledge of which was indispensible to the right understanding of the Vēdic rites in *Aśvamēḍha* and *Rājasuya.* Those seven sacred chants were first sung by Dakshabrahmā to propitiate gods. *Ekatantrī, Pināki* and *Kinnarī viṇas* were introduced to produce all the graces of the seven songs when sung by

1. He was Nanjarāja, brother of Dalavoy Devarāja and son of Kalave Virarāja See para 938 *supra* and summary of *Papers* read at 8th Indian Oriental Conference, Mysore (p. 80). that by A. N. Narasimha.
2. *Trav*, 84.
3. Printed *JSSP*, Calcutta.
4. *Adyar*, II. 45 : *Oudh*, V. 18.
5. He was also called Pancaraṭnakavi, see para 153 *supra*.

the *rshis.* Nānyadeva gives details for about 140 *rāgas.* He is always careful to quote his authorities and thus on *rāgas* his chief masters are Kāśyapa and Matanga. Śārngadēva covered a wider range of 260 *rāgas,* many of which were abandoned long before his day. Nandin also discussed about the same number. But Śārngadēva was not much indebted to Nandin for his materials which were directly taken from Nānyadēva for *rāgas* and from Abhinava for all critical matter, though he never mentions his creditors anywhere. A close comparison of Śārnga's work with the production of Abhinava will reveal the astonishing insight with which he studied the psychology of the great philosopher Abhivava."[1]

1003. Sarngadeva (Svasṭighṛi) belonged to an affluent family of Kāṣmir. His grand-father Bhāskara migrated to the Deccan. By the worship of Bhillama his father Soddhala attained fame and established the sovereignty of King Singhana of the Yāḍava dynasty of Daulatabad (Deogiri) who ruled between 1132 and 1169 A.D.[2] Sārngaḍeva was the Auditor-General under that king. He was great not merely in music, but in medicine and philosophy. His literary attainments were of a high order and in him, he says, Sarasvaṭī had sought repose.[3] He calls himself often as "Niśśanka" and under that name he invented a Vīṇa.

His SANGITARATNAKARA is a well known treatise on music which embraces in it the views of all ancient writers, and has by its comprehensive treatment attained almost the first place in musical literature. It

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1. He quotes two sages Āstika and Chaṭra not mentioned elsewhere. M R. Kavi, "*Literary Gleanings*" *AHQ*, III. See R. C. Majumdar, *IHQ*. VII. 679; K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, IX. 310, X. 87.

2. See Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*; Wilson, *Theatre*, gives the date between 9th and 12th centuries A.D.

3. So he writes :

नानास्थानेषु संभ्रान्ता परिश्रान्ता सरस्वती ।
सहवासप्रिया शश्वद्विश्राम्यति यदालये ॥

स विनोदैकरसिको भाग्यवैदग्ध्यभाजनम् ।
धनदानेन विप्राणामार्तीः संहृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥

जिज्ञासूनां च विद्याभिर्गदार्तानां रसायनैः ।
अधुनाखिललोकानां तापत्रयजिहीर्षया ॥

शाश्वताय च धर्माय कीर्तिनिःश्रेयसाप्तये ।
आविष्करोति संगीतरत्नाकरमुदारधीः ॥

is not a mere epitome of the older works, but proceeds on an original definition and discussion. But the lapse of centuries since Śārngadeva's time has wrought a change in the modes and practices of singing, so that his description of Rāgas and Ṭālas differs from the actualities of this century. Śārngaḍeva recorded the art of his time and therefore gives us a glimpse of the progress of music in India.

1004. Sangīṭaraṭnākara is in seven parts and each part is divided into Prakaraṇas. The first, Swarāḍhyāya, treats of musical notes, scales etc. The second, Rāgāḍhyāya, contains definitions and examples of the different classes of melodies etc. The third called, Prakīrṇāḍhyāya explains some technical terms etc. The fourth, Prabanḍhāḍhyāya, furnishes rules of composition etc. The fifth, Ṭālāḍhyāya, treats of measures of time. The sixth, Vāḍyāḍhyāya, deals with musical instruments and their use. The seventh, Nṛṭyāḍhyāya, explains dancing and acting.

There are commentaries on it by Simhabhūpāla,[1] Keśava,[2] Kallināṭha,[3] Hamsabhūpāla, and Kumbhakarṇa and one anonymous.[4] Gangārāma has written an elaborate commentary in Hindi.[5]

1005. Jagadekamalla Praṭāpacakravarṭin was a Calukya king of Kalyān (1138-1150 A.D).[6] Śārngaḍeva mentions him with respect. He was a follower of Abhinavagupṭa. In five chapters, he composed SANGITACUDAMANI[7] on music and dancing.

1006. Somesvara or **Bhulokamalla,** who ruled in 1116-1127 A.D.[8] " devoted his entire attention to song and dance, so much so that models of South Indian music took the appellation of *Karnāṭa,* the land over which he ruled.[9] He even condescended to get down from

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1. Ed. by Kalivara Vedantavagisa, Calcutta (Swarāḍhyāya only). He is not the same as the author of the Rasārnavasuḍhākara.

2. The commentary is called Kausṭubha (Oriental Mans. Library). This and the commentary of Kallināṭha are said not be satisfactory by Raghunāṭha.

3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7270. Ed. (Anandāsrama series) by M. R. Telang, Bombay.

4. Named Canḍrikā.

5. *Tanj*, XVI. 7279.

6. See para 89 note..

7. The manuscript is in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras).

8. *Mys. Ins.* Nos. 32, 34, 42, 44 ; *JBRAS*, XI. 253, dated 1044 to 1149 A.D. See *IA*, VII. app. 42; XII. 212.

9. Henceforward South Indian music began to develop into distinct schools in the Karnāta and Āndhra countries and became often blended almost unconsciously by

his throne to teach a certain grace in posture in a dance called Kuṇḍalī to a Mahratta dancer and henceforward it was called *gonḍini*.

कल्याणकटके पूर्वं भूतमातृमहोत्सवे ।
सोमेशः कौतुकी कांचिद् भिल्लवेषमुपेयुषी ।
नृत्यन्तीमथ गायन्तीं स्वयं प्रेक्ष्य मनोहरम् ।
प्रीतो निर्मितवान् चित्रगौण्डिनीविधमिलयम् ।
सततभिल्ली महाराष्ट्रैर्गौण्डिनीत्याभिधीयते ।

Prabanḍhas of pleasing combinations were productions of his Court. In his Mānasollāsa[1] he has devoted 2500 verses to music and instruments and touched on new phases of music specially Prabanḍhas."

One Someśvara is mentioned by Śārngaḍeva and Śāraḍāṭanaya along with Bhoja. The identity of this Someśvara is uncertain.

Sangīṭaraṭnāvali[2] described in the catalogues as Somarājaḍeva's may not be the work of the king Someśvara. Probably he is "a Praṭīhāri of the Cālukya king Ajayapāla of Gujarat (1174-1177 A.D.)"[3]

1007. Natankusam[4] contains an able discussion of rasa and abhinaya and their mutual relations. It deplores the misapplication of abhinaya in its days and illustrates the criticism by instancing a verse from Śakṭibhaḍra's Āścaryacūdāmaṇi.[5] From a word Mahima in the first verse, it has been suggested that Mahimabhatta was probably its author and in any view it cannot be assigned to a date later than 14th century A.D. It refers to the drama Praṭijnāyaugandharāyaṇa and to the heroine Kurangī (of the play Avimāraka) and the incident of Yaugandharāyana's fictitious self-immolation in fire (described in Vīṇāvāsavaḍaṭṭā).

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vernacular adoption. Thus says Venkatanāṭha in Hamsasandeśa (of the 13th century A.D.):

इक्षुच्छाये किसलयमयं तल्पमातस्थुषीणां
सल्लापैस्तैर्मुदितमनसां शालिसंरक्षिकाणाम् ।
कर्णाटान्ध्रव्यतिकरभिदाकर्बुरे गीतिभेदे
मुह्यन्तीनां मदनकलुषं मौग्ध्यमास्वादयेथाः ॥

1. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda.
2. See list of authors on music in Sangīṭamakaranḍa, *GOS*, Baroda, p. 56.
3. On this, see Int. to Bhāvaprakaśa, *GOS*, Baroda, pp. 72-5.
4. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.
5. Here the author refers to the tradition that Āscaryacuḍāmaṇi was the work of Śankara.

1008. Jayasenapati wrote Nṛṭṭaraṭnāvali in eight chapters, and deals with *mārga* and *deśi* kinds of music. In the former he followed Bharaṭa and in the latter, chiefly Someśvara, but all the latest improvements in dancing were also incorporated. It was composed in the year Ānanḍa, 1254 A.D.[1] Jāyasenapaṭi was the commander of elephant forces under Kākatīya Gaṇapaṭi, king of Warrangal (1200-1265 A.D.).[2]

1009, Ragasagaram is a work in 3 chapters in Purāṇic style narrated in a dialogue between Nārada and Ḍaṭṭila on the different kinds of rāgas, their forms and attributes. Seeing that later theories are adopted in it, and Śārnagaḍeva is mentioned by name, it could not be earlier than 14th century A.D.[3]

1010. Parsvadeva was the son of Āḍiḍeva and Gaurī of the race of Śrikantha and desciple of Mahāḍevarāya. He was a Jain and his belief is that music is a way to salvation, while Ḍarśanas are not. He calls himself Sangiṭāsakara and Śruṭijnānacakravarṭin,[4] Abhinava-Bharaṭācārya etc. He refers to kings Bhoja, Someśvara and Paramarḍin and is quoted by Singabhūpāla and must therefore have lived in the 13th century. His SANGITASAMAYASARA is 9 aḍhikaraṇas, on nāḍa and ḍhwani, on sthāyis, on rāgas, on dhokki etc., on Vāḍya, on abhinaya, on ṭāla, on vāḍya, and on prastāra etc., and ends with āḍhvayoga.[5] He mentions writers king Praṭāpa, Ḍigambara and Śankara thus :[6]

i. पञ्चतालेश्वरो यद्वा हृद्यं गद्यमथापि वा ।
आलिक्रमोऽयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥

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1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7236.

2. For Jāyasenapaṭi's inscriptions, dated Saka 1135, 1153, 1157, see *EI*, III. 84; V. 143; VI. 39.

For Gaṇapaṭi's inscription, see *IA*, XXI. 200, and some unpublished ones from Vaddamānu in Nizam's dominions are with M. Ramakrishnakavi, Madras.

3. *DC*, XXII. 8742.

4. श्रीमदभयचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रचरणकमलमधुकरायितमस्तक - महादेवार्यशिष्य - स्वरविमल-विद्यापुत्र सम्यक्त्वचूडामणि - भरतभाण्डीकभाषाप्रवीण - श्रुतिज्ञानचक्रवर्ति - सङ्गीताकरनामधेय-पार्श्वदेवविरचिते सङ्गीतसमयसारे ॥

5. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda. But really the 1st chapter and 40 verses in 2nd chapter are left out and as it is printed it is only the 2nd chapter and not the 1st. *DC*, XXII. 8751; *Mys.* 309 (called Sangiṭasāra-sangraha): He mentions Tumburu, Maṭanga, Kāśyapa, Daṭṭila, Kohala and Hanuman as writers on music.

6. There is one Vikrama quoted in Sangīṭamakaranḍa. Are these identical ?

ii. केशवबन्धकरौ प्रोक्तौ तौ दिगम्बरसूरिणा ।
उत्तानावश्रितौ किंचित् पार्श्वगौ त्रिपताकरौ ॥

iii. सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।
कथितं शंकरेणेदं एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

1011. Sri Vidyacakravartin. Viḍyācakravarṭin II (Kālakalabha) was the son of Vaiḍyanāṭha and grandson of Viḍyācakravarṭin I. He wrote Gaḍyakarṇāmṛṭa, which true to its name, is an illustration of melody in prose. For instance, there is this description of an evening walk of Śiva and Pārvaṭī in the celestial gardens on mount Kailāsa accompanied by Vijayā, the hand-maid of Pārvaṭī :

अत्रान्तरे वनलतान्तरितविग्रहा देवीपरिचारिकासु काचित्प्राभृतिका नाम कलमधुरामिमां गाथामगाथयत् ।

तमसि सखि यूथिके त्यज गौरीनिश्वसितसौरभस्पर्धाम् ।
किमकृत समुच्छ्वसन्ती सासूयं मालतीलतिका ॥

अथ श्रुत्वा निशथिसूचिनीमिमामार्यामुमापतिरुमया सह नमेरुतलादुददिष्ठत् । उत्थाय च निजमिकेतनाभिमुखं वृषभकेतनः कान्तया सह परिणताहिमकराकिसलयितेन कैलाससानुवर्त्मना जगाम । गौरी गच्छन्ती क्वचित्कुतूहलात् स्थलकमलदलशयनतलनिषण्णमितरेतराङ्गसंस्पर्शसुखनिमीलितलोचनमिव निद्रायमाणं हंसमिथुनमाशिञ्जितनूपुरेण पदेन पस्पृशत् । ततस्तच्चरणचालितमपि मुहुर्निशीथनिद्रान्तरमन्थरे कथमपि कृतकलगद्गदरवमुन्मील्य लोचने पुनरपि निमिमील हंसयुगळम् । अत्र क्वचित्सरस्तीरसीम्नि विरहविधुरामधीरताहितारवामालिजनेन ग्राहयित्वा चक्रवाकीं प्रियसमीपमानिनाय सा । पुनरानीता प्रियतममन्तिकगतमप्यजानती विधिवशादन्यतो यान्ती करुणतरमाचक्रन्द चक्रवाकी । कुत्रचित्कान्तमनुसरतीमन्तरा कौमुदीमदविघूर्णमानलोचनामपथप्रस्थितां निवार्य वर्त्मनि चकार चकोरीं चकोराक्षी । क्वचिद्बहिरवस्थितमधुकरानुशोचितां विरहकृतविविधविलापां स्वरुचिपङ्कजोदरबन्धनस्थां मधुकरीं विभिद्य मुकुळं विजया करेण विमोचयामास ।

इत्थं विविधविहारव्यापृतां विनोदयन् दयितां मदचपलचकोरलोचनपुटपाटलिमपल्लवितचन्द्रिकाप्रसरेण मन्दमारुतान्दोळितशेफालिकापरिमळलहरीपरिप्लवमानषट्पदेन पदेन चन्द्रकान्तदृषन्निष्यन्दश्वेतशिशिरशैलेयसुरभिशिलातलेन (?) निशीथयूथिकामोदवासितवनदेवताकुन्तलेन निरन्तरविसृमरकैतकपरागधूसरचकोरकामिनीचरणेन रजताचलमेखलापथेन सविलासमालयमाजगाम ॥

1012. Vasudeva was the son of Viḍyācakravarṭin II. He had two sons Mahāḍeva and VIDYACAKRAVARTIN III. Mahāḍeva was a

1. See articles by M. R. Kavi and M. Doraisamayya in *Tirupati Sri Venkatesvara* (Journal now defunct); and paras 100 and 480 *supra*.

pious Brahmin who performed various sacrifices. Thus his brother describes him :—

श्रीवल्लभो यस्य सुतोऽतिरात्रयज्वा महादेवसमाह्वयोऽभूत् ।
बल्लालपृथ्वीपतिरभ्यगच्छत् यस्माच्चतस्रोऽपि नृपालविद्याः ॥

यस्तोत्रशस्त्रानुगतैरतन्त्रमावर्तमानैरतिरात्रयज्वा ।
इज्यातृषा सोमसवैः पशूनां सारं समस्तं तिसृणामचूषत् ॥

दौर्भाग्यमक्ष्णोर्मिषतां हराद्भिः प्रभाप्ररोहैः शरणे यदीये ।
त्रीण्युद्धृतानिच्छलतोऽनुसन्ध्यं त्रयीनिधानान्यमिसंज्वलन्ति ॥

In his commentaries on Kāvyaprakāsā and Alankārasarvasva, he immortalised kings of Hoysāla dynasty and the martial glory of his patron Ballāla III (1191-1342 A.D.) Thus he says :

बल्लालभूपस्य मनोभिरामैर्वाचां विलासैरतिवल्लभोऽभूत् ।
उन्मूलितस्थापितभूमिपालदेशेषु पद्यैरुपवर्ण्य गीताः ।
उट्टङ्किता येन महाशिलासु बल्लालभूपस्य भुजप्रतापाः ॥

उदाहृतिरवेन नयैर्निबध्य काव्यप्रकाशादिषु लक्षणेषु ।
निवेशिता येन जगत्समक्षं ख्यातिं गता होसलराजगाथाः ॥

वेदान्तयोगागमसङ्ग्रहीत्रा प्रकीर्णकस्यापि तदर्पणेन ।
व्याख्याय येनोपचितानि लोकैः काव्यप्रकाशादिनिबन्धनानि ॥

काष्ठा प्राप्तिरियं परा खलु परीपाकस्य भाग्योन्नतेः
श्रीबल्लालनृपाल ! यद्वयमिमौ पादौ तवोपास्महे ।
यस्तिष्ठेत् प्रतिहारसीम्नि भवतो रुद्धप्रवेशश्चिरं
किं नासावपि चोळपाण्ड्यपृथिवीपालैः समं गण्यते ॥

(Kāvyaprakāśa-vyākhyā, page 144)

His life was spent in the royal courts. He grew old. He had sons who were as good and great as himself. In his old age in order to purify himself of any वाक् कालुष्य (sins of the tongue) he wrote the glorious deeds of Lord Kṛṣṇa in his marriage with Rukminī.

In his own words :—

यश्छत्रभद्रासनचामराद्यैः स्फीतैर्महाराजपदैर्भुनक्ति ।
सभासु राज्ञां च विपश्चितां च साहित्यराज्यं कविचक्रवर्ती ॥

सोऽहं प्रवृद्धामुपभुज्य लक्ष्मीं प्रसूय पुत्राननुरूपशीलान् ।
विचार्य चात्मानमबाह्यकामो विष्णुं भजे वाकलुषापनुत्यै ॥

पराशरव्याससुकोपदिष्टं यथावदालम्ब्य कथाशरीरम् ।
व्यावर्ण्यते भीष्मसुताविवाहः फलान्तमारभ्य हरेः प्रसूतिम् ॥

He has not altered the purāṇic story but by various descriptions he has heightened the poetic effect:

दिव्ये कथावस्तुनि नात्र किंचिदुत्पादितं नापि विमिश्रितं वा ।
नित्योपमेया रससारभूम्ना कृतौ वरं वर्णनसृष्टिरस्याम् ॥

Viḍyācakravarṭin II wrote commentaries on Virūpākshṣapancāśika, Kāvyaprakāśa, Alankārasarvasva and Ḍaśaslokī. In Rūkmiṇīkalyāṇa the descriptions and trophes are fine and natural. The fifth canto excels in giving a beautiful and vivid picture of Kṛṣṇa's rāsakridā.

मल्लीस्रजो मुकुलपाकपरार्घ्यगन्धा गोपस्य गोपसुदृशां च विलेपनार्द्राः ।
इन्दोः करानुपगताः कबरीभरेषु पत्रावळीविदलनैर्गणयांबभूवुः ॥
आन्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमुख्यान्याकर्ण्य गीतगमकानि मुकुन्दवेणौ ।
चित्तं चमत्कृतिवशेन नभश्चराणामान्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमासीत् ॥
श्लिष्टोभयद्रुतविनिस्सरणोत्तराणि व्यग्रापचङ्क्रमणवन्त्यविकीर्णरेणु ।
अर्धक्रमस्खलदनुल्बणलङ्घितानि रेजुः पदानि सुदृशां चलनूपुराणि ॥
यो नायकोऽजनि स एव रसातिपाकाद्गोपीजनैः सह भवन्नुपनायकोऽपि ।
एकाश्रयां युगपदेव विरुद्धरूपां मुख्योपसर्जनदशां पतिराससाद ॥
स्वे स्वे सहाभिनयसीम्नि निरभ्यसूयः प्रेमद्रुतान्तरतया परनिर्व्यपेक्षः ।
रूपेषु पार्श्वयुगसन्निहितेषु विष्णोर्गोपीजनस्य ववृधे मदनोपचारः ॥[1]

Viḍyācakravarṭin quotes from his BHARATASANGRAHA in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa. Thus he refers to dance-eye or Nṛtyadṛṣti:*

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1. *Poet's Family.*

Viḍyācakravarṭin
|
Vaiḍyanāṭha
|
not known
Probably Kālakalabha
alias Viḍyacakravārṭin I
|
Vāsuḍeva
m. Pattamma daughter of
Caṭurveḍi Guru
|
Mahāḍeva — Śri Viḍyācakravarṭin II

Kings' Family.

Bhallāla II
(1173-1219 A.D.)
|
Nṛsimha II
(1220-1235 ?)
|
Someśvara
M. Bijjalāmbā
(1240-57 ?) A.D.
|
Narasimha III
(1261-1290 A.D.)
md. Pattamma *dr.* of Pāndya
King
|
Bhallāla III
(1291-1342)

1. See para 100 *supra*; also article on Mallikārjunasukṭisuḍhārṇavam (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1931, p. 81).

बुद्धिकारिताः चक्षुर्विकाराः इङ्गितं । उक्तं हि मया भरतसंग्रहे—

तारकापुटदृष्ट्यादेः विकारानिङ्गितं विदुः ।

आकाराः सात्त्विकाः भावाः पूर्वे बुद्ध्वा परेऽन्यथा ॥

उक्तं हि मया भरतसंग्रहे—

सा न्यञ्चितं न्यञ्चदपाङ्गभाव इति ।

1013. Haripala or Haripālaḍeva or Hari was the son of Kumiri (?) and grandson of Somanāṭha. He was probably king Haripāla of the Yāḍava dynasty of Ḍevagiri (1312-1318) who was killed by Mubarak in 1318 A.D. and not king Haripāla of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilvid (1145-1155 A.D.) He calls himself Vicāracaṭurmukha and Vīṇāṭanṭraviśārada and says he wrote 100 works of enchanting sentiments. He describes his own learning thus:

षड्भाषारचितारपदा रसगुणालङ्कारिणी निस्तुषा

वक्त्री यस्य परं विहाररसिका जाता गिरां देवता ॥

When on a visit to the shrine of Śrīrangam, he stayed there for some time and at the request of the dancers and musicians there he composed his Sangīṭasuḍhākara[1]. In 6 chapters, it deals with nātya, tal, vāḍya, rasa, and prabanḍha, with an appendix on Gāyakalakṣaṇa.[23]

In Sangīṭasuḍhākara he is mentioned as an author on music along with Śārngaḍeva among Āḍhunikas (moderns)[4]. In an anonymous work Abhinayaśāsṭram[5], there is a reference to him:

आदावन्ते दोदिगाथा मध्ये पाठाक्षरैर्युताम् ।

मोहनारेदिसंज्ञोऽसौ कथितो हरिभूभुजा ॥

1014. Hammira[6] was probably the King of Mewar and the

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1. *TC*, I. 1025, IV. 4570; *Tanj*, XVI. 7293.
2. R. Sewell, *Arch. Sur. of India*, II. 254.
3. M. Duff (*Chronology*, 215) and Bhandarkar (*Hist. of Deccan*, III. 157) call him Harapāla. He was 6th in succession from Aparājiṭa (990-1010 A.D.) The geneology is this: Aparājiṭa—his sons Vijjada (1010-1015) and Arikesari (1015-1025)—Arikesari's sons, Cittarāja (1025-1045), Nāgarāja (1045-1055), Mummidirāja (1055-1085)—Nāgarāja's son Ananṭaḍeva Konkaṇa Cakravartin (1085-1125)—his son Aparāḍiṭya I (1125-1145)—his son Harapāla (1145-1155)—his son Mallikarjuna (1155-1175) —his son Aparāḍiṭya II (1175-1200).
4. *Adyar*, I. 380; *TC*, IV. 4658; *Trav.* 73; *Tanj.* XVI. 7293.
5. *DC*, XXII. 8720-1.
6. On several Hammiras, see para 118. A Chowhan King Hammira, hero of Nayacanḍra's poem, is mentioned by his son Allarāja or Mallarāja in his rhetorical work Rasaraṭnaḍīpikā.

fifth ancestor of King Kumbhakarṇa who commented on Sangītaratnākara etc. Hammīra died in 1394 A.D..[1] In his Sangītaśṛngārahāra,[2] he mentions an earlier writer Jaitrasimha (King).

1015. **Lakshmana Bhaskara** wrote a work called Maṭangabharaṭa based on Maṭanga, dealing mostly with dancing in about a thousand verses. He was earlier that the Naik King of Tanjore and may have lived about 14th century A.D.[3]

1016. **Sudhakalasa** was a Jain and pupil of Rājaśekharasūri. In six chapters on music and dancing, he wrote Sangītopaniṣaḍ with commentary calling the whole Sangīṭopaniṣaḍ[4] in Sam. 1380 (1323 A.D.) and in Sam. 1406 (1349 A.D.).

1017. **Trilocanaditya's** Nāṭyalocana[5] is widely cited by commentators such as Ḍivākara and Cāriṭravarḍhana, Ḍivākara lived about 1385 A.D. and this work must have been composed in 14th century A.D. He also wrote Locanavyākhyāñjana.[6]

1018. ASTAVADHANI SOMANARYA wrote Svararāgasuḍhārasam or Nāṭyacūḍāmaṇi, a learned treatise in 7 chapters on music and dancing.[7] Among original writers he quotes is Rāvaṇa. He was a follower of Nāraḍa's school and differs frequently from Bharaṭa. Somanārya was probably the great Telugu poet Nācana Somana the author of Uṭṭara-Harivamśa, who was the donee under a grant dated 1344 A.D. of king Bukka I of Vijayanagar.[8]

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1. See Rajputana Gazetteer, II. A, Mewar Residency. The geneologee give them thus: Hammira-Khetsingh—sons, Lakka (1382-97) and Mokal (1397-1433)—latter's son Kumbha (1433-1468).

2. S. R. Bhandarkar's *Rep. of Raj.* and *C. I. Mss*, 54, 92-3.

3. *Tanj.* XVI. 7231.

4. *Bik.* 528.

5. *CC*, I. 284; III. 81.

6. *Opp.* 2695.

7. *DC*, XXII. 8723, 8729, *TC*, I. R. No. 366 in the controversy over Ṭyāgarāja's mention of svararāgasudhārasa, if it refers to three works, Svārarnava, Rāgārnava and Sudhārnava. See Hindu, Dec. 1932, 20th, 26th etc. Literary supplements; and V. Raghavan's paper read at Music Conference, Madras, 1932.

8. *EC*, X. 135, There seems to be some ḍifficulty about the grant. In 1344 A.D. Bukka is mentioned here as sitting on the throne of Vidyanagar whereas a grant dated 1346 A.D. was made Harihara I (*EC*, VI. 190). Sewell (*For. Empire*) says Harihara died in 1348 A.D. but he himself (in *SIA*, II: 343) as well as Rice (*Mysore Gaz.* I. 346) say that Harihara ruled till 1350 A.D. For a discussion on this, see B. Suryanarayanarow, *NFE*, 144 *et. seq.* It seems a fair suggestion that soon after Harihara consolidated his empire in 1343 A.D. he retired from the throne and Bukka took up the reigns of Government.

1019. Vidyāraṇya's Sangītasāra[1] is quoted by name by Cikkaḍevarāya of Mysore in his Bharatasārasangraha and by Nārāyaṇadeva in his Sangītanārāyaṇa. Among the quotations by the former a reference to the number of *ṭānas* reads as follows:—

इत्येकाशीतिसंयुक्तं सहस्राणां चतुष्टयम् ।
तानानां पुनरुक्तानां पूर्णापूर्णैः सह क्रमैः ॥
लक्षत्रयं सप्तदशसहस्राणि शतानि च ।
नवत्रिंशद्युतानीति ज्ञानोपायोऽत्र कथ्यते ॥

and bears agreement with the enumeration given by Abhinavagupta.

King Raghunātha of Tanjore while summarising his authorities for the composition of his Sangītasudhā respectfully says:—

संगीतसारं समवेक्ष्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

aan again when analysing the *rāgas* has the following:

निरूपिता लक्षणतो विविच्य रागाश्चतुष्षष्टयधिके शते द्वे ।
कर्णाटसिंहासनभाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणाग्रणीभ्यः ॥

and closely follows the sage's method.

Gauranārya Lakṣaṇadīpikā is a general treatise on poetics, music and dancing.[2] He was the son of Ayamaprabhu, who was the brother of Potana. Potana was the minister of Śingaya Māḍhava, king of Rācakonda of Recerla dynasty, who ruled about 1427 A.D.[3]

1020. Gopendra Tippa Bhupala was a scion of the Sālva Dynasty of Vizianagar of the 15th century A.D. He wrote a commentary on Vāmana's Kāvyālankārasūtra and Ṭālaḍīpikā in three chapters on Mārga and Ḍeśi ṭālas.[4]

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1. See para 125 *supra*.
"There is a manuscript in the Maharaja's Library at Bikanir called Sangītasāra which consists of about 160 slokas without its author's name. The work maintains the theory of Nandikeśvara, who, we know from Aumāpata, enumerates 264 rāgas. Whether the work is a summary or a fragment of Vidyāraṇya's production has yet to be decided. But some of the points dealt with in it appear to be developments in music attained in the 16th or the 17th century and lacks in the grandeur that we usually find in Vidyāraṇya's works."

2. Part relating to poetics is found in *DC*, XXII. 9692-5. Part relating to music is found in *Mys*. 399 and part relating to dancing is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

3. *Velugotivāri Vamśacaritam*, 69-71.

4. *TC*, I. 1015; *Tanj*. XVI. 7307. See para 819 *supra*. S. K. De, *SP*, II. 84.

1021. Kumbhakarna (or Kumbha or Kumbha Rānā) was the son of Mokala and belonged to the Vijayagoṭra and to the race of Guhilas (Brahmin kings) of Medapata (Mewar).[1] Apūrvaḍevi was his wife. Rājamalla was his son. He ruled at Ciṭrakūta in 1433-1468 A.D. Mira Bai the great saint was his wife. He was a devotee of Bhavāni and Ekalinga and he was favoured with their grace. He recites his conquests over the kings of Malwa, Yavanas and Guzarat and the destruction of Sāranganagara. This brought him a number of titles.[2] His poetry is charming and his proficiency in arts is versatile.[3] His commentary, Rasīkapriyā, on Giṭagovinḍa displays his æsthetic taste and there he quotes from his Sangīṭarāja.

1022. SANGITARAJA, known also as Sangīṭamīmāmsa, embraces 16000 verses and consists of five Raṭnakośas (chapters). The first deals with dramaturgy and dramatic expression; the second with vocal music; the third with musical instruments; the fourth with dressing, dancing and gesticulation, the fifth with heroes, heroines and sentiments.

One of the quotations in his commentary on Giṭagovinḍa shows there was a chapter there on metres :

शिखरिणी छन्दः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे—
'रसै रुद्रैश्छिन्ना यमनसभलागः शिखरिणी' ।

1. This is the geneology of the family as given in his work and in *EI*, VIII. app. 13; *Raj. Gaz.* II-A, Mewar Residency :-

Bappa (d. in 1364 A.D.
|
Hammira
|
Kṣetrasimha (Khetsingh).
|
Lakṣasimha (1382-97 A.D)
|
Mokala (defeated Sultan Firoz Shah A.D. 1428)
|
Kumbhakarṇa (1438, 1439, 1458 A.D.)
|
Rājamalla (1489, 1498, 1501, 1504 A.D.)
|
Sangrāmasimha
|
Raṭnasimha (1530 A.D,)

2. So he says in his commentary on Giṭagovinḍa.

पदवाक्यप्रमाणाख्यत्रिसरित्सङ्गमाश्रिया ।
कुम्भकर्णगिरां यागः न स्यादिष्टार्थदः कथम् ॥

3. Such as अभिनवभरताचार्य, and मूर्तिमन्नाद

From the last verses in the Cantos in his Rasikapriyā it is seen that Kumbhakarṇa wrote works called Sangīṭakramaḍīpikā, Ekalingāśraya and Kumbhasvāmimandāra and there is his commentary on Sangīṭaratnākara.[12]

"About 1440 Kumbhakarṇa king of Mēwad completed his *sangitamīmānsa* alias *Sangitarāja* in five sections of *pāthya, gita, vadya, nrtya* and *rasa*. The whole work is not available to us. Each of the five sections is further classified into four chapters of minor divisions. The work extends over 16,000 *ślokas*. His treatment is thorough in *gita* and *vādya*. He sifts all the material then available to him and possessing high sastric proficiency, discusses theories very intelligently, For example we cite the theory of *rasa* and use of the word *sattva*, etc. He did not quote from Kōhala or Kāśyāpa though he says he studied them. He mentions Dattila rarely. He had with him Rāhula's and Kīrtidhara's *Vārtikas* on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He examined the treatises of Kshētrarāja. Modern research cannot be complete without a thorough study of this grand work. The author was a profound scholar in *Mimamsa* and vedic rites and thus scarely misunderstands the arguments of Matanga, Dattila and Abhinavagupta whom he closely follows. His section on musical prosody was borrowed from the later writers of North India. In the construction of *vinas* and *vamsas* he gives all possible details. He touches upon chiefly *Nakula, Pinaki, Svaramandala Mattakokila, Kinnari*, of medium and higher sorts. Sōmēśvara treats of only *Ekatantri, Alavani*, and *Kinnari* of two kinds. Nānyadēva elaborates *Rudravina*, and *Kinnari*. He accidentally mentions that Nārada used *Vina* of 21 strings and Matanga practised upon *Chaitrika* ann Svāti on a lute of 9 strings."

1023. **Jagaddhara** was son of Raṭnaḍhara and lived somewhere about the 15th century A.D,. He commented on Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇa and on Malaṭī-Māḍhava and other plays and wrote Sivasṭoṭra and SANGITASARVASVA.[3]

1024. **Catura Kallinatha** was the son of Lakṣmīḍhara and Nārāyaṇī of Śāndilyagoṭra. His grand-father was Ṭuttāleśvaraḍeva.

1. List of Bhandankar's *ORI*.
2. See V. Raghavan, Miscellaniess in *Annals*, XVI, parts iii and iv.
3. This is quoted profusely by Rucipaṭi and Rāghavabhatta.

He was in the Court of Immadi Ḍevarāya, alias Mallikārjuna, son of Praudha Ḍevarāja, or Ḍevarāya II of Vijayanagar. (1446-1485 A.D.)[1]

1025. Devanacarya was *probably* the same as Ḍevaṇabhatta who wrote Smṛṭicanḍrikā in the Court of King Praudha Ḍevarāja of Vijayanagar (1406-1422 A.D.). His SANGITAMUKTAVALI deals mainly with dancing and has a chapter on music. Besides older authors, he mentions Ruḍrasena and Someśvara.[2]

1026. Devendra alias Ḍevaṇācārya wrote another work Saṅgīṭamukṭāvali.[3] He was pupil of one Ruḍra who was said to have been honoured by the scholars of different countries. He calls himself Ṭauryaṭrikacinṭāmaṇi. He mentions Ruḍrata as an author on Sangīṭa and Nṛṭya. He probably lived in 15th or 16th century A.D.

1027. Rama Amatya was son of Ṭimmāmāṭya of the family of Todarmal. His Svaramelakalāniḍhi contains in five chapters a detailed description of the rāgas of the Carnāta system, and their distribution into 72 melakarṭas. He flourished in the Court of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar, who was killed in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D.[4] He was the daughter's son of Catura Kallināṭha.[5]

Kṣemakarṇa's Rāgamālā was composed in 1570 A.D. at the instance of Jaṭava Bhūpaṭi[6]; and another Rāgamālā was the work of Jīvarāja.[7]

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1. See para 124 *supra*. For Immadi Devaraja's inscription, see *SII*, 110 (dated Śāka 1371-1449 A.D.); *IA*, xxiii. 132; I.A, xxv. 346, note 6; *EC*, III. 18. Kallinaṭha gives long extracts from Kohala's Saṅgīṭameru.

"Kallināṭha's commentary though extensive is defective in several places. Śārangadeva closely follows Abhinava and adopts all his criticisms by a rearrangement of the matter. Kallinātha without reading that original attempts to explain those passages and consequently he is meagre if not very wrong. That is why Raghunātha has trenchantly put thus:—

श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवेन कृतां च ससाध्यायीं तथा लक्ष्मविरोधिलक्ष्याम् ।
अबोधकाल्यल्पतरप्रयोगामुद्दिष्टरागानुदितस्वरूपाम् ।
एनां स्फुटीकर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तौ तौ ब्राह्मणौ केशवकल्लिनाथौ ।
येकाद्वयेनापि कृतेन ताभ्यामबोधितास्पष्टपदार्थभेदाम् ॥

2. *Bik*. 521.
3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7272.
4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7234. Ed. Pudukottai, Bombay. Ed. by Bhatkande. Ed. by M. S. Ramasami Iyer for Annamalai University, Chidambaram. See Popley, *Music of India*, 18.
5. See *SVH*, 192.
6. *IO*, II. 319; *Bik*. 516.
7. *Mitra*, VII. 261; *CC*, I. 499. There is a Dakṣiṇirāgamālā (*BRI*, Ms. No. 384, 1895-8) describing 6 ragas only.

1028. Pundarika Vitthala belonged to the village Satanurva in Khandesh and was a karnata brahmin of Jāmaḍagyagoṭra. At the instance of King Burhankhan of Pharata dynasty[1] he began to reduce the music of Northern India into order and wrote Vitthalīya,[2] Rāgamālā, Naṛṭananirṇaya, Rāgamanjarī and Sadragacanḍroḍaya.[3] After Khandesh was annexed by Akbar about 1599 A.D., he went to his Court at Delhi and there wrote Rāganārāyaṇa at the instance of chief Māḍhavasimha. His expositions evidence a comprehensive scholarship of northern and southern systems of music. He was probably the same as Vitthala who wrote Sangīṭavṛṭṭaraṭnākara.[4]

1029. Subhankara's Sangīṭaḍāmoḍara in seven chapters treats of music and dancing in their various aspects in relation to heroines and sentiments and being quoted in Sangīṭa Nārāyaṇa must be earlier than 17th century A.D.[5] It is dedicated to King Ḍāmoḍara and so followed the name.[2] Śubhankara wrote a commentary on Nāraḍīyaśikṣā.

1030. Laksminarayana (Bhandāru) was the son of Bhandaru Vitthaleśvara and Rukmiṇī of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. He was the musician (Vaggeyakāra)[7] of State under Emperor Kṛṣṇaḍevarāya of Vijianagar (1509-1529 A.D.). He had the titles Abhinavabharaṭācārya, Ṭodaramalla, Sūkṣmabharaṭācārya etc. The emperor presented him with golden palanquin, elephants, pearl-fans etc. He was pupil of Viṣṇubhattāraka. He wrote his SANGITASURYODAYA[8] in 5 Aḍhyāyas on Ṭāla, Vṛṭṭa, Svaragīṭa, Jāṭi and Prabanḍha. The prologue gives an account of the Emperor of Viḍyāpura and is of great historical value.

Govinḍa's Rāgaṭālapārijāṭaprakāśa describes music tones and time.

1. This dynasty ruled at Anandavalli in Khandesh in 1370-1600 A.D.

2. *Tanj*. XVI. 7245.

3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7242, 7245; *Bik*. 575. Rāgamāla and Sadrāgacandrikā have been printed in Bombay. See Popley, *Music of India*, 17-15. There is a work of the name of Rāgamālikā by Kalānkura of Orissa (*TC*, IV. 4705).

4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7244.

5. *IO*, II. 318. Mitra's *Notices*, I. 219. There is a fragment in Or. Ms. Library, Madras and a complete copy with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

In Sangīṭanārāyaṇa (Chapter III) the author's name is given: सङ्गीतदामोदरे तु मितमाह शुभंकरः ।

6. Dāmoḍara son of Lakṣmiḍhara is the author of Sangīṭadarpaṇa, *IO*, II. 318.

7. वाचं च गेयं च करोति यस्मात् वाग्गेयकारः कथितस्ततोऽसौ ।

—*Sangiṭasuḍhā*.

8. M. R. Kavi, *Bharati*, (1925), 64.

pupil of King Raghunāṭha. He was proficient in music and rhetoric. In mīmāmsā he wrote Vārṭikābharaṇa, a commentary on Tanṭravārṭika, and performed Vājapeya sacrifice. In general he follows Bharaṭa. He introduced a system of notation in the expression of Śruṭis, discovered a type of vīṇa, a mela in Simharavarāga and called Maḍhyamela, and asserted that the old Vina Śuḍḍhamela (Raghunāṭha's vīṇa) was unfit for illustrating Śruṭis. He criticised the views of Śārngaḍeva and Rāmāmāṭya rather with too much severity, but these criticisms are considered groundless by Ahobila. His Lakṣaṇagīṭas are printed in Sangīṭasampraḍāyapraḍarśinī. HIS CATURDANDIPRAKASIKA in 6 chapters is mainly intended as a treatise on music wth special reference to the instrument Vīṇa.

" The work is critical and the author introduced many novel ideas and suggested new methods. It is said that he was the first to introduce 72 *melakartas* now in use in South India. This introduction is mnemonic rather than logical which is the characteristic of the older classification. How far Venkatamakhin is the author of this introduction is still doubtful. One may be inclined to attribute it to some innovator in the court of Vjiayanagar. Venkatamakhin is hard upon great writers especially on Bāyakāra Rāmāmātya of the court of Rāmarāya. Ramāmātya is not a negligible writer and his Svaramelakalanidhi gave impetus to Venkatamakin whose offensive trait in criticism is seen for instance here :[1]

अथेदानीं विचार्यन्ते रामामात्येन लक्षिताः । मेलप्रकरणे मेलाः स्वरमेलकलानिधौ ।
न हि तान्यत्र शक्यन्ते दूषणानि त्वयेरिते । ग्रन्थे गणयितुं * * * ॥
काम्भोजीरागमेलस्य कैशि वपारध्धनिषादकः(?) । इति नो वेत्ति किं वीणावादिनां गृहदास्यपि ।
तद्वद्वैकाररामोक्तान् मेलान् विश्वस्य वैणिकैः । कान्तारकूपे वेष्टव्या उद्धृत्य भुजे मुच्यते (?) ॥

Venkatamakhin's system is taken up and enlarged in Melāḍhikaralakṣaṇa of about 18th Century A.D.[2]

As authority on Caṭurḍandī, Gopālanāyaka is mentioned thus in Caṭurḍandiprakāśikā:

अहमेव श्रुतिवेदीत्याह गोपालनायकः ।
अद्यप्रभृति ते सर्वे श्रुतिज्ञा न तु पण्डिताः ॥

1. The System of melakartas is elaborated in Sangrahachudamani purported to have been composed by Shanmukha in Skandapurana. The existence was doubted by Subbarama Dikshita of Ettiyapuram in his Sangita work. Happily an old manuscript is available with me and Venkatamakhin's originality can be disproved.—*M. R. Kavi.*

2. *Tanj.* XVI. 7313.

गीतप्रबन्धयोरेवं भेदो यदि न कल्प्यते ।
कुतस्सिद्धयेच्चतुर्दण्डी कुतो गोपालनायकः ॥

Gopālanāyaka is quoted by Kallināṭha also and is said to have been a friend of Amir Khusru and respected by Allauddin Khilji (1295-1315 A. D.)[2]

1039. **Jagajjyotirmalla**, son of Ṭribhuvanamalla, was the ruler of Bhakṭapura (Bhatagamva), a tributary of the King of Nepal. He was a great musician and finding no suitable work on music in the north he brought Abhilāṣa's Sangīṭacanḍra into Nepal and had a commentary Sangīṭabhāskāra[3] written on it by another scholar Vangamaṇi of Miṭhila, while he himself composed a treatise Sangītasārasangraha[4] in Nepal Era 799. He ruled in 1617-1633 A.D. He wrote a commentary on Paḍmaśrī's Nāgarasarvasva and an opera play Hara-Gaurīvivāha in Nepalese dialect.

Among his other works are Svaroḍayaḍīpikā, Gīṭāpancāśikā, and Sangītabhāskara (?) His Ślokasangraha is a collection of verses on 33 subjects.

His son Praṭāpamalla was also a poet and his son Jagaṭprakāśamalla made an anthology Paḍyasamuccaya. At the instance of his daughter's son Ananṭa, one Ghanaśyāma wrote a commentary on Hasṭamukṭāvali, a work on dancing.[5]

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1. For a critical review of its contents by T. L. Venkatarama Iyer, see Jl. Mad Music Academy, Vol. I.
2. Isvariprasad's *Med. India*, 542.
3. *Nepal*, 260

सन्ति यद्यपि भूयांसः ग्रन्थाः सङ्गीतगोचराः ।
तथापीदृशमन्यत्तु नास्तीति परिचिन्तयन् ॥
पीयूषहरणं तार्क्ष्यो यत्नात् विहितवान् यथा ।
तथैतत् पुस्तकं श्लाघ्यं दूराद्दक्षिणदेशतः ॥
आजहार नृपश्रेष्ठः श्रीजगज्ज्योतिरीशिता ।—*Sangitacandra*.

That *Abhilāṣa* wrote it appears from the introductory verse:

एवं परम्पराप्राप्तनाट्यवेदार्थसंग्रहः ।
क्रियते ह्यभिलाषेण विद्वच्चरणसेविना ॥

4. *Nepal*, 262.
5. For all this account, see Int. to Nāgarasarvasva edited by Tanusukharamasarma, Bombay.

1040. Dhundhiraja, son of Lakṣmaṇa of Vyāsagoṭra, was a Paurāṇika under King Shahaji of Tanjore (1687-1711 A. D.) and wrote Sāhavilāsa in 8 cantos and probably Sāharājāṣṭapaḍī.[1]

Mummidi CIKKADEVARAYA's[2] (III) Bharaṭasārasangraha is an elaborate but incomplete Work in 2500 verses, and embodies the views of Bharaṭa, Maṭanga and Viḍyāraṇya. Cikkaḍevarāya III was a ruler of Mysore (1672-1704 A.D.)

1041. Ahobila's Sangitaparijata was written in the 17th century A.D. and was translated into Persian in 1724 A.D. He mentions ancient writers and it is based particularly on Hanumān's work. He refers to Rāgaṭarangiṇī and Rāgaviboḍha and defends the views of Rāmāmāṭya. He was the first to describe the twelve svaras in terms of the length of the string of the Vīṇa.[3]

1042. Bhavabhatta was son of Sangīṭarāya Janārḍana[4] Bhatta and was grandson of the musician Ṭāna Bhatta.[5] In the Court of King Anūpasimha of Bikanir (1674-1709 A.D).[6] he wrote Anūpasangīṭavilāsa,[7] Anūpasangīṭaraṭnākara and Anūpasangīṭānkuśa (now in print) and Sangīṭavinoḍa, Muralīprakāśa and Nastoḍḍiṣtapraboḍhaka, Ḍhrauvapaḍatīkā.[8]

1043. Gopinatha Kavibhusana was son of Vāsuḍeva Pāṭro of Karaṇa family. Vāsuḍeva was priest and physician of King Gajapaṭi Jagannāṭha Nārāyaṇa of Khimindi of Ganga race, who probably ruled in 1766-1806 A.D.[9] Besides a music poem Rāmacanḍravihāra, he wrote an extensive work on poetics Kavicintāmaṇi in 24 chapters the last of which embraces music.[10]

1044. Balaramavarman or simply Rāmavarman was the nephew of Bālāmārtānda Varman. He was born in 1724 A. D. and

1. *Tanj*, XVI. 7347—9. See para 163 *supra*.
2. Mys. 308.
3. Ed. Madras or Nellore. See Popley, *Music of India*, 19.
4. He was a musician of the Court of Emperor Shah Jahan.
5. One Tānappācārya is mentioned by Venkatamakhin. see *Jl. Mad. Mus. Acy*. II. 159.
6. At his instance a commentry was written on Gīṭagovinḍa (*SKC*, 67).
7. Rāgamanjarī. Rāgakuṭuhala and Rāgakauṭuka are quoted here.
8. *Bik*, 513, 514, 517.
9. See Sewell's *Arch S. SI*, II. 186, where one of his ancestors and one of his successors bore the names Sarvagna Jagannāṭhā Nārāyaṇaḍeva (1686 1702) and Jagannāṭha Gajapaṭi Nārāyaṇaḍeva (1843-1850 A.D.)
10. *TC*, IV. 4225.

succeeded in the throne of Travancore in 1753 A. D. and passed away in 1798 A.D. He was a valiant conqueror and kind ruler and his name is still fresh in the memory of his people. He was known by the names Dharmarāja and Kilavanrāja. He was a Vikramādiṭya to the poets of his period. He was a linguist and was the author of several dramatic pieces in Malayalam, called Kaṭhakalis. Saḍāsiva-makhin, a poet of his court, wrote Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam in his praise on the plan of Praṭāparuḍrayaśobhūṣaṇam. Venkatasubrahmaṇyāḍhvarin, a descenḍant of Appayyaḍīkṣiṭa, wrote the drama Vasumaṭi-kalyāṇaṃ in which this king was made the hero.[1]

The king was particularly interested in drama. His Bālarāmabharaṭam is a treatise on music and dancing in 18 chapters. After an introductory essay in prose on the interdependence of bhāva, rāga and ṭāla, he describes music, vocal and instrumental, and the development of the sentiments by gesticulation.[2]

1045. Bhaskaracarya was a descendant of Varaḍaguru of Śrīvāṭsagoṭra and lived at Śrīperumbudur (Chingleput Dist.) probably in the 18th century. His Sāhiṭyakallolinī embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing and cites Rāsārṇavasuḍhākara.[3]

1046. Tulajaraja (Tukkoji) King of Tanjore (1729-1735 A.D.), wrote an extensive work in prose Sangīṭasārāmṛṭa on all topics dealt with by Śārngaḍeva.[4] Thus he praises Śiva, as the embodiment of *nāḍa*.

स्वरानन्त्यावप्त्यै सकलजनजुष्टं बहुविध-
श्रुतिव्यक्तं शम्भुं कृतविकृततानास्पदमहम् ।
ह्रदादिध्यानेषु प्रकटितविलासं श्रवणतो
धुताशेषक्लेशं मनसि कलये नादवपुषम् ॥

His Nāṭyaveḍāgama deals with dancing.[5]

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1. See article on this book by A. S. Ramanatha Iyer is *Shama'a*, IV. 171.

2. In the Travancore State manual (I. 417.) the name Bālarāmavarman is given to the king who came to rule in 1798-1810 A. D, (See also ibid, II. 435). But it is ascertained from this work, and an inscription published in *Trav. Arch. Series* (IV. 106) that Rāmavarman, the predecessor of Bālarāmavarman (Trav. State Manual, I. 369) was also known as Bālarāmavarman and was the author of this work. See also *Trav. State Manuscripts*, II. 434.

3. *DC*, XXII. 8706.

4. *Tanj*. XVI. 7288 where the author's geneology is given. A part of it was published by Sukthankar under the name Sangitasārāmṛṭoḍḍhāra.

5. *Tanj*. XVI. 7235.

1047. **Purusottama** Kaviraṭna lived at Parlakimidi, Ganjam in about 1790 A.D. Besides prabanḍhas, Rāmacanḍroḍaya and Rāmābhyuḍaya, and Bālarāmāyaṇa, he probably wtote Kalānkuranibanḍha, or Rāgāmalikā,[1] His son Narāyaṇa Miśra Kaviraṭna wrote Sangīṭasaraṇi, and prabanḍhas, Balabhaḍravijaya, Śankaravihāra, Uṣābhilāṣa, Kṛṣṇavilāsa and Gundicāvijaya,[2] Navanāgalaliṭa.

Nārāyaṇamisrā classifies prabanḍhas as *śuḍḍha* and *sūṭra*. The former has several songs in it set to different rāgas e.g. Gīṭagovinḍa; the latter has all through only one rāga. While he wrote Rāmābhyuḍaya, *suṭraprabanḍha*,[3] his father wrote Rāmābhyuḍaya *Śuḍḍhaprabanḍha*.

1048. **King Gajapati Virasri Narayanadeva,** son of Paḍmanābha, ruled at Parlakimidi about 1700 A.D.[4] He belongs to the race of Uṭṭungaganga. He learnt music under Kaviraṭna Puruṣoṭṭama and the result of his study is embodied in his work, Sangīṭanārāyaṇa. In four chapters it deals with music, dancing, musical instruments and musical compositions. The illustrations glorify the author himself.[5] He refers to his work Alankāracanḍra. Among other works and authors quoted by him, some of which are now scarce, are Sangīṭaśiromaṇi, Sangīṭasāra (probably of Viḍyāraṇya), Sangīṭaraṭnamālā (by Mammata), Gīṭaprakāśa, Sangīṭacanḍrikā, Kṛṣṇaḍaṭṭa, Sangīṭacūḍāmaṇi, Sangīṭakalpaṭaru, and Harināyaka.

1049. **Sadasiva Diksita** was a poet of the Court or King Tulaja of Tanjore (1729-1735 A.D.) He became Avaḍhūta sanyāsi of whom miracles are told. He was a friend of Śriḍhara Venkateśa (Ayyāval) of Tiruvaśanallur. He lived at Pudukkota. The State of Pudukkota is believed to he under his spiritual protection and the state conducts

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1. *TC*. IV. 4705 Rajamalik Composed by Kaviratna Kalānkudi.
2. Gundicā is a festival of a deity at Nolagiri
3. " The *Sutraprabandha* which is a composition to be sung in a single *raga* throughout is the *Raga Kavya* of old, which is a variety of *Uparupaka* or semi-dramatic, operatic composition described by *Kohala*. It is described by *Abhinavagupta* in his commentary on the *Natya Sastra*. He gives two instances of this *Raga Kavyas*. Abhinava says that the *Raga Kavya* called *Raghavavijaya* is sung throughout only in *Thakka Raga* and the *Raga Kavya* called *Marichavadha*, only in *Kakubha grama raga*."

"तथा हि राघवविजयस्य हि ठकरागेणैव विचित्रवर्णनीयत्वेऽपि निर्वाहः, मारीचवधस्य ककुभग्रामरागेणैव । अत एव रागकाव्यानीत्युच्यन्ते ।" p. 184. Gaek. edn.

4. *TC*, V. 6227. There his Alankāracanḍrikā is quoted. See *Bik*. 527.
5. *e.g.* अमरलोकशोकहरण मण्डित तवरणपदम् ।
गजपतिपद्मनाभनृपतितनुज एष भवपदम् ॥

a festival at his Samāḍhi at Nerur near Karur, S. India. Besides a philosophical poem, Āṭmaviḍyāvilāsa he composed many songs of devotion. His Gīṭasunḍara in 6 cantos is devoted to the deity Somasunḍara (Śiva).[1]

Saḍāśiva appears have gone to Travancore and therehonored by King Rāma Varma Kārṭīka Tirunal (1755-1798) he composed Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa for his glorification.

1050. Tyagaraja was born at Tiruvārur in 1758 A.D. and his parents soon settled themselves at Tiruvayyar (Tiruvaḍi) on the Kāverī, a seat of Sanskrit learning. He was the son of Rāmabrahmam of murikināḍu Vaidiki Brahmin sect.

"He lost his parents early in his teens and became the victim of of harsh treatment of his wicked brother, Japyesan, who went to the length of throwing the Swami's beloved idols of worship once into the street and later into the Cauvery itself, for the one reason that these vigrahams were the sole cause of the Swami's neglect of domestic welfare and his spurning of wealth. The most popular kritis of Sri Thyagaraja like 'Endudaginado' in Thodi, 'Nenenduvedukudura' in Karnataka Behag were composed ex tempore in this period which marked the struggle of his intense Bhakti with the base passions of the world, represented by his brother. The Bhagavatar then related how the saint in despair with tears in his eyes, dug in the sands of the Cauvery to get back his lost Rama and how one day as the result of a dream in which He appeared to the saint, he was able to locate the place where the idols lay imbedded, hugged them to his breast and shed tears of joy singing 'kanugontini' and other delightful songs on the spur of the moment. The saint's meeting with Narada in the guise of an old sanyasin, who presented him with Swararnava, written on palmyra leaves, his refusal to yield to the lure of gold offered by the Tanjore Raja, the latter's anger thereupon and the sudden unbearable colic with which he was attacked and the equally quick disappearance of the pain on the Raja's promise not to interfere with the Swami's liberty were all related in a touching and impressive manner by the Bhagavathar whose rendering of the kritis was particularly appreciated. For want of time he had to finish his discourse after very briefly dealing with the saint's visit to Tirupati, Srirangam and other holy places, the attack of robbers in the forest

1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7340. Printed, Madras. See para 298 *supra*. His life is described in a Tamil work published at Pudukkota.

and the defence by Rama and Lakśhmana who were always watching his welfare, the saint's attaining Samadhi on Pushya Bahula Panchami in the year Parabhava (1846) after taking Sanyasa Asramam to avoid another re-birth in this world."

Ṭyāgarāja "was a musical star whose influence extended far beyond the limits of India, to many other countries and continents. His music had been recorded in western system of notation also. The basis of his music, in fact the motive power behind his inimitable compositions, was his intense love and Bhakti for Sri Rama whom he regarded as the One Parabrahmam, the embodiment of Nada. That Rama was the saint's guardian angel was evident from many incidents of his life, one of which was that Rama is said to have appeared to a devotee in Maharashtra in his dream and directed him to pay a visit to His bhakta, Thyagaraja, in Tiruvayar in the South. In obedience to this Divine command, the Mahratta devotee visited the Swami and was so impressed with the character of the saint that he remained there permanently as his disciple. It was on this occasion that he sang the Thodi kriti, 'Dasaratha Nirunamu.' It was due to this contact that they found Thyagaraja appreciating the beauties of Northern music and incorporating them in some of his kritis like 'Marugelara' and 'Manamuleda.' His compositions present an extraordinary variety of musical form, from the slow-timed 'Namminavarini' to the quick trot of 'Sobhillu', and afford as much scope for the trained musical acrobat to exhibit his skill, as for the woman in the home and the man in the street to sing with facility and delight."[1]

His early songs were mostly in Sanskrit and his Raga Nata was the first of the garland of five gems, Pancaraṭna.

1051. Govinda's Saṅgītaśāsṭrasamkṣepa is said to represent later day music and to have superseded Venkatamakhin's views. In two colophons of two chapters, it is mentioned that it is part of Skanḍapurāna and composed by Saṇmukha : इति स्कान्दपुराणे सङ्ग्रहचूडामणौ षण्मुखविरचिते प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

Govinḍa supports Ṭyāgarāja and opponents of Govinḍa give out that Govinḍa was probably Ṭyāgaraja's friend and composed this work under the guise of an extract of Purāṇa to put down the popula-

1. Taken for 'Hindu', Extract of Lecture by Muthia Bhagavathar. N. Sanjivarao's *Sri Tyagaraja*, Pudukkota.

rity of Venkamakhin. Govinḍa refers to Acyuṭaraya's vīṇa and Acyuṭarāya ruled at Tanjore in 1572-1614 A.D.[1]

1052. Venkata Vaidyanatha Diksita lived at Tiruvadamarudur. He was the grandson of the paternal uncle of Venkatamakhin and inherited his musical talents. He was proficient in the Vīṇa and expounded Venkatamakhin's Caṭurḍandiprakāśikā. Ramaswāmi Ḍīkṣiṭa became his disciple and under his tution he blossomed forth as Vainikaśikhāmaṇi. Rāmaswāmi was the son of Venkateśvāra and belonged to Govinḍapuram near Maḍhyārjuna (Tirvradamarudur). He found his place of fame at Tanjore under the auspices of his teacher, Vīrabhaḍrayya, the master-musician of his age. He lived in 1735-1817 A.D. and wrote Ṭālamālikā.

Rāmaswāmi's younger son Balasvāmi (Bālakṛṣṇa) Ḍīkṣita was born in 1780. He was a boy prodigy. He could handle with facility a number of musical instruments and with the patronage of Manali Chinaya Mudaliar of Madras studied western music also. It is said that he had the magical power of reproducing any natural sound on his Vīṇa.

The Rulers of Ettiyapuram were patrons of music for over a century and during the period of three of them Jagaḍīśvara Venkateśvara Ettappa (1816-1839) and his successors Jagaḍīśvara Rāmakumāra Ettappa and Jagaḍīśvara Rāma Venkateśvara he was poet laureate. "He was a prince among poets and a poet among princes and composed many kīrṭan and curnikas in honour of Hindu deities. Kārṭikeya was his signature." Among his friends in music were Mīnakṣisunḍarayya, Subbakutti Ayyar, Subbayya ananavi, Vengu Bhagavatar, and Madura Ramayyar.[2]

1053. Rāmāswāmi's eldest son MUTUSWAMI ḌIKSITA was born at Tiruvālur in 1775 A.D. After some travel in the north along with a Sanyāsi, he settled down in his place. During the last years life, he lived at Ettiyapuram under the patronage of its ruler.

"Wherever he went, whatever shrine he visited and whichever deity he saw, he worshipped with the gift of his songs. The following

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1. "Ramakrishnakavi says that Govinda was an *Andhra*, that he wrote a work called रागतालचिन्तामणि, that he followed Ramamatya and his 20 *melas* and that the Adayar Ms. contains a few sheets in the beginning of this work which had got mixed up with an anonymous work called *Sangrahachudamani*, described as a part of the *Skandapurana*."

2. On this author, see article by C. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar in *Hindu*, Feb. 1903.

are the more important of these songs: the Pancha Linga Kirtanas, his five songs on the Gods representing the five elements of Earth: Water, Fire Air and Ether, at the shrines Kanchi, Jambukesvara, Arunachala, Kalahasti and Chidambaram. These songs are 'Chintaya makanda mula kandam' in Bhairavi, 'Jamboo pate' in Yamuna Kalyani, 'Arunachalanatham' in Saranga, 'Sri Kalahastisam' in Useni and 'Ananda natana prakasam' in Kedara; another series of songs is that on the Navagrahas, the nine planets, excluding Rahu and Ketu he composed a series of Navavarana Kirtanas on the Goddess at Mayavaram; the most important songs are those he composed on the many dieties at Tiruvarur itself; on the chief deity Tyagaraja he has sung many pieces of which 'Tyagaraja yoga vaibhavam' in Ananda bhairavi and 'Tyagarajaya namaste' in Byagada deserve special mention; the Goddess Kamalamba at Tiruvarur was a favourite of Dikhitar and on her especially he has composed a Navavarana series; he hus sung her eleven times; Tyagaraja's consort, Nilotpalambika, is sung in one song and the renowned Vinayaka on the north eastern corner of the tank has been praised in the songs 'Vatapi ganapatim' in Hamsadhvani and 'Sri Maha Ganapati' in Goula; in a Kirtana in Sriraga, 'Srimuladhara chakra Vinayaka', a form of Ganapati as presiding over the Muladharachakra found in front of Tyagaraja's principal shrine has been sung; besides almost all the deities at Tiruvarur, Achaleswara, Anandesvara, Siddhesvara and others have been sung; of the deities at other famous shrines, mention may be made of 'Sri Rajagopala' in Saveri, 'Bala Gopala' in Bhairavi."[1]

Ḍīkṣṭar had left the imprint of his personality all his songs. Material considerations did not enter his scheme of life. He led a pious life and believed in Adwaita philosophy. He embodied the essence of Vedic teachings and manthras in his songs and showed the way for even those who could not be initiated in manthras to commune with the Supreme. His Navagraha Kritis are a masterpiece in this respect both from the point of view of music and of devotion.

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1. A diligent search all over South India for the compositions of Dikshitar, a recording of all those Dikshita-kirtanas known to such primier musicians as Veena Dhanam, who especially has a large stock of them as a consequence of her having come in the direct Sishya-lineage of Dikshitar through Sattanur Panju, a good Devanagari edition of such collected compositions of his,—these and many more lines of work I think, will be pursued by lovers of music, ere 1935 ushers in the first Dikshitar centenary which must be celebrated not only in Madras but also in his own native place Tiruvarur in a grand manner."—*Sound and Shadow, II. November*, 1933.

His end came suddenly. At Ettiyapuram, he was one day sitting, listening to the music of his pupils who were singing his Gamakakriya Kirtana, 'Minakshi.' He asked them to sing it once more; they were singing the Anupallavi—Minalochani Pasamochani' when he felt that the Goddess had really released him from bondage (Pasa); he was accordingly released from mortal bondage. He passed away in 1835 A.D."[1]

1054. **Syamasastri** was Ṭyāgaraja's contemporary and is the third of the musical trinity of South India. He wrote mostly in Telugu, but there is an excellent piece in Sanskrit opening with Śankarī in Rāga Sāveri.

"Thrice holy is Tiruvarur to the lover of our music; for it is this small place that gave birth to the Carnatic music trinity—the Trimurtis Sri Tyagaraja, Sri Syama Sastriar and Sri Muthuswamy Dikshitar. All the three celebrated composers were contemporaries. Tyagayya was the eldest and he blessed this earth with his life for the longest period, while the two others left it earlier. Of the three, Muthuswamy Dikshitar was the youngest and he alone stuck to Tiruvarur for the longest time, while Tyagayya left for Tiruvayar or the Panchanada Kshetra and Syama Sastriar for Tanjore proper."

1055. **Pratapasimha** Ḍeva, Maharaja of Jaipur (1779-1804 A.D.), produced a musical encyclopaedia SANGITASAGARA with the help of an assembly of musicians.[2]

1056. **Sri Swati Ramavarma Kulasekhara** was Mahāraja of Travancore (1812-1847 A.D.)[3]. Besides prabanḍhas such as Yayāṭicariṭa and 13 musical narratives Kucelopākhyāna and Ajāmilopākhyāna[4] he composed sanskrit Kīrṭanas like the kṛṭis of Ṭyāgarāya, devoted to Śrī Paḍmanābha.[5] He deplores the fallen musicians of his day thus:

आक्रन्ता कलिनेव हन्त जगती पापीयसा गायक-
व्यूहेन क्षितिपालसंसदाखिलाक्रान्ता समन्तादपि ।
नृत्यत्पङ्कजसंभवप्रणयिनीलीलारविन्दोदरा-
मन्दस्यन्दिमरन्दसुन्दरगिरां कुत्रावकाशोऽस्तु नः ॥

1. See T. Srinivasaraghavachariar's article in *Hindu*, 5th Nov. 1935.
2. There is a work of this name in *CC*, I. 686.
3. See para 178 *supra*.
4. Ed. by *TSS*. Trivandrm.
5. Ed. by *TSS*. Trivandrm.

The following verse in his praise by a fuedatory Chief of Malabar it fine :

षष्ठी तत्पुरुषाह्वयो नृपतिषु प्रायेण त्विद्वत्प्रभू-
शब्दस्सम्प्रति कर्मधारयतयाप्याभाति वञ्चीश्वरे ।
इत्यालोच्य विलोक्य सम्प्रति बहुव्रीहित्वमेतत्पदे
किं शोकादिव न स्थितिः क्वचिदपि द्वन्द्वाव्ययीभावयोः ॥

1057. Ramavarma Maharaja (Ayilliam Tirunal) of Travancore (1860–1880 A.D.) was a great patron of music. Besides a commentary of Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsakāvya and Jalanḍharāsuravaḍha (Kathakali) he wrote Vṛṭṭaratnākara on prosody.

1058. Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842–1916) was one of the greatest pandits of the Ānḍhra country in the last century, and was conferred the title of Mahamahopādhyāya in 1908 by the Government of India in recognition of his scholarship. Though he remained as a Telugu Pandit throughout his service in the Presidency College, Madras and Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, he was a profound and critical Samskrit scholar and poet and wrote some works in Samskrit. His Bilvanāṭhaśaṭakam, Ṭanumaḍhyā-Āryāśatakam, Ṭanumaḍhyā-Gīṭaraṭnam were all printed in the early seventies of the last century, and he was the author of nearly fifty sṭavas, like, Varaḍarājasṭuṭi, Tārāvalīstuṭi,, Brahmaviḍyāsṭuṭi, Śrī Kālahasṭīśvarā-sṭuṭi, which were published in his paper called Ānḍhrabhāṣāsanjīvinī or 'Telugu Tongue Reviver,' and which are examples of the author's devotion and learning. His Gīṭamahānata गीतमहानट was written in imitation of Jayaḍeva's Gīṭagovinḍa. In the field of philosophy Venkataraṭnam Pantulu claims the discovery of the 'Akṣara Sānkhya' system of philosophy, and wrote a work in Samskrit called Mārga-ḍāyinī enunciating the principles of the system. His knowledge of Tamil and Kanarese was commendable and his famous Telugu work Bilvesvarīyam is a translation from the Tamil classic of the name.

Venkataraṭnam wrote more then 25 works in Telugu, aud his service to that literature covers a period of nearly half a century. He was held in high esteem by his contemporaries and was greatly patronized by the late Viḍyavinoḍa Panappākam Ānanḍācāriar, the famous advocate of Madras, who used to call him as 'Andhra Johnson,' the literary dictator of his day.

1059. Sri Vikrama Deo Varma, D. Litt., Sāhitya Samrāt Mahārāja of Jeypore Samasthanam, South India, Kṣaṭriya (Solar Race) of Bhāradvājagoṭra, is the son of Śrī Kṛṣṇacandra Deo Mahārāja and Śrī Rekhā Ḍevī. He was born on 28th June 1869 and ascended the Gadi on 6th June 1931. His literary patronage is visible in a recurring annual donation of Rs. One lakh to the Andhra University and various other donations amounting to fifty thousand a year. A great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, Oriya and English and a renowned poet in Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya, a great astrologer and an Abhinava-Bhoja, he has composed many sṭuṭis in Sanskrit and some in the form of songs with his name woven in accrostics.

1060. Durvasula Suryanarayana Sastri, Vina-Gāna-Kalānidhi, (1843-1896), was the chief Palace Vidwan and musician during the reign of Mahārāja Sri Ananda Gajapaṭi Raja of Vizianagaram Samasthanam. Sastri composed several musical pieces in Sanskrit and Telugu such as *Paramānanḍa samuḍravīcikāyam* in Kambhoji and *Ḍevi ḍehi saṭaṭām* in Kalyāni. Vīṇa Venkataramaṇaḍāsa is his disciple. Sastri was the disciple of Ḍāsa's father Peda Gurācāryulu.

Śivarama Yati lived in 1830-1900 and composed a book of songs of devotion called Nijabhajanasukhapaḍḍhaṭi.

Margadarsi Sesa Aiyangar was so called as he was the light (or path-finder) of South Indian music. He mostly lived at Ayoḍhya and in the latter part of his life settled at Śrirangam in the service of Lord Ranganāṭha. He signs himself Kosalapurī in his songs. His songs (some of which are said to have been accepted by the Deity) are graceful.

Maha Vaidyanatha Śiva of the "golden voice" was at the top of the musicians of South India in living memory. His Melarāgamālikā is now available.

Aṣṭāvaḍhānam Ananṭācārya's *extempore* composition of Samasyas and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of rāgas, *e.g.*

चिकुराळी तु वराळी वदनं तव भाति शङ्कराभरणम् ।

Under the patronage of the Zamindar of Ullipālayam near Bezwada, Kānduri Rāmānujācarya and Narasimbācārya composed songs in Sanskrit.

Sangīṭayāyāṭam and Abhinavagopālapulinḍinīcariṭa are opera plays interspersed with songs.[1]

1061. Sri Martand Manik Prabhu Maharaj (1860-1936 A.D.) occupied the gadi of Śri Mānikprabhu who founded the Sakalamaṭa-sampraḍāya at Maniknagar, Nizam's dominions. He was well-versed in all the śāsṭras and in music he wrote songs in several languages. His masterpiece in Sanskrit is Gnāna-marṭānda (son of knowledge) He bore the title Abhinava Śankarācārya.

1062. KIRTANACARYA C. R. SRINIVASACARYA (1867-1936) was born in Tanjore District. He was a profound scholar and critic in music. During the last decade of his life he took an active interest in resuscitating South Indian music and with the help of musical academies and conferences accomplished the collosal task of settling disputed points of interest in the technique of several ragas, in which for some centuries past musicians had their own ways. He was proficient in the compositions of Ṭyāgarāja and his edition of his songs is erudite; he was thence known as Abhinava Ṭyāga Brahmam. He is the pioneer of musical criticism in modern India. Speaking of Indian and Western music he wrote "Instrument predominates in the West and voice in the East. This is the true meaning of the crude, yet popular statement that harmony pervades the music of the West and melody that of the East. That this is so is shown by the absence of harmony in the vocal music of the West. The East has very much to give to the West. Only three modes or so of the seventy-two melakarthas of South Indian Music are used in the West. And the thirty-six melakarthas that take a sharp Ma are practically non-existent in the West, though men like Scriabine have, greatly daring, made the experiment of introducing it. On the other hand, the change of keys in one and the same piece that characterises the compositions in the West is not allowed in the Indian system, though we have it in "The Ramayana" that the music of those times included seven jatis that were amplified largely later on. And these took each note in turn as the drone, if we read the Ratnakara aright. It must be noted, too, that the voice and the instrument began io take in more and more of melody in modern times in the West. In the matter of thalas the West has very little to show in number and variety, though it must be said that thc practical music of the present day in India lays under contribution chiefly three or four main thalas."

1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7352.

1063. Among living musical composers of South India are Rājagopāla Aiyar of Mannārgudi, Śrīrangācārya of Cidambaram, Śrinivāsācārya of Nerur, Venkata Bhāgavatar of Kalladakurici, Bhairavamūrti and Harinagabhusanam of Masulipatam, Ariyakudi Rāmānuja Aiyangar of Kārakudi, Sangameśvara Śāstrin of Pittāpur, Venkataramadasa and Nārāyaṇadasa of Vizianagaram.

1064. Miscellaneous. The following are other treatises on music :

Gopendra Tippa's Ṭālaprabandha illustrates each Ṭāla by a song on Śiva.[1] So is Govinda's Tāladaśāprāṇadīpikā otherwise called Mahābhāratalakṣṇakāvya, where the songs are in praise of Rāma.

Gītaprakāśa is quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa. It gives songs of Kṛṣṇadāsa, contemporary of Caitanya. Nārāyaṇakavi in Sangītasāra quotes a song from Rāmānandakavirāya's Kṣudragītaprabandha called Citrapada, as found in Gītaprakāśa which ends thus :[2]

जयतु रुद्रगजेशमुदितारामानन्दकविरायकविगीतम् ।

referring to King Vīra Rudra Gajapati. This Rāmācanda is the author of the play of Jagannāthavallabha.

Kīrtanāpadastoma, Ḍolāgīta, Śivabhajanakīrtana, Vēdāntagurudarśanakīrtana, Śrī Rāmacandradolā, and Sangītakāmadā, Unjalgīti by by Śānkaranārāyaṇa, Sangīta-Rāghunandana by Viśvanāthasimha, Sangītaśāstrasamkṣepa by Govinda and Sangītasangrahacintāmaṇi by Appalācārya [*Adyar*, 45-46], Abhinayamukura, Sangītalakṣaṇa and Bhāratasārasangraha by Candraśekhara [*Mys* 307], Sandeśahastādilakṣana, and Sangītasvaralakṣaṇa [*Mys.* 641], Sangītaśāstradugdhāvāridhi *Mys. Sup.* 51].

Sangītaśāstra (*Tanj*, XVI. 7306), Ragārohāvarohaṇapattikā (*ibid.* 7349), Rāgalakṣaṇa (*ibid.* 7304), Lāsyapuṣpānjali (*ibid.* 7268), Tānanighantu (*ibid.* 7329), Varṇapada (*ibid.* 7328), Taddhittonnam (*ibid.* 7314), Meladhikāralakṣaṇa (*ibid.* 7313), Ṭālaprastāra (*ibid.* 7310) and Kīrtanas and Gītas (*ibid.* 7317-27).

Abhinayādivicāra, Abhinayalakṣaṇa, and Nātyapraśāmsā (*Tanj*, XVI. 7249-62), Devendra's Sangītamuktāvali (*Ibid.* 7272), Haripāladēva's Sangītasudhākara (*Ibid.* 7293), Rāgapradipā (*TC*, II. 244),

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1. प्रबन्धं तालानां भवतुतिमिषेणातनुत यः
शिवाक्लृप्ताकारा नटनकरणानामपि भिदाः ।

2. *JBORS*, VI, 448.

Sangītasuḍhāniḍhi (quoted by Rāghavabhatta), Sangīṭakalpaḍruma of Kṛṣṇānanḍa Vyāsa (*CC*, I. 685), Sangīṭacanḍroḍaya (quoted by Gangārāma), Varnalaghuvyākhyāna of Rāma.

Sapṭasvaralakṣaṇa, Svaraṭālāḍilakṣana (*Trav.* 73), Gīṭāvali of Sanāṭana [*CSC*, (1907) 38, (1917) 586], Navaraṭnarasavilāsa, Rāgaḍhyānāḍikaṭhanāḍhyāya (*Bik*, 515), Sangīṭasuḍhākara, Abhinavaṭālamanjarī and Rāgakalpaḍrumānkura of Appa Ṭulasi alias Kaśīnāṭha (composed in 1914), Lakṣyasangīṭa of Batkande and Abhinavarāgamanjarī of Viṣṇuśarma (Printed, Poona).

Sangīṭasārakalikā of Śuḍḍhasvarṇakāra Mosaḍeva (*S. R. Bhan. Rep.* II. 54); Sangīṭasiḍḍhānṭa of Rāmānanḍa Tīrṭha, Sangīṭarāja, Sangīṭakalikā,[1] Sangīṭasuḍhā of Bhīmanarenḍra (*Oudh*, X. 12), Sangīṭamaṇiḍarpaṇa (*BRI*), Sangīṭasarvasva[2] and Svaracinṭāmāṇi (*Gough*, 185), Sangīṭasāroḍḍhāra (or Rāga kautūhala) of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhatta (*Bik*, 518), Rāgakuṭūhala (quoted by Bhāvabhatta), Sangīṭasārasangraha (i) anonymous (*Rice*, 292, *Opp*, I. 1052) and (ii) by Saurīnḍramohana (Printed, Calcutta), Bharaṭaśāsṭra by Raghunāṭha Prasāḍa (*Tanj.* XVI, 7232), Rāgacanḍrikā and Caṭvārimśatśaḍrāganirūpaṇa (Printed, Bombay).

Nāṭyāḍhyāya by Aśokamalla (*Bik.* 514), Sarvasvaralakṣaṇa (*CC*, I. 703), Āḍibharaṭaprasṭāra (*Opp.* 4991), Sangīṭagangāḍhara by Kāśīpaṭi, (*CC*, I. 105), Ānanḍasanjīvana by Maḍanapāla, (*Bik*, 509), Sāroḍḍhāra (*CC*, I. 715).

Gāyakapārijāṭa by Śingarācārya (Printed, Madras), Gnānakīrṭana, Maḍhyamakālakīrṭana, Muhanaprāsānṭyaprāsavyavasṭhā, and Śāhiṭyam by Aśvinī Mahārāja (*Trav* 176), Mālāḍhāra by Minappa Venkatappa (Printed, Mysore), Vairāgyaṭaranginī (Astapaḍī) by Mānavikrama Kavirājakumāra (*Trav.* 176); Śrī Harikīrṭana by Subbarāyaḍāsa (Printed, Madras), Sangīṭarājaranga (Printed, Trivandrum), Sangīṭasarvārṭhasangraha by Kṛṣṇarao (Printed, Madras), Angahāralakṣana (*Trav.* 73), [Anubhavarasa by Hīra Saravi, Anurāgarasa by S. Nārāyaṇaswāmin, Abhinavaṭālamanjarī, Abhinavarāgamanjarī, Āḍarśagīṭāvalī of Jīvarāmopāḍhyāya, Ānanḍagāna, Kalyāṇakalpaḍruma, Gajjālsangraha, Gānasṭavamanjarī, Jogavihārakalpaḍruma, Ḍoloṭsavaḍīpikā, Ḍharmasangīṭa of Raḍhākṛṣṇāji, Navaraṭnarasavilāsa, Rāgaṭaṭṭvaboḍha of Śrīnivāsa, Rāgaṭaranginī of Locana Panḍiṭa, Gītaśaṭaka of Sunḍarācārya, Rāgalakṣaṇa of Rāgakavi].[3]

1. Quoted by Hemādri (1260-1300 A. D.) in his commentary on Raghuvamśa.
2. Quoted by Jagaḍḍhara in his commentary on Veṇisamhāra (*CC*, I.687)
3. All printed. See Cat of Oriental Book Depot, Poona.

Sangīṭāmṛṭa and Sangīṭacinṭāmaṇi of Kamalaloçana (*CC*, I. 685, 686), Sangīṭaprakāśa Rāgāḍisvaranirṇaya of Raghunāṭha (18th century A.D.)

Rāgapraḍīpa (*TC*, II. 2447), Rāgaraṭnākara of Ganḍharvarāja (*Tanj*, XVI. 7302), Gīṭāḍoṣavicāra (*TC*, IV. 4707).

Rāgavarṇanirūpaṇa (*DC*, XXII. 8742), Tālalakṣaṇa by Kohala (*DC*, XXII, 8725, see *Tanj*. XVI, 7312), Ṭālaḍasāprāṇaprakaraṇa (*DC*, XXII. 8723), Tālakalāvilāsa, and Caṭurasabhāvilāsa (quoted in Nārāyaṇa Śivayogi's Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā (*BR*. (1916), No, 41); Mṛḍangalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII, 874,) Śruṭibhāskara of Bhīmaḍeva (*Bik*. 530.)

Rāgaṭaṭṭvaviboḍha of Śrīnivāsa Pandiṭa (*Bik*. 517), Sangīṭakalpaṭaru quoted by Rucipaṭi and Ranganāṭha;[1] Sangīṭacanḍrikā of Māḍhavabhatta[2] quoted in Sangīṭasūḍhā, Sangīṭakaumuḍī quoted in Sangīṭanārāyaṇa.[3]

On Indian music and dancing generally, see Kannoolmal, *Indian Music* (*Ind. Rev.* XVI. 1054); K. Bhairavamurti, *Music* (*Bharati*, 1925, 94); M. E. Cousins, *Eastern and Western Music*, (Paper read at All India Oriental Conference, 1924); Madura Ponnusami, *Swaras*, (*ibid*; K. N. Sitaram, *Place of Chidambaram in the Evolution of Dance in India* (*ibid*), K. V. Srinivasa ayangar, *Abhinaya* (*ibid*); M. R. Kavi, Nānyaḍeva on Music (*ibid*); A. Wesharp, *Psychology of Indian Music* (*JASB*, IX vii.) Schmidt's *Essays on Hindu Musical Scale and 22 Srutis*; G. S. Khare's *Some Thoughts on Hindu Music*, (Poona); Saurindra Mohan Tagore's *History of Music*, *Hindu Music*, *Hindu Drama*, *Seven Principal Musical Notes of the Hindus*, *Six Principal Ragas* and *Music and Musical Instruments of South India* (Calcutta); Pingley's *Indian Music*, Annie Wilson's *Hindu System of Music*, (Lahore); Chinnasami Mudaliar's *Oriental Music in staff notation*, (Madras); Singarachari's works (Sasilekha Office, Madras); Ananda Comaramasami's *Indian Music* (London); Shahindra's *Indian Music*, (London); Krishnarao's *First Step in Hindu Music*, (London); K. B. Deval's *Musical Scale* (Poona); Gangadhar's *Theory and Practice of Hindu Music*, (Madras); Clement's *Indian Music*, (London); Mrs. Mani's

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1. There is a commentary on it by Roya Gaṇeśa (*Bik*. 512). Ranganāṭha commented on Śakunṭalā in 1655 A. D.

2. *TC*, IV. 4801. A work of this name is quot d in Sangīṭanārāyaṇa. (*TC*, V. 6227, *TC*, IV. 4804).

3. *TC*, V. 6127.

Indian Music, (Madras); Bhandarkar's *Study of Ancient Music*, (Bombay); Fox Strangway's *Music of Hindustan*, and *the Hindu Scale*, (Oxford); Thirumalavyanaidu's *Hindu Music*, (Madras); Bhatkande's *Music of Upper India;* T. Lakshmanapillai's *Travancore Music*, H. A. Popley's *Music of India*, (Oxford); Krishnarao's *Psychology of Music*, Mysore; K. B. Peval's *Music of Indian Music*, (Poona); M. R. Telang's *The 22 Srutis of Indian Music*, (Bombay); O. C. Gangoly's *Ragas and Raginis*; Margaret E. Cousins, *Music of the Orient and Occideni*, Reports of All India Musical Conferences: Journal of Musical Acadamy, Madras.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Kamasastra

(Erotics)

1065. Kamasastra treats of Erotics in its most comprehensive signification. For purposes of literature, erotics are on the same level as poetics and may, not improperly, be called a branch of Sāhiṭya. The classification of heroes and heroines, the description of their qualities, the progress of their loves and the means of their union are all stated in works on poetics or erotics and these precepts are adopted and elaborated in the poetical and particularly the dramatic literature. Bhavabhūti, in his Mālaṭīmāḍhava, expressly says that his play is an illustration of Kāmasūṭra. Without a study of erotics, Sanskrit poetry cannot be appreciated.

Kāma or love is the third 'Puruṣārtha, that is, the third object of a man's life. From the remotest ages the idea that enjoyment of pleasures is as much necessary for a man's salvation as Ḍharma and Arṭha, virtue and wealth, has been prevalent in India, and tradition attributes the first treatise on these three objects of life to the Creator himself in 100,000 chapters. It is out of this first source, Manu and Bṛhaspaṭi formulated distinct works on Ḍharma and Arṭha. Nanḍin it was that related the principles of Kāmaśāstra in 1,000 chapters and of these summaries were made by Śveṭaketu and Bābhravya. Bābhravya's summary was itself a large work in 150 chapters and in seven parts dealt with seven subjects, Sāḍhāraṇa, Sāmprayogika, Kanyāsāmprayogika, Bhāryāḍhikārika, Pāraḍārika, Vaiśika and Aupaniṣaḍika. The first deals with the merit of Kāmaśāsṭra, the nature of education and the regulation of life; the second with sensual enjoyment and copulation; the third with wooing, training and company of girls; the fourth with relations between husband and wife; the fifth with dealings with the wives of others; the sixth with public women, and the seventh with charms and medicines in relation to enjoyment of sensual pleasures.

From this vast volume of Bābhravya, the various topics were separated and related respectively by Cārāyaṇa, Suvarṇanābha, Ghotakamukha, Gonarḍīya, Gonikāpuṭra, Ḍaṭṭaka and Kucimāra. Of these all but the last are now lost. It was Vāṭsyāyana who made an epitome of these writings in his Kāmasūṭras of 36 chapters, with the object of

comprehending the whole subject of erotics in an easy and readable form. This is the resume of early literature with which Vāṭsyāyana begins his Kāmasūtra.[1]

It is the view of Vāṭsyāyana that all these three Puruṣārṭhas, Ḍharma, Arṭha and Kāma are equally serviceable and conducive to bliss here and in the other world. He begins by saying धर्मार्थकामेभ्यो नमः and traces the source of Kāmaśāsṭra to the Creator himself thus:—

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गसाधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच ।

He advocates Kāma, the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, without prejudice to Ḍharma and Arṭha, in the period of youth :—

शतायुर्वै पुरुषो विभज्य कालमन्योन्यानुबद्धं परस्परस्यानुपघातकं त्रिवर्गं सेवेत ।

In answer to a deprecation of Kāma as undesirable expressed thus :

न कामांश्चरेत् । धर्मार्थयोः प्रधानयोरेवमन्येषां च सतां प्रत्यनीकत्वात् । अनर्थजनसंसर्गमसद्व्यवसायमशौचमनायतिं चैते पुरुषस्य जनयन्ति । तथा प्रमादं लाघवमप्रत्ययमग्राह्यतां च ।,

he writes

शरीरस्थितिहेतुत्वादाहारसधर्माणो हि कामाः फलभूताश्च धर्मार्थयोः बोद्धव्यं तु दोषेष्विव । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते, न हि मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते ।

and quotes an ancient verse

एवमर्थं च कामं च धर्मं चोपचरेन्नरः ।
इहामुत्र च निश्शल्यमत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ॥

The last verses embody a counsel of good conduct thus :

तदेतत् ब्रह्मचर्येण परेण च समाधिना ।
विहितं लोकयात्रायै न रागोऽस्याहि संविधिः ॥
रक्षन् धर्मार्थकामानां स्थितिं स्वां लोकवर्तिनीम् ।
अस्य शास्त्रस्य तत्त्वज्ञो भवत्येव जितेन्द्रियः ॥
तदेतत्कुशलो विद्वान् धर्मार्थाववलोकयन् ।
नातिरागात्मकः कामी प्रयुञ्जानः प्रसिध्यति ॥

and then the sage predicates salvation for a life devoted to pleasure consistent with Ḍharma and Arṭha.

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1. Ed. by S. R. Schmidt. Tr. into German. Ed. Bombay with Jayamangala commentary. Translated into English in 1883, and recently by K. Rangasami Iyengar (Lahore). See also *CC*, 215, 256. On Kāliḍāsa's quotations from Vāṭsyāyana, see Peterson, *JBRAS*. XVIII, 110 and Mujumdar, *IA*, XLVII. 195.

1066. Dattaka,[1] the son of a Brahmin of Maṭhurā, was born at Pātalīpuṭra. Having lost his mother while yet an infant his father gave away the boy to a Brahmin woman and so he was known as Ḍaṭṭaka. He wanted to study the ways of the world and thinking that the best means was a resort to the homes of dancing woman, got into their company and soon learnt their artful devices to a high degree so that he was requested by them to compose a work on the principles of Kāmaśāsṭra relating to their profession. So says Vāṭsyāyana in his Kāmasūṭras[2] and the commentary of Jayamangala gives the tradition.

The work, Ḍaṭṭaka-sūṭras, is not available, except two aphorisms quoted by Śyāmilaka and Iśvaraḍaṭṭa[3] in their plays and there is a parody of it by a character in Śūḍraka's Paḍmaprābhṛṭaka that it began with the letter ओम्.[4]

Māḍhavavarman II, the king of the Ganga dynasty, wrote a vṛṭṭi on Ḍaṭṭaka-sūṭras. He was the 5th ancestor of Ḍurvinīṭa and lived probably about 380 A.D.[5] A fragment of the vṛṭṭi which is in verse embraces two pāḍas only, dealing with rakṭa and virakṭa Veśyas and Śayanopacāra.[6] It is doubted if this is a summary of Ḍaṭṭaka's original Ṭanṭra ; for the first verse runs thus :

यद्दत्तकेन प्रमदाहितार्थं कान्तानुवृत्तं कथितं स्वतन्त्रे ।
तस्मात्समाहृत्य समस्तमन्यं वेश्याङ्गनावृत्तमहं प्रवक्ष्ये ॥

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1. Is he identical with Daṭṭ ? Their probable dates are the same.

2. तस्य षष्ठं वैशिकमधिकरणं पाटलीपुत्रिकाणां गणिकानां नियोगात् दत्तकः पृथक् चकार ।
—*Kāmāsutra*, I.

3. किंब्रवीषि—वेश्याभ्यो यद्दीयते तन्नष्टं इति बहवो ब्रुवन्ति ।
तद्दत्तकेनाप्युक्तं, कामोऽर्थनाशः पुंसामिति ॥—*Dhurṭavitasamvāḍa.*

सा हि तपस्विनी निवृत्तकामतन्त्रा रजोपरोधात् केवलकुटुंबतन्त्रार्थं शब्दकाममनुवर्तते । गम्यश्चायमस्याः । अपुमान् शब्दकाम इति दात्तकीयाः ॥
Pāḍaṭāḍiṭaka.

4. वेश्याङ्गणं प्रविष्टो मोहाद्भिक्षुर्यदृच्छया वापि ।
न भ्राजते प्रयुक्तो दत्तकसूत्रेष्विवोङ्कारः ॥—*Paḍmaprābhṛṭaka.*

5. See para 48 *supra.* *EC*, IX. 7 and No. *DB*, 68. दत्तकसूत्रवृत्तेः प्रणेतुः श्रीमन्माधवमहाधिराजस्य ।

6. *TC.* IV. 4785. Here are some verses :

कान्तेन यत्नान्मुखवासपूर्वभोगांश्च गृह्णीत सुखी नियोगात् ।
कृष्णा च कृष्णोत्तरमात्रमस्मै मन्द्रः प्रयच्छेत्प्रतिवाक्यमादौ ॥
भुजे प्रियस्य स्वशिरो निधाय तस्योत्तमाङ्गं स्वभुजेऽवसज्य ।
गात्राणि तद्गात्रवशं निवेश्य कान्तेन सार्धं कथयेच्छयाना ॥

1067. Kucimaratantra is not fully extant. A few sections in the Aupaniṣaḍam (medicine) chapter have been traced and published. It is avowedly a narration of Kucimāra's practices and his greatness has brought this work into repute, enough to call it an Upaniṣaḍ. Thus is begins :—

शङ्कराय नमस्कृत्य यत्पूर्वैस्समुदाहृतम् ।
* * * तकरं नृणां मंत्रौषधिसमान्वितम् ॥

संयोगादिष्टसंभारादुपपन्नं च तत्वतः ।
कूचिमारेण तपसा यत्कृतं कीडनं पुरा ॥

तत्प्रवक्ष्यामि चित्रार्थं नानार्थपदनिश्चितम् ।
श्रूयतां नामतश्चैव कूचूपनिषदं पुनः ।
बृंहणं लेपनं चैव वश्यं बन्धनवृष्यकम् ।
पादलेपाञ्जनं तैलं रोमनाशनमेव च ॥

Even in its present form, the work is very old and can be assigned to a date earlier than the 10th century A. D.[1]

1068. Vatsyayana. Tradition accords to Vāṭsyāyana the repute of a Muni or Maharṣi. His proper name was Mallanāga of the Vātsyāyana family but his identity with Paksilaswāmin, the author of Nyāyabhāṣya, is not substantitated. Obviously he flourished in the age when the sūṭra form of literature was in vogue. His exact date is as usual a chronological speculatton, but the uncertainty is a matter of relativity. Vāṭsyāyana instances the killing of his queen Malayavaṭī by Kunṭala Śāṭakarṇi Śāṭavāhana.[2] Kunṭala Śāṭakarṇi or Swāṭi Karṇa was the 13th Āndhra king, and son of Mṛgenḍra Swāṭīkarṇa and according to Maṭsyapurāṇa and Kaliyugarājavṛṭṭanṭa he ruled in Kali 2487-2481, that is B. C. 615-607.[3] This date is of orthodox acceptance. Leaving an appreciable interval for the act of that king to become a story of notoriety and being instanced in literature, we may safely assign Vāṭsyāyana to the 4th or 3rd century B.C.

1. Printed Lahore; *DC*, VIII. 2945. app. 7908. (*Kucimārasamhiṭā*).

2. See Introduction, about Kings of Magadha.

3. कर्तर्या कुन्तलश्शातकर्णिश्शातवाहनः महादेवीं मलयवतीं जघान । II. vii. The use of perfect tense shows that the story was already considered traditional.

But V. Smith places Purikasena (for variations of this name, see T. S. Narayana Sastri, *o. c.*, 99 where he gives him the date 485-464 B. C.) in 59 A.D, from which K. G. Sankara Iyer (*JMy*, VIII. 291) deduces the date 45 B. C. for Kunṭala Śāṭakarṇi and relying on the quotation of Lankāvatārasuṭras in the Nyāyasuṭras he takes us through a labarynth of cross-references to Aśvagohsa and Nāgārjuna and concludes

Kamasūtra[1] is a valuable treatise on sociology and eugenics.[2] The work, says H. C. Chakladar, (*JBORS*, V, part ii) "furnishes a beautiful picture of the Indian home, its interior and surroundings. It delineates the life and conduct of a devoted Indian wife, the mistress of the household and the controller of her husband's purse. It describes the daily life of a young man of fashion, his many-sided culture and refinement, his courtships and peccadillos, the sports and pastimes he revelled in, the parties and clubs he associated with. The wanton wiles of gay Lotharios and merry maidens, the abuses and intrigues prevailing among high officials and princes and the evils practised in their crowded harems, are described at great length and often with local details for the various provinces of India. The Kamasutra shows, moreover, that, as in the Athens of Pericles, the hetaerae skilled in the arts, the artists, the actress and the danceuse, occupied a no very mean or insignificant position in society. The book thus throws light on Indian life from various sides."

Kāmasutras composed in 350 A.D. If Vātsyāyana was regarded as a divine or a Ṛṣi by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhuṭi, this date subverts all imagination.

"It can be shown that the book, as we have it now, was known to Bhavabhuti, who flourished at the end of the seventh century, and that he makes constant reference to it in his Mālatimadhava. There is a statement to that effect at the beginning of the play itself, the point of which has been hitherto missed. I refer to the phrase "Auddhatyamayojitakamasutram," which occurs in the enumeration by the actor of the qualities the audience expect to find in the play about to be represented before them. Jagaddhara sees no reference to a book here, and Bhandarkar, differing from Jagaddhara, translates, "bold or adventurous deed, intended to assist the progress of love (*lit.* in which is introduced the thread of love)." Bhavabhuti doubtless means this too. But his words include a reference to this book of which he makes great use. When Kamandaki slyly suggests, while professing to put aside, the tales of how Sakuntala and others followed the dictates of their own hearts in love, he is following Vatsyayana. When she tells Avalokita that the one auspicious omen of a happy marriage is that bride and bridegroom should love one another, and quotes the old saying that the happy husband is he who marries the girl who has bound to her his heart and his eye, she is quoting Vatsyayana, and so in many other parts of the play, one of the most conspicuous passages is in his seventh act, where Buddharakshita breaks through her Prakrit to quote the Sanskrit phrase, "Kusumasadharmaṇo hi yoshitah sukumaropakramah"—"For women are like flowers, and should be approached gently." Buddharakshita is quoting our book (p. 199), and the whole of the context refers to a matter which Vatsyayana treats of at great length, and which is interwoven with the plot of the Malatimadhava." *PR*, II. 67

1. Ed. Benares and Bombay. For an excellent exposition in Telugu, see Vātsyāyana's Kamasuṭra, T. P. Adinarayana Sastri, Madras.

2. For an elaborate essay on the work, see Harachandra Chakladar's *Studies in Kamasutra of Vatsyayana*, Calcutta. See Peterson *JBRAS*, (1891), 109; J. N. Samaddar, *Economic Ideal of Kamasutra*, IA, LIII. 146. There is another English translation published by Brijmohan & Co., Amritsar.

Besides Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, which is practically an elaboration of portions of Kāmasūṭras, there are commentaries on it by Yaśoḍhara Bhāskara Nṛsimha, Vīrabhaḍraḍeva, Malladeva[1] and one anonymous.[2]

1069. Yasodhara's gloss, Jayamangala,[3] is attributed by some scholars to Śankarārya or Śankarācārya,[4] because other commentaries of the name of Jayamangala, such as on Cāṇakya's Arṭhaśāsṭra, Kāmanḍaki's Nīṭiśāsṭra, Bhattikāvya, Īśvara's Sānkhyasapṭāsaṭi etc., are said to be of the latter's authorship and Yaśoḍhara alias Inḍraprabha is in that case only a scribe.[5] It is not possible to say who that Śankara was, except that this gloss is later than Kokkoka and cannot be earlier than the 13th century A.D. The great Śankara himself is said to have written a Bhāṣya on Kāmasūṭras.

1070. Virabhadradeva was the son of Rāmacanḍra and a king of Veghela dynasty of the line of Śālivāhana. His Kanḍarpacūdāmaṇi[6] is a running commentary in verse and gives the date of its composition as Sam. 1633 (1577 A.D.).[7] BHASKARA NRSIMHA lived at Benares and composed his work at the *instance of one Vrajlall in* 1788 A.D.

1071. There is a tradition that Śankara wrote Manasijasūṭras and Jyoṭirīśvara says that he had seen Manmaṭhaṭanṭra of Īśvara.

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1. *CC*, I. 93; *Bik*, 535.
2. *PR*, IV. 25.
3. See *TC*, V. 6333.
4. See Weber, *IL*. 267 note.
5. The colophon to the gloss reads thus :

इति श्रीवात्स्यनीयकामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गळाभिधानायां विदग्धाङ्गनाविरहकातरेण गुरुदत्तेन्द्रपदाभिधानेन यशोधरेण एकत्रकृतसूत्रभाष्यायाम् ।

'' It is not possible to make out the real meaning of the underlined words and they certainly cannot mean that Yaśoḍhara brought the Suṭras and Bhāṣya together because they are adjectival to Ṭika, and Tika cannot be a combination of sutras and Bhāṣya. Peterson says ''The author gives his name as Yaśoḍhara but states that he wrote this explanaion of the Sutras which Vātsyāyana collected after he had retired from the world in grief at the loss of a beloved wife, and had, under the name of Indrapāla entered the ascetic life.'' (*PR*, II. 67).

6. *SKC*, 64; *PR*, II. 66; P. K. Go'e, *Identification of Virabhanu* (*COJ*, II. 254 where geneology is given).

हरलोचनहरलोचनरसशशिभिर्विश्रुते समये ।
फाल्गुनशुक्लप्रतिपदि पूर्णो ग्रन्थस्समेरः ॥

7. *DC*, VIII. 2931.

Ranṭiḍeva's Yogāḍhikārikā also deals with medicines,[1] for instance

माहेन्द्रमुष्कं सकलं घृतेन ससैन्धवं गव्यपयस्सुसिद्धम् ।
तद्भक्षयित्वा रतिसङ्गरेषु जयत्यकस्माद्युवतीसहस्रम् ॥

Nāgārjuna or Siḍḍha Nāgārjuna[2] is said to have composed Vaśikaraṇatanṭra.[3] It is not now available. There is Nāgārjunīyayogaśaṭaka by Ḍhruvapāla.[4]

Kṣemenḍra's Vāṭsyayanasūṭrasāra is quoted in his Auciṭyavicāracarcā (39).

1072. Padmasri or Paḍmaśrignāna was a Buddhist monk. He mentions Kuttnīmaṭa and is quoted in Śārngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi, and he must have therefore lived about 1000 A. D. In his Nāgarasarvasva in 18 parts, he sums up with fine illustrations in flowing poetry all that is needed for a man of aesthetic and amorous tastes. Besides describing the means of adoring one's person and residence, it embraces all stages of love from wooing to conception, with instructions on charms and medicines.

There are two commentaries on it by Tanusukharama[5] (the editor) and by Jagajjyoṭirmalla (1617-1633 A.D.). Nagaridāsa wrote Nāgarasamuccaya.[6]

1073. Kalyanamala wrote his ANANGARANGA[7] to please a Mohammadan ruler of Oudh, Ladakhan Lodi, son of Ahmedkhan. In ten chapters it describes the sensual qualities of different clauses of women and purports to be a compendium of writings on the subject. He also wrote Sulomaṭcariṭ·, a Sanskrit version of the story of Solomon, son of David, in the old Testament.[8]

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1. *CC*, I. 493. He is mentioned in Sākṭiraṭnākara (*Oxf.* 101).
2. See *IA*, IV. 141 ; X. 87 ; XV. 352 ; XVI. 169.
3. *CC*, I. 283 ; III. 61.
4. *Opp.* 998 ; II. 1090 ; *Oudh*, XII. 26.
5. Ed. by himself, Bombay with a valuable introduction.
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. Ed. Lahore. *DC*, VIII. 2941. Here is a verse for instance :

उन्निद्राम्बुजकोशतुल्यवदना रम्या मराळस्वना
तन्वी हंसपथागतिस्सुललितं वेषं सदा बिभ्रती ।
मध्यं चापि वळित्रयाङ्कितततनुश्शुक्लाम्बराकांक्षिणी
सुग्रीवा शुभनासिकेति गदिता नार्युत्तमा पद्मिनी ॥

8. *DC*, XXI. 8150.

1074. Kokkoka was the son of Tejoka and grandson of Pāribhadra. His RATIRAHASYAM in 10 chapters was composed for the delectation of one Vainyadatta and is an elegent and lucid summary of Kāmasūtras. It is quoted by Kumbhakarṇa and by Nayacandra and was probably composed in the 12th century A.D.

There are commentaries on Raṭirahasya[1] by Kāncīnāṭha,[2] Avanca Rāmacandra,[3] and Kaviprabhu.[4] Harihara's Sṛṅgārarasabandhapradīpikā is also a commentary.[5]

उद्भूतः पारिभद्रामरनरफणि ...प्रेयसीगीतकीर्तेः
नप्ता तेजोकनाम्नस्सदसि बहुमतः पंडितानां कवीनाम् ।
एतच्छ्रीगद्यविद्याधरकवितनयः कामकेळीरहस्यं
कोकोकः कामुकानां किमपि रतिकरं व्याकरोत् कौतुकेन ॥

The colophon reads: इति श्रीसिद्धपंडितसिह्मळीयकोकोकविराचिते रतिरहस्ये ।

Kāmaśāstram[6] is a compilation of verses on erotics with pictorial representations, one in each sheet; but the verses appear to be from Raṭirahasya, which as preserved in Tanjore has readings different from the published edition.[7]

1075. Harihara, son of Rāmavidvat, bore the title Sahajasārasvaṭacandra. He also wrote Raṭirahasya or Śṛngārabhedapadīpikā[8] or Śṛngāradīpika in which chapter IV deals with manṭras, yanṭras and medicines. It is said that he was a Telugu poet and wrote Bhāgavaṭa about 1450 A.D.[9] But if Vidyādbara's mention of a poet Harihara and his work Bindvalankara, as having received immense weath from a king Arjuna means this Harihara and if King Arjuna is king Arjunavarman

1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7355.
2. Ed. Benares. *DC*, VIII. 2957 ; *Tanj.* XXII. 7357.
3. *DC*, VIII. 2955. This was translated into Telugu and Tamil long ago.
4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7358.
5. *Tanj*, XVI. 7359.
6. *Tanj*, XV. 7366.
7. Ibid, 7355.

There is a Kāmaśāssra by Silhapata Iśvarakāmiṭa, quoted by Arjunavarman in his gloss on Amaruka. *CC*, I. 61.

8. *TC*, II. 2452. Ms. breaks off in the 5th chapter. (*Mys.* 207, *DC*, VIII. 2950). These chapters were published by R. S. Schmidt in *ZDMG*. Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 661. gives the reference as Burnell, 59. But the Tanjore catalogue has no such name. There is a Śabdabhedapradīpikā (anonymous) noted there, *Tanj.* IX. 3903.
9. See Viresalingam's Poets Part. III.

of Malva, he must have lived in the beginning of the 13th century A.D.[1] Harihara, son of Candra, wrote Raṭiḍarpaṇa.[2]

1076. Ananta's Kāmasamūha is a fine description of all factors of love. It begins with a description of the seasons and embraces the classification of women and stages and progress of love. It was composed in 1457 A.D. but seeing that some verses in it are quoted in Subhāṣiṭāvali under other authors, this work may have been a compilation.[3]

1077. Immadi Praudhadevaraya's Raṭiraṭnapraḍīpikā is an elaborate and interesting treatise on sexual pleasures, external and internal. In seven chapters and in easy verse it initiates lovers into fashions of enjoyment and shows that the passions of amour can receive appreciation. He was King of Vijianagar (1422-48 A.D.)[4]

Sri Sasali Vīravārāḍhya lived at the end of the 15th century A.D. He wrote Pancaraṭna and says:

भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं माररहस्यं पञ्चरत्नकम् ।
व्यधत्तोपनिषत्सर्वं वीरणाराध्ययोगिराट् ॥

Revaṇārāḍhya wrote a commentary on it.

1078. Kavisekhara Jyotirisvara's Pancasāyaka deals in four parts with classes of women, species of enjoyment, manṭras and aphrodasiacs.[5] He says

दृष्ट्वा मन्मथतन्त्रमीश्वरकृतं वात्स्यायनीयं मतं
गोणीपुत्रकमूलदेवभणितं बाभ्रव्यकाव्यामृतम् ।
श्रीनन्दीश्वरचित्तिदेवभणितं क्षेमं च विद्यागमम्
एते कामिषु पञ्चसायकमिति प्रीतिप्रदं प्राणिनाम् ॥

1079. King SHAHAJI of Tanjore (1684-1710 A.D.) wrote Śṛngāramanjarī, embracing poetics and erotics.[6]

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1. S. K. De, *SP*, I. 323 says "There are poets of the name Harihara (*CC*, I. 662-3); (i) quoted in Padyāvali (ii) commentator as Bhattikavya and Anargaraghava and Amaruśataka (iii) the anthologist (iv) authors of Ciṭrabhanukāvya, and Jānakīmaṇikyastava, (vi) Prabhāvaṭiparinayanātaka (vii) Hṛdayaduṭa Kāvya. There is a poet Hariharaḍeva in Śārngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi (p. 98) where he praises a poet Suḍarsāna."

2. *TC*, III. 4140.

3. *C Bod.*. 218 note; *PR*, III. 22, 366.

4. Ed. Mysore by K. Rangaswami Iyengar, with English translation, but his attribution of the work to Doddadevaraya Wodayar of Mysore is incorrect

5. Printed, Bombay. See para 685 *supra*. *BRI* (1925) 15; *TC*, III. 4035.

6. *Tanj*, XVI. 7365.

1080. MINANATHA wrote Smaraḍīpikā or Raṭiraṭnapraḍīpikā. He describes the plan of his work thus:[1]

प्रथमं जातिनिर्देशस्ततो नायकलक्षणम् ।
ततश्चाभ्यन्तररतिः स्वान्यदाराधिकारिता ।
वारनार्यधिकारश्च क्रमशोऽन्ते प्रदर्शितः ॥

SRINATHABHATTA wrote a treatise in 16 chapters on erotic sorcery, as expounded in the Ṭantras.[2] There is a Kāmaṭanṭra in 14 parts of unknown authorship.[3]

1081. Rasikaranjanam of Vaiḍyanāṭha and Raṣikaboḍhinī of his father Kāmarājaḍīkṣiṭa[4] and Śṛngāraṭilakam of Kāliḍasa are small poetic descriptions of amorous sentiments.[5]

1082. Rasacanḍrikā of Viśveśvara[6] describes heroes and heroines. Vitavṛṭṭa describes the relations between harlots and their lovers and was probably composed by Saumaḍaṭṭin.[7] Māḍhava's Jaḍavṛṭṭa gives a humorous account of fools as dupes of dancing woman.[8] Ḍhūrtānanḍam in 4 parts is an attractive account of the rakish ways of the man of the town.[9]

Ciṭraḍhara's Śṛngārasāra in 7 Paḍḍhaṭis deals with the origin,

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1. *CC*, I. 745, 455. He is quoted by Manoharasarman, *Oxf*, 352; *PR*, II. 190.
2. Mitra's *Notics*, No. 991, *IO*, IV. 921; *BRI*, (1925) 15. Ed. Bombay.
3. *OML*, No. 14930?
4. *DC*, XX. 8009.
5. See S.K. De. *SP*, I. 320 and for quotations see Nāgarasasva (Ed Bombay. p. 117).

For instance:

मन्थाः शिश्नः स्मरोऽग्निर्भगमरणिरहो रोमपंक्तिस्तु दर्भाः
होमद्रव्यं हि रेतो भणितमपि च वाग्वृत्विजावण्डयुग्मम् ।
एतत्कामाग्निहोत्रं विधिविहितमहो सालसाक्षो भजन्ते
धित्तान् धित्तान् धिगेतानिति वदति सखं वारयोषिन्मृदङ्गः ॥

This is based on Chandogyapau'ṣad (V. 8.)

"योषा वाव गोतमाग्निस्तस्या उपस्थ एव समिद्यदुपमन्त्रयते सधूमो योनिरर्चिर्यदन्तः करोति तेऽङ्गारा अभिनन्दस्फुलिङ्गाः । तस्मिन्नेतस्मिन्नग्नौ देवा रेतो जुह्वति ॥

6. *TC*, II. 18.
7. The first verse of the work is quoted as Saumaḍaṭṭin's in Vallabhaḍeva's Subhāṣiṭāvali. But a commentary on Jadavṛṭṭam ascribes the work to Bharṭṛhari's (Manuscript in Or. Ms. Library in Madras).
8. *Trav.* 74.
9. *TC*, III. 3981. *Trav.* 74.

emotions, progress and consummation of love and incidentally with music and dancing.[1]

Smaradīpikā[2] is a short piece of 157 verses and embraces all the topics of erotics. In the colophon of one of the manuscripts it is attributed to Mūladeva, but the third verse indicates that the author was Rudra. Raṭimanjarī of Jayadeva is a small piece on women and copulation.[3] Kāmāprābhṛṭaka by Keśava is an introductory treatise on erotics and shows fine poetry.[4] So is Kāmānanda in 5 patalas of Varadarāja, son of Iśvarādhvarin.[5]

Anangadīpikā (in prose),[6] Raṭisāra,[7] Raṭicandrikā,[8] and Śṛngārakuṭūhala of Kautukadeva,[9] and Tṛṭīyapuruṣārṭhasādhakasaraṇi,[10] and Praṇayacinṭā deal with amorous sentiments and dalliance. Bandhodaya is a collection of pictures very artistically drawn upon palm leaves illustrating various postures of copulation and accompanied by the verse describing the bandhas.[11] Śṛngārakanduka or Jārapancāśaṭ describes in two parts some amorous situations as between Kṛṣṇa and Gopis.[12]

Veśyānganākalpadruma relates to courtesans.[13] Raghupaṭirahasyadīpikā stops with Sambhogaprakaraṇa.[14]

1083. Miscellaneous. Kāmasāra of Karṇadeva,[15] Raṭisāra of King Mādhavadeva,[16] Raṭicandrikā.[17]

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1. *DC*, XX. 8016. *IO*. I. 364.
2. *PR*. II. No. 113. *Tanj*, XVI. 7363.
3. Ed. Bombay and elsewhere.
4. *TC*, III. 3897.
5. *TC*, III. 3898.
6. *Bik*. 531.
7. *CBK*, 531-3.
8. *DC*, VIII. 3894.
9. *TC*, IV. 5001.
10. *OML* No. 3/649.
11. Ibid. Ms. No. 4/574. Sambhogādhyayām (*Mys*. 307). Kāmakalpalaṭā of Sadāśiva is a similar work on postures of copulation without pictures. The latter manuscript is available with Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.
12. *TC* II. 1400. There is a commentary on it by Venkatarāghava of Śriśaila family.
13. *Opp*. 6220.
14. *Adyar*, II. 37.
15. *PR*, III. 22, 366.
16. *Mys*. 307.
17. *TC*, III. 3899.

(Kāmaraṭna, Rasikasarvasva, Kāmaprakāsā, Nāgaravallabhā and Manmaṭhasamhiṭā.[1]

Maḍanamahārṇava of Manḍhāṭā,[2] Kāmaprabodha of Anūpasimha,[3] Saḍarpakanḍarpa by Bhavānanḍa Thakkura,[3] Maḍanasanjīvinī,[4] Ananga-ṭilaka,[5] Anangaḍīpikā,[6] Anangaśekhara,[7] Śṭrīvilāsa of Ḍeveśvara Upāḍh-yāya,[8] Raṭinīṭimukula of Kṣemakara Śāstrin,[9] and Kavicinṭāmaṇi.[10]

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1. Mentioned in Preface to Edn. of Raṭirahasya.
2. *BRI*, 1925), 76. There is one Maḍanārṇava, *Bik.* 533.
3. *Bik.* 532.
4. *CASB*, 211.
5. *Opp*, II. 2738.
6. *Opp*, 6518, 6556.
7. *Bik.* 531.
8. *Opp*, 5482.
9. *BRI*, (1925), 76.
10. Printed, Bombay.
11. *TC*, II. 1363 ; *DC*, VIII. No. 3894.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Chandoviciti

(METRICS)

1084. Chandas-sastra or **Chandoviciti,** as it has been sometimes called, is the science of metrics, prosody. It is a Vedānga, a subject of study necessary for the proper understanding of the hymns. The earliest Sanskrit literature, Ṛg-veda, is in sūktas or hymns, that is, in verse.[1] The seers (Ṛṣis) that sang those verses must have been guided by specific canons for metrical expression, for music, that is evident in the chanting of the hymns contained in Sāma Veda, must originate an array of letters yielding sounds conducive to the harmony of the ear. " In the Brahmanas the oddest tricks are played with them and their harmony is in some mystical fashion brought into connection with the harmony of the world, in fact, stated to be its fundamental cause. The simple minds of these thinkers were too much charmed by their rhythims not to be led into these and similar symbolisings." The metrical content of the Ṛigveḍa has shown that each period except the 'normal' period, was inventive. The bards were occupied in constructing fresh metrical schemes, as well as in producing verse following established models. They frequently compare their craft to the highest kind of workmanship known to them, that is displayed in the construction of a war-chariot; and they show confidence that a 'new' song will be more pleasing to the gods than one which is old fashioned."

Principles of versification and inquiries into the nature of metres, that is, the beginning of the science of metrics, are found in Niḍāna-sūṭra of Sāmaveḍa, Śānkhyāyana Śrauṭasūṭra (vii. 2), and in Ṛk Prāṭiśākhya and Kāṭyāyana Anukramaṇī which almost follows it, while in the later hymns of Ṛk Samhiṭā some metres are named.[2]

The antiquity of the Vedic metres goes far beyond conceivable history. It dates back probably to the days when the Indo-Aryans, as, ethnologists may say, were still unseparated or just separated from their Persian brethren.[3]

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1. Macdonell, *SL*, 54; Weber, *IL*, 225 and Weber, *die Metrik des Inder*, Berlin; Brown, *Prosody*, 17.
1. See Weber, *ISt*, VIII. 1; H. Jacobi, *ZDMG*, XXXVIII. 590; XL. 336.
2. Arnold, *Vedic Metre* (Cambridge), 19.

"The comparison of the earlier parts of the Avesta indicates that the first Vedic poets were not far from the period when verse was measured solely by the number of syllables, without any regard to their quantity. The quantity of initial and final syllables is always indifferent in the Rigveda, and this feature is inherited from the earlier period of purely syllable measurement. But in all other parts of the verse we find rhythmical tendencies, which determine with varying regularity the quantity required in each position." Thus concludes Arnold : As works of mechanical art the metres of the Rigveda stand high above those of modern Europe in variety of motive and in flexibility of form. They seem indeed to bear the same relation to them as the rich harmonies of classical music to the simple melodies of the peasant. And in proportion as modern students come to appreciate the skill displayed by the Vedic poets, they will be glad to abandon the easy but untenable theory that the variety of form employed by them is due to chance, or the purely personal bias of individuals : and to recognize instead that we find all the signs of a genuine historical development, that is, of united efforts in which a whole society of man have taken part, creating an inheritance which had passed through the generations from father to son, and holding up an ideal which has led each in his turn to seek rather to enrich his successors than to grasp his own immediate enjoyment. If this was so, when the Vedic bards also are to be counted amongst 'great men.........such as sought out musical tunes and set forth verses in writng.'

1085. The following extracts from Arnold's *Vedic Metre* (6-15) are instructive :

The units of Vedic metre are the 'verse', the 'stanza' and the 'hymn.'

A *verse* consists most commonly either of eight syllables, when we distinguish it as a *dimeter* verse : or of eleven or twelve syllables, both of which varieties are included under the name *trimeter* verse.

* * * *

The most typical forms of the *stanza* are :

(i) the *Anustubh*, which consists of four dimeter verses, and

(ii) the *Tristubh*, which consists of four trimeter verses, each of eleven syllables.

Four trimeter verses, each of twelve syllables, form a *Jagati* stanza.

Stanzas may contain more or fewer verses than four. Thus the *Gayatri* consists of three dimeter verses, the *Pankti* of five, the *Mahapankti* of six : whilst three *Tristubh* verses form the metre known as *Viraj* and two decasyllabic verses that known as *Dvipada Viraj*.

Stanzas may also consist of combinations of dimeter and trimeter verses, the latter being then usually of twelve syllables : all meters of this type we group as lyric metres.

Lyric metres may also include verses of four syllables, and even of sixteen, but these are comparatively rare. The most important lyric meters are *Usnih* (8. 8. 12, or 8. 8. 8. 4.), *Kakubh* (8. 12 8.), *Brhati* (8. 8. 12. 8.), *Satobrhati* (12. 8. 12. 8.) and *Atyasti* (12. 12. 8. 8. 8, 12. 8.).

* * * *

A hymn may contain any number of stanzas, but usually it consists of not less than three or more than fifteen stanzas, generally uniform in character, except in the case of strophic and 'mixed lyric' hymns. It is also not uncommon for the last stanza of a hymn to contain one or even two additional verses.

Where the number of stanzas in a hymn is very large, or the metre suddenly changes, it becomes probable that we have a composite hymn, that is, two or more hymns combined in the Samhita text.

* * * *

In all metres in the Rigveda the quantities of the first and last syllables of each verse are different, and (with some exceptions) each verse is independent in structure.

In almost all metres a general iambic rhythm may be noticed in the sense that the even syllables, namely the second, fourth, and so on are more often long than short.

* * * *

In all metres the rhythm of the latter part of the verse is much more rigidly defined than that of the earlier part.

* * * *

In the early part of the verse there is a general preference for long syllable, in the latter of the verse or short syllables. These preferences modify considerably the general iambic rhythm prevailing in both parts.

* * * *

Trimeter verse may be analysed in two ways:

(i) into two parts, as separated by the cæsura, which regularly follows either the fourth or the fifth syllable; or

(ii) into three numbers, namely (*a*) the opening, which consists of the first four syllables: (*b*) the break, consisting of the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables: and (*c*) the cadence which includes the remaining syllables, beginning with the eighth.

In the case of Tristubh verse, the two parts consist either of four and seven syllables, or of five and six syllables each, according as the cæsura is early (that is, after the fourth syllable) or late (that is, after the fifth syllable). If the cæsura is early, we have a short first part and a long second part: if late, we have a long first part and a short second part.

In the case of Jagati verse, the second part is in each case longer by one syllable.

In all cases the second part regularly begins with two short syllables.

Anustubh:

वायुरस्म उपामन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुनन्नम ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद्रुद्रेण पिबत्सह ॥

Gayatri :

i उक्थं चन सस्यामानम्
अगो ररिरा चिकेत न
गायत्रं गीयमानम् ॥

ii तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं
भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

Normal Triṣṭubh :

बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानः
महा ज्योतिषः परमे व्योमन् ।
सप्तास्यस्तुविजातो रवेण
वि सप्तरश्मिरधमत्तमांसि ॥

Normal Jagaṭi :

अतदा अर्भा महते वचस्यवे
कक्षिवते वृचयामिन्द्रसुन्वते ।
मेनाभवो पृषणस्वस्य शुक्रतो
विश्वेत्ताते सवनेषु प्रवाच्या ॥

The following passage from Mahābhāṣya is instructive :

तथा छंदोग्रंथोऽप्युपयुज्यते छंदोविशेषाणां तत्र तत्र विहितत्वात् । तस्मात्सप्तचतुरुत्तराणि छंदांसि प्रातरनुवाकेऽनूच्यंत इति ह्याम्नातं । गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुब्बृहतीपंक्तित्रिष्टुब्जगतीत्येतानि सप्त छंदांसि । चतुर्विंशत्यक्षरा गायत्री । ततोऽपि चतुर्भिरक्षरैरधिकाष्टाविंशत्यक्षरोष्णिक् । एवमुत्तरोत्तराधिका अनुष्टुबादयोऽत्रगंतव्याः । तथान्यत्रापि श्रूयते । गायत्रीभिर्ब्राह्मणस्यादध्यात् त्रिष्टुब्भीराजन्यस्य जगतीभिर्वैश्यस्येति । तत्र मगणयगणादिसाध्यो गायत्र्यादिविवेकश्छंदोग्रंथ मंतरेणनसुविज्ञेयः । किं च यो ह वा अविदितार्षेयच्छंदोदैवतब्राह्मणेन मंत्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्थाणुं वर्च्छतिगर्तं वा पद्यदि प्रवामीयते पापीयान् भवति । तस्मादेतानि मंत्रे मंत्रे विद्यादिति श्रूयते। तस्मात्तद्वेदनाय छंदोग्रंथ उपयुज्यते ।

By the time of the composition of Upaniṣads we find the anustubh metre settling down to a definite form, almost approaching the epic *śloka*. Even in Ṛgveḍa, we have that variety :

वायुरस्म उपमन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुनन्नम ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद्रुद्रेण पिबत्सह ॥

The tradition that the *sloka* metre became manifest in the unconscious effusion of Vālmiki's grief caused by the sight of killing of

Kaunci is but an indication that Vālmīki, called thereby *Aḍikavi*, was the first of the authors of classical Sanskrit poetry,

1086. " The poetry of the epic is composed in metres, chandas of three sorts. The first is measured by syllables, the second by moræ, the third by groups of moræ. These rhythms ran the one into the other in the following course. The early free syllabic rhythm tended to assume a form where the syllables were differentiated as light or heavy at fixed places in the verse. Then the fixed syllabic rhythm was lightened by the resolution of specific heavy syllables, the beginning of mora-measurement. The resolution then became general and the number of moræ, not the number of syllables, was reckoned. Finally, the moræ tended to arrange themselves in groups and eventually became fixed in a wellnigh unchangeable form. Part of this development was reached before the epic began, but there were other parts, as will appear, still in process of completion. Neither of the chief metres in the early epic was quite reduced to the later stereotyped form. The stanza-form, too, of certain metres was still inchoate.

The mass of the great epic (about ninety-five per cent) is written in one of the two current forms of free syllabic rhythm ; about five per cent in another form of the same class ; and only two-tenths of a per cent in any other metre."[1]

1087. " After the composition of Ramayana, and since that time prosodial genius has been very active and the variety of metres that had come into vogue was such that Bharaṭa treated the subject *Chandoviciti* in chapters 14 and 15 of Nātyaśāsṭra. Bharata defines the tunes of a metre in quantities laghu or guru fort fixed places.[2] Kohala has a section on prosody. According to Bharata and Kohala, whose main sphere was histrionics, the rhythm of the metre must appear to be a spontaneous effusion of the thoughts and sentiments of the actor on the scene."

1088. Metric Varieties are based on mere number of syllables, admixture of long and short measures, or number of morae (māṭras) :

SLOKA is free syllabic, a stanza of four *pādas* (feet), in two verses (hemistichs) of 16 syllables restricted to *guru* and *laghu* syllablces in some fixed places. This is the definition :—

1. Hopkin's, *Great Epic*, Ch IV.
2. Regnaud, *La metrique de Bharata*, *AMG*, 2, Paris.

पञ्चमं लघु सर्वत्र सप्तमं द्विचतुर्थयोः ।
षष्ठं गुरुर्विजानीयादेतत् श्लोकस्य लक्षणम् ॥

Akṣarachanḍas is fixed syllabic and this is varṇavṛṭṭa, e. g., Raṭhoḍḍhaṭī, Praharṣiṇī, Rucirā. Māṭrācchanḍas counts by morae such as Puṣpiṭāgrā, Aupacchanḍasika, Aparavakṭra and Vaiṭālīya.

GANACCHANDAS has morae in groups : *e.g.*,

"Arya, Aryagiti, Upagiti, stanzas of two verses, each verses, each verse containing eight groups of morae, the group of four morae each, but with the restriction that amphibrachs are prohibited in the odd groups, but may make any even group and must make the sixth group, unless indeed this sixth group be represented (in the second hemistich) by only one mora or four breves ; and that the eighth group may be represented by only two morae. The metre is called aryagiti when the eighth foot has four morae ; upagiti, when the sixth foot iregularly has but one mora in each hemistich."

1089. Among earliest writers on *Laukika* or classical chanḍas, are Krauṣṭuki, Ṭandin, Yāska, Kāśyapa, Śaiṭava, Rāta and Māndavya and these are mentioned by Pingala. Abhinavaguptа quotes from Kāṭyāyana, Bhatta Sānkara and Jayaḍeva.

यथोक्तं कात्यायनेन—

'वीरस्य भुजदण्डानां वर्णने स्रग्धरा भवेत् ।
नायिकावर्णने कार्यं वसन्ततिलकादिकम् ॥
शार्दूललीला प्राच्येषु मन्दाक्रान्ता च दक्षिणे ।'

यथा शङ्करभक्तिशालिना भट्टशङ्करेण अर्धसमवृत्तप्रकरणे प्रदर्शितम् ।

"This Bhatta Śaṅkara seems to be a Śaivacārya like Abhinava. A Śaiva called Śaṅkarakantha is known to us as the father of Ratnakantha, the author of स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलिटीका. Aufrecht mentions two more Śaṅkaras, one, son of Ratnākara and commentator on महिम्नस्तोत्र and another writer on prosody called शङ्करशर्मन् who wrote a work on metrics called वृत्तमुक्तावली." Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara quoted by Abhinava is probably a commentator on Chandoviciti.

1090. Jayadeva wrote a Chanḍasśāsṭra in the form of aphorisms. He is quoted as a master on metrics and music by Abhinavaguptа in his Abhinavabhāraṭī[1] and he must have therefore lived in the

1. सर्वेषां वृत्तानाम् इत्यादौ अर्धसमासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात् ।
" He is twice mentioned as a writer on Prosody by Namisādhu in his Tīkā on

early centuries of the Christian era, unless we take him to the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. when the sūṭra style was in vogue. There is a commentary by Harṣata son of Bhatta Mukula who lived about 900 A.D.[1]

1091. Pingala's Sūṭras[2] do contain a section on vedic metres, and many that are now obsolete, but they were meant only as a treatise on classical prosody. Pingala's treatment is similar to that of Agni Purāṇa (Chap 328-34). Pingala invented a code of mnemonics which has become so popular that the systems of Bharaṭa or of the later Janāśraya have not been adopted by writers on prosody. Pingala uses eight gaṇas of three syllables य, म, त, र, ज, भ, न, स and long and short sound measures guru and laghu (ग and ल). The formula is यमाताराजभानसलगम्.

There are commentaries on Pingalasūṭras by Halāyuḍha,[3] Śrīharṣa-śarman, son of Makaraḍhvaja,[4] Vāṇīnāṭha,[5] Lakṣhmīnāṭha son of Rāmayabhatta,[6] Yāḍavaprakāśā,[7] and Ḍāmoḍara.[8]

Nārayana's Vṛṭṭokṭiraṭna[9] and Canḍraśekhara's Vṛṭṭamaukṭika[10] are almost Pingala's paraphrases and the latter is in 6 Prakasas called by its author Vārṭika of Pingalasūṭras.

1092. Janasrayi Chandoviciti[11] begins with a reference to king Janāśraya, and his sacrifices.

Rudraṭa. [*CC*, I. 199. Namisadhu, I. 18. The manuscript is dated sam. 1190 (1134 A. D.)] Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Vrttaratnṇkara quotes Jayadeva and his definition of the Upacitrā metre. Jayadeva is twice quoted in Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary, Pancikā, on the Vrttaratnākara."

1. *BRI*, No. 72 of 1872-3. See P. K. Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, I. 33.

2. Ed. by Weber, *ISt.* VIII and with the commentary of Halayuḍha, *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta by Visvanathasastri and in Kāvyamala, Bombay.

On the supposed identity of Pingala and Paṭanjali, See *ISt*. VIII. 158. Pingala's name occurs in Mahābhāṣya.

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. *CSC*, (1901), 5.

5. *Mitra*, X. composed in 1600 A. D.

6. *Tanj*. IX. 3928

7. *Adyar*, II. 39.

8. *Ibid*.

9. *IO*, II. 308. There are Prākṛṭa Pingalasutras with commentary by Ravikara and Viśvanāṭha son of Viḍyānivāsa (*Ibid.* 309).

10. *Ibid.* 313 ; *Adyar*, II. 39.

11. See M. R. Kavi's Edn. in part in Journal *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, Madras (now defunct) with a valuable Introduction.

स भूपतिरुदारधीर्जयति सम्पदेकाश्रयो जनाश्रय इति श्रिया वहति नाम सार्थं विभुः।
मखैरुरुभिरद्भुतैर्मघवतो जयश्रीरपि जिता विजितशत्रुणा जगति येन रुद्राचरत् ॥

If Janāśraya is identical with king Māḍhavavarman II of Viṣṇukundin dynasty who bore that title, he would have flourished between 580 and 615 A.D.[1]

Janāśraya's quotations from various ancient writers are of historical value. Among these traced, are Bharaṭa, Vararuci's Ubhayābhisārikā, Śūḍraka's Paḍmaprābhṛta, Kāliḍasa's poems, Aśvaghoṣa's poems, Sunḍarapāndya's Nīṭiḍviṣaṣṭikā, Kumāraḍāsa's Jānakīharaṇa, Bhāravi and Vikatanitambā.[2] These authors flourished before 6th century A.D. Apart from these quotations, there are compositions of the author, one of which a Ḍandaka applying to God Kumāra and king Janāśraya in double entendre is worth a repetition.

येन प्रांशु क्रौञ्चस्याग्रं मणिकनकविमलनवरजतपटहरवृषभसकलशशिकिरणकुमुदसदृशं सिताम्बुजसन्निभं ।

भिन्नं शक्त्यान लीलावत्यास्तटविटपकुटजसितपनसतिनिशधवखदिरतिलकतरुगहनललित-शिखरं लतागृहसङ्कटं ।

क्रीडाभूमिर्गन्धर्वाणां गजगवयमहिषरुरुपृषतशरभमृगमिथुनपरमबहुविविधशकुनिचरितं विप्रद्रुतकिन्नरं ।

सोऽर्हान् वोऽद्भिर्देवो रोषात्तपित इव पिबतु दहन इव दहतु पवन इव वहतु तरुणरविसदृशवदनो मयूरध्वजः ॥

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1. Viṣṇukundin dynasty ruled over the tract of the basin of the Kṛṣṇā and Goḍāvarī and perished by 650 A.D. and Kubja Viṣṇuvarḍhana defeated them about 615 A.D.

2. "Bhoja quotes the following verse as an example for *Punarbhu*, a woman who marries a second husband.

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानाममौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥
(श्रृङ्गारप्रकाशे)

Here it means the expression of Vikaṭanitambā.

Namisādhu and Bhoja quote the following verse :—

काले माषं सस्ये मासं वदति शकाशं यश्च सकाषम् ।
उष्ट्रे लुम्पति रं वा षं वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटानितम्बा ॥
(रुद्रटालङ्कारः)

And this verse is introduced by Namisādhu in the following words :—

" यथा विकटनितम्बायाः पतिमनुकुर्वाणा सखी प्राह '

which means the maid ridicules the vocal clearness of the husband of Vikaṭanitamba."

" Janāśraya is in six chapters dealing with the conventional code created by the author, Viṣama, Sama and Ardhasama, vṛttas, Jātis, including Vaiṭāliya and Ārya and prastāra. He charges Pingala with indifference to pause or cæsura (यति).

Jānāśrayīkāra uses *Ganas* or quantities of 2, 3, 4 and 5 letters (a *letter* is counted by the presence of a single vowel irrespective of the number of consonantal sounds in conjunction with it). As the work and its code are new to the general reader *ganas* are explained below with some details in the form of a chart :

EXPLANATORY CHART.

Janasraya's sutras indicating the code of mnemonics.	Significant letter (consonant).	Significant vowel which represents the quantity.	Prosodial symbols.	Pingala's code for the same quantity.	Example.	Remarks
Gangas (गङ्गास्)	स्	Nil	∪∪	गग (ga ga)	वाणी	
Nadīj (नदीज्)	ज्	...	I∪	लग (la ga)	परा	The vowel indicative of
Chandrap (चन्द्रप्)	प्	...	∪I	गल (ga la)	अस्तु	the gaṇa (quantity) is
Nanur (ननुर्)	र्	...	II	लल (la la)	मम	found in the first letter
Nūnamsāg (नूनंसाग्)	ग्	ऊ	∪∪∪	म (*ma*-gaṇa)	वामाक्षी	of the code word.
Krisāngiṅg (कृशाङ्गीङ्)	ङ्	ऋ	I∪∪	य (*ya*-gaṇa)	लताङ्गी	अ in *ta* in *ta*rati
Dhīvarāś (धीवराश्)	श्	ई	∪I∪	र (*ra*-gaṇa)	श्रीकरा :	आ in सा in सातव
Kurutel (कुरुतल्)	ल्	उ	II∪	स (*sa*-gaṇa)	युवतिः	ऋ in कृ in कृशाङ्गी
Tesrikvab (तेश्रीक्व्ब्)	ब्	ए	∪∪I	त (*ta*-gaṇa)	चोलेषु	ओ in लो in लोलमाला.
Vibhātik (विभातिक्)	क्	इ	I∪I	ज (*ja*-gaṇa)	विभाति	
Sātavat (सातवत्)	त्	आ	∪II	भ (*bha*-gaṇa)	काचन	
Taratim (तरतिम्)	म्	अ	III	न (*na*-gaṇa)	सरसि	Thus III is indicated by अ
Nacharatid (नचरतिद्)	द्	Nil	IIII	नल (*na la*)	विहरति	and म्;
Kamaliniy (कमलिनीय्)	य्	Nil	III∪	नग (*na ga*)	कमलिनी	
Lolamālāsh (लोलमालाष्)	ष्	ओ	∪I∪∪	रग (*ra ga*)	हारयष्टिः	∪II is by आ and त्
Dhairyamastutet (धैर्यमस्तुतेट्)	ट्	ऐ	∪I∪I∪	रलग (*ra la ga*)	कुञ्चितालका	I∪I is by क् and इ
Rautimayūronj (रौतिमयूरोञ्)	ञ्	औ	∪II∪∪	भगग (*bha ga ga*)	शुद्धगुणाढ्या	
Jayamaravavaran (जयनरवरण्)	ण्	Nil	IIIII	नन (*ma na*)	जयतुजयतु	and so on.

1. This was prepared by M. R. Kavi and used in his introduction, *l.c.*

"The system works upon 18 symbols represented by the last indicative letters; while eleven of them are also known by the initial *vowel* of the word. Thus for 11 out of 18, symbols are indicated by two letters each (a vowel as well as a consonant). For instance, *m* (म्) and *a* (अ) represent gana of three short vowelled-letters which according to Pingala is *na*-gaṇa ||| ;similarly *t* (त्) and *ā* (आ) represent *bha*-gana of Pingala; *k* (क्) and *i* (इ) *ja*-gana; *ś* (श्) and *ī* (ई) ragana ∪'∪; and so on. *ai* (ऐ) and *ṭ* (ट्) stand for 5 letters of *ra*-gana ∪|∪ and *laga* of Pingala ∪'∪|∪; *au* (औ) and *ñj* (ञ्) stand for *bha* and *laga* ∪|||∪; *o* (ओ) and *sh* (ष्) stand for *ra*-gana and *guru* ∪|∪∪. For example, we shall take *vritta* called Sragdharā which consists of गोदुशोन्ट्र that is, *g, o, d, u, ś, o*–six *ganas* ∪∪∪, ∪|∪∪, ||||, ||∪, ∪|∪, ∪|∪∪,

ग् ओ द् उ श् ओ

दन्ताग्र, प्रोतचञ्चु, शुतिदनु, तनया, सृग्वसा, दिग्धदेहो

The above example was cited by the author.

Take for instance Nandinī of the 13th Chhandas;—lirai (लिरै) which means l, i, r, ai.

ल् इ र् ऐ

शयनो स्थितस्य शिव मादधातु ते, मकरा, लये ति, मिवि, वर्तिताम्भसि ।
वपुरिन्द्रनीलमाणिभङ्गसन्निभं पुरुषस्य शेषशयनाधिशायिनः ॥

Again Praharshiṇī requires *gakoni* which are equal to *g, a, k, o,*

ग् अ क् ओ

तन्मित्रं त्यजति विपत्सु यन्नमित्रं

ni means that *yati* or caesura comes after the third place.

To show the relative merits of the three systems, their code words are quoted below for vritta क्रौञ्चपादा of the 25th Chhandas.

Janāśraya—ञौणु=*ñj*, au, ṇ, ṇ, u

ñj au ṇ ṇ u

सिंहविगर्जद्, द्वीपिविकीर्णे, हरिरिवमृग, गणमारिगण, मपभीः ।

Pingala—

भ्मौ स्भौ नौ नौ ग् भूतेन्द्रिय वस्वृषयः 7—7—18.

भ म स भ न न न न ग

सिंहवि गर्जद्द्वी पिविकी र्णेहरि रिवमृ गगण मरिग णमप भीः ।

Bharata—

आद्यं चतुर्थं च तथा पञ्चमं षष्ठमेव च । नवमं दशमं चैव अन्त्यं चैव गुरूण्यथ ।
लघून्यन्यानि शेषाणि पादे स्युः पञ्चविंशके। वृत्तज्ञैः सा तु विज्ञेयाक्रौञ्चपादीति नामतः ॥

Another recension reads as:

म्भौ यदि पादे स्नावपि चेष्टावभिकृतिरिह खलु बुधजनविहिता ।
नां च समुद्राः स्युर्विनिविष्टा यदि च खलु गुरुरिह निधनमितम् ॥

1093. Jayamangalācārya wrote the hand-book Kaviśikṣā in the time of king Jayasimha (1094-1143 A.D.)[1]

Kavikanthapāśa is a treatise on poetical composition and deals mainly with the auspicious character of letters and their combinations. This is the last verse:—[2]

भूवर्णस्सुखसम्पदेप्सित......हर्षप्रदा अम्मया
आग्नेया लिपयः प्रणाशजनकाश्शोकप्रदा वायुजाः ।
दारिद्र्यं खलिपिव्रजैः प्रकटितं सर्वे प्रबन्धाब्ध्यगाः
कर्तुः कारयितुश्शुभाशुभफलं श्रोतुर्दिशन्त्यन्वहम् ॥

1094. **Kedarabhatta** was son of Pibveka (Pathvaka) of Kāśyapagoṭra. His Vṛṭṭaraṭṇākara[3] in 6 chapters is most popular and has been extensively quoted by commentators, Mallināṭha, Śivarāma etc. He must have lived earlier than 15th century A.D.

There are commentaries by Pandiṭacinṭāmaṇi,[4] Nārāyaṇa[5] son of Rāmeśvara, Śrīnāṭha,[6] Haribhāskara,[7] Janārḍana Vibhuḍha,[8] Ḍivākara, son of Mabāḍeva,[9] [Ayoḍhyāprasāda, Āṭmārāma, Kṛṣṇavarman, Govinḍabhatta, Cuḍāmani Ḍīkṣiṭa, Narasimhasūri, Raghunāṭha, Viśvanāṭhakavi, Śrīkanṭha (*PR*, V. 196), Somasunḍaragaṇi (*PR*, I. 190), Sulhaṇa, son of Bhāskara, Soma Pandiṭa, Sārasvaṭasaḍāśivamuni, Somacanḍragaṇi (*PR*, III. 396, IV. 33)][10] Kaviśārḍūla, Ṭrivikrama, son of Raghusūri,[11]

1. *PR*, I. 68.
2. *TC*, III. 3771.
3. *PR*, III. 225.
4. *Tanj*. IX. 3949. Is Siṭārāmasāmi, author of Vṛṭṭapuṣpaprakāśana a different author? (*CC*, II. 142).
5. Printed, Madras. *Tanj*. IX. 3950 Composed in 1545 A.D.
6. *Tanj*. IX. 395; *Mys*. 294.
7. *IO*, II, 303; *PR*, II. 190; III. 546, composed at Baneres in 1676.
8. *IO*, II. 303; *PR*, VI. 389.
9. *IC*, 1555. Composed in 1740 A.D.
10. *CC*, I. 596.
11. *PR*, V. 26.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa,[1] Nṛsimha,[2] Kṛṣṇasāra,[3] Tārānātha,[4] Bhāskararāya,[5] Prabhāvallabha,[6] Devarāja[7] and one anonymous.[8]

1095. Bhāskara wrote Abhinava-Vṛttaratnākara, on which Śrīnivāsa wrote a commentary.[9]

Trivikrama, son of Raghusūri and pupil of Vardhamāna, wrote Vṛttaratnākarasūtraṭīkā.[10]

ŚRUTABODHA, by 'Kālidāsa,' is very well known and has several excellences. There are commentaries (*CC*, I. 675)[11] by Harṣakīrti Upādhyāya (*PR*, V. 463), by Manoharaśarman, by Tāracandra and by Hamsarāja (*Mitra*, IX. 154, IV. 297, V. 278, VIII. 196), [by Mādhava, son of Govinda (composed in 1640), Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Śukadeva, and by a pupil of Meghacandra (*PR*, III. 225)],[12] by Caturbhuja (*PR*, VI. 391) and by Nāgāji, son of Harji (*CC*, III. 140).

1096. Gangadasa was son of Gopāladāsa Vaidya of Bengal. In six chapters, he describes in his Chandomanjarī[13] varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Śrī Kṛṣna. He also wrote Acyutacarita, a poem in 16 cantos and Dinesācarita, a poem in praise of the sun. His father Gopāladāsa wrote a play Pārijātaharaṇa.[14] He must have lived in the 15th or 16th century A.D.

There are commentaries[15] on Chandomanjarī by Jagannāthasena, son of Jaṭādhara Kavirāja, Candraśekhara, Dātārāma, Govardhana, Vamśidhara and Kṛṣṇavarman.

1097. Prastara. Works on metrics treat of *Prastāra*, that is, "all mathematical calculations for the number of vrittas in each kind which

1. *Trav.* 69.
2. *TC*, VI. 7176; *DC*, III. No. 1792.
3. *Trav.* 69.
4. Printed, Calcutta.
5. *Mys.* 639; *Adyar*, II. 39.
6. *Adyar*, II. 39.
7. *TC*, VI. 7177.
8. *Tanj.* IX. 3954; *TC*, VI. 7178; *DC*, III. No. 1794.
9. *TC*, IV.
10. *PR*, V. 27. A copy of his Kātantrapancikodyota is noted by Aufrecht as written in 1221. *CC*. III. 52.
11. Printed Benares, Bombay and elsewhere.
12. *CC*, I. 675.
13. Ed. everywhere. *PR*, V. 452. VI. 382; *Tanj.* IX. No. 5082. This manuscript is dated Saka 1608 or 1680 A.D. *Mitra*, VI. 130; VII. 246, 286.
14. *CC*, I. 335.
15. *CC*, I. 192. There is another Chandomanjarī by Gopāladāsa and a third on Vedic metres (*CC*, I. 192).

declare the number of any verse in its group and the details of ganas of any particular vritta, its number being given," or "permutation of longs and shorts possible in a metre with a fixed number of syllables set forth in an enigmatical form" or an exposition of the science of prosody mathematically developed in the calculations of combinations. Pingala describes it in his last chapter and so do other works on metrics such as Vṛttaratnākara.[1]

1098. Cintāmaṇi Jyotirvid, son of Govinda, of Śivapura composed in 1630 A.D. Prastāracintāmaṇi is in 3 chapters, consisting of a code of rules in a variety of metres accompanied by a prose commentary,[2] on Varṇaprastāra, Mātrāprastāra and Khandaprastāra.

Prastāravicāra which is anonymous,[3] Prastārapaṭṭana of Kṛṣṇadeva,[4] and Prastāraśekhara[5] of Śrīnivāsa, son of Venkata, deal with this subject.

Prastāras are valuable in the elucidation of rhythms in Indian music.

1099. Other works. Vṛttadarpaṇa by Sītārāma (*TC*, III. 3755),[6] Jaganmohanavṛttaśataka by Vāsudeva Brahmapandita (*TC*, III. 2735),[7] Vṛttaratnārṇava by Nṛsimha Bhagavata, disciple of Rāmānanda Yogīndra (*TC*, III. 3767).

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1. *ISt*, VIII, 425.
2. *IO*, II. 306.
There is a commentary by Daivagna composed in 1630 A.D. *CC*, I. 359.
3. *Tanj* IX. 3932.
4. *Oudh*, III. 12.
5. *Tanj*. IX. 3935.
6. He also wrote Balabhadracaritra and many poems in Telugu. He lived at Kuthārapura which seems to be Guitāla on the Godavari.
7. The illustrations are mostly taken from nature and are very fanciful :

वसन्ततिलकावृत्तम्—

गतिसंस्थितिभुक्तिभिस्समानौ शुककाकौ भवतस्तथापि तत्र ।
शुक एव नृदेवतावचांसि श्रुतिमात्रेण निजास्यतो ब्रवीति ॥

पुष्पिताग्रावृत्तम्—

उदितवति सुधाकरे तमिस्रा विलसति वर्धत उच्चकैः पयोधिः ।
विकसति कुमुदं तथापि चित्रं सलिलरुहं मुकुलीभवत्यतीव ॥

दांपत्यवृत्तम्—

कालविशेषे कोकिल उच्चैः कूजति काकस्सन्ततमेव ।
कूजन्तं पिकमालोक्यार्याः संतुष्यन्ति न काकं दृष्ट्वा ॥

1100. [Vṛttakalpadruma by Jayagovinda, Vṛttakautuka by Viśvanātha, Vṛttakaumudī (i) by Jagadguru, and (ii) by Rāmacaraṇa (*Oudh.* XII. 18); Vṛttacandrīkā by Rāmadayālu (*Oudh.* VII. 2); Vṛttacandrodaya by Bhāskarādhvarin; Vṛttataraṅgiṇi; Vṛttadīpikā by Kṛṣṇa; Vṛttapratyaya by Śaṅkaradayālu; Vṛttapradīpa (i) by Janārdana and (ii) by Badarīnātha; Vṛttamālā (i) by Virūpākṣayajvan (*Adyar*, I. 39), and (ii) by Vallabhāji; Vṛttalakṣaṇa; Vṛttavārtika (i) by Umāpati and (ii) by Vaidyanātha; Vṛttavinoda by Fatehgiri; Vṛttavivecana by Durgāsahāya; Vṛttasudhodaya (i) by Mathurānatha Śukla, and (ii) by Venīvilāsa], (*CC*, I. 5968); [Vṛttarāmāspada by Kṣemaṅkaraṇa Miśra (*Oudh*, XXII. 68); Vṛttasāra by Bhāradvāja; Vṛttasiddhāntamanjarī by Raghunātha; Vṛttabhirāma by Rāmacandra], (*CC*, II. 142).

1101. Vṛtta-Rāmāyaṇa (*Oudh*, V. 10); Rāmastutīratna by Rāmaswāmi Śastrin (*Trav* 173); Kṛṣṇavṛtta and Nṛsimhavṛtta; Vṛttakārikā by Nārāyaṇa Purohita (*Mys.* 294); Vṛttamaṇimālikā by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys.* 294, 634); Vṛttadyumaṇi (i) by Yaśvanta (*CC*, I. 596) and (ii) by Gaṅgādhara (*Adyar*, II. 39); Vṛttavinoda (*CC* III. 125); Raṅgarātchandas (*CC*, I. 488); Karṇānanda by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC*, I. 597); Karṇasantoṣa by Mudgala (*Bik.* 279); Kāvyajīvana by Prītikara (*Oudh*, IX. 8); Samavṛttasāra by Nīlakanthācārya (*CC*, I. 301). Vṛttamaṇikośa by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys.* 294); Vāṇībhūṣaṇa by Dāmodara (*IO*, II. 305, Printed, Bombay); Vṛttamuktāvali (i) by Kṛṣṇārāma, (ii) by Mallāri, (iii) by Durgādatta (*IO*, II. 3011), (iv) by Gaṅgādāsa, and (v) by Hari Vyāsamiśra composed in 1574 (*CC*, I. 142).

1102. [Chandaḥprakāsa by Śeṣacintāmaṇi; Chandassudhākara by Kṛṣṇarāma; Chandaḥkalpalatā by Mathurānātha; Chandaḥkośa by Ratnaśekhara (*PR*, III. 404, V. 193); Chandaśśloka (*Opp.* 1828); Chandassaṅkhyā; Chandascūdāmaṇi by Hemacandra; Chandassudhācillaharī] (*CC*, I. 190-1, III. 41); Chandaḥpīyūṣa by Jagannātha, son of Rāma (*PR*, V. 194); Chandomuktāvali by Śambhurāma (*PR*, III. App. 395); Chandonuśāsana by Jineśvara; Chandassundara by Narahari; Chandoratnākara (*IO*, 2917; *Oxf.* 201); Chandomālā by Śārṅgadhara (*IO*, 1238); Chandaḥkaustubha by Rādhādāmodara (*Mys.* 293; *PR*, IV. 33; V. 192). [Chandovyākhyāsāra by Kṛṣṇabhatta, Chandassudhā by Gaṇāṣṭakavyākhyā, Vṛttacintāratna by Śāntarājapandita, Vṛttadarpaṇa by Bhīṣmacandra] (*Mys.* 293).

1103. Vṛttaratnāvali (*CC*, I. 191) (i) by Durgādatta, (ii) by Nārāyaṇa, (iii) by Ravikara, (iv) by Rāmadeva, (v) by Venkateśa, son of Avadhānasarasvatī (*Mys.* 639; *Tanj.* IX. 3957), (vi) by Rāmaswāmi

Sāsṭri (*Trav.* 173), (vii) by Yaśvanṭsimha, (viii) by Saḍāśivamuni (*Tanj.* IX. 3955), (ix) by Kālidāsa (*Adyar*, II. 39; Printed, Madras), (x) by Kṛṣṇarāja (*Mys.* 294), (xi) and by Miśrasānanḍa (*CC*, I. 597), Vṛṭṭaraṭnarṇava by Nṛsimhabhāgavaṭa (*Adyar*, II. 39).

भूः पादौ यस्य नाभिर्वियदसुरनिलश्चन्द्रसूर्यौ च नेत्रे
कर्णावाशाश्शिरोद्यौर्मुखमपि दहनो यस्य वासोयमाब्धिः ।
अन्तस्थं यस्य विश्वं सुरनरखगगोभोगिगन्धर्वदैत्यैः
चित्रं रंरम्यते तं त्रिभुवनवपुषं विष्णुमीशं नमामि ॥

श्रियः कान्ताय कल्याणनिधये निधयेऽर्थिनाम् ।
श्रीवेंकटनिवासाय श्रीनिवासाय मङ्गळम् ॥

चतुर्मुखमुखांभोजश्रृङ्गाटकविहारिणीम् ।
नित्यप्रगल्भवाचालामुपतिष्ठे सरस्वतीम् ॥

ओम् शान्तिः शान्तिः

APPENDIX

[These two extracts from Kāḍambarī and Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā are specimens of exquisite style and extraordinary poetic fancy incultaeing ethics and are appended to show how Bāṇa's ideas have been elaborated as if by emulation by Ḍanḍin].

[EXTRACT FROM BANA'S KADAMBARI]

आलोकयतु तावत्कल्याणाभिनिवेशी लक्ष्मीमेव प्रथमं। इयं हि सुभटखड्गमंडलोत्पलवनविभ्रमभ्रमरी लक्ष्मीः क्षीरसागरात्पारिजातपल्लवेभ्यो रागमिंदुशकलादेकांतवक्रतामुच्चैःश्रवसश्चंचलतां, कालकूटान्मोहनशक्तिं, मदिराया मदं,कौस्तुभमणेरतिनैष्ठुर्यं, इत्येतानि सहवासपरिचयवशाद्विरहविनोदचिह्नानि गृहीत्वेवोद्गता। न ह्येवंविधमपरमपरिचितमिह जगति किंचिदस्ति यथेयमनार्या। लब्धाऽपि खलु दुःखेन परिपाल्यते, दृढगुणपाशसंदाननिष्पंदीकृताऽपि नश्यति, उद्दामदर्पभटसहस्रोल्लासितासिलतापंजरविधृताऽपि अपक्रमति, मदजलदुर्दिनांधकारगजघटितघनघटाटोपपरिपालिताऽपि प्रपलायते, न परिचयं रक्षति, नाभिजनमीक्षते, न रूपमालोकयते, न कुलक्रममनुवर्तते, न शीलं पश्यति, न वैदग्ध्यं गणयति, न श्रुतमाकर्णयति, न धर्ममनुरुध्यते, न त्यागमाद्रियते, न विशेषज्ञतां विचारयति, नाचारं पालयति, न सत्यमनुबुध्यते, न लक्षणं प्रमाणीकरोति। गंधर्वनगरलेखेव पश्यत एव नश्यति। अद्याप्यारूढमंदरपरिवर्तावर्तभ्रांतिजनितसंस्कारेव परिभ्रमति। कमलिनीसंचरणव्यतिकरलग्ननलिननालकंटकक्षतेव न क्वचिन्निर्भरमाबध्नाति पदं। अतिप्रयत्नविधृताऽपि परमेश्वरगृहेषु विविधगंधमधुपानमत्तेव परिस्खलति, पारुष्यमिवोपशिक्षितुमसिधारासु निवसति, विश्वरूपत्वमिव गृहीतुमाश्रिता नारायणमूर्तिम्, अप्रत्ययबहुला च दिवसांतकमलमिव समुचितमूलदंडकोशमंडलमपि मुंचति भूभुजं। लतेव विटपकानध्यारोहति। गंगेव वसुजनन्यपि तरंगबुद्बुदचंचला, दिवसकरगतिरिव प्रकटितविविधसंक्रांतिः, पाताळगुहेव तमोबहुळा, हिडिंबेव भीमसाहसैकहार्यहृदया, प्रावृडिव अचिरद्युतिकारिणी, दुष्टपिशाचीव दर्शितानेकपुरुषोच्छ्राया, स्वल्पसत्त्वमुन्मत्तीकरोति, सरस्वतीपरिगृहीतमीर्ष्ययेव नालिंगति जनम्, गुणवंतमपवित्रमिव न स्पृशति, उदारसत्वममंगळमिव न बहुमन्यते, सुजनमनिमित्तमिव न पश्यति, अभिजातमहिमिव लंघयति, शूरं कंटकमिव परिहरति, दातारं स्वप्नमिव न स्मरति, विनीतं पातकिनमिव नोपसर्पति, मनस्विनमुन्मत्तमिव हसति, परस्परविरुद्धं च इंद्रजालमिव दर्शयंती प्रकटयति जगति निजं चरितम्। तथाहि। सततमूष्माणमारोपयन्त्यपि जाड्यमुपजनयति, उन्नतिं

मादधानाऽपि नीचस्वभावतामाविष्करोति, तोयराशिसंभवाऽपि तृष्णां संवर्धयति, ईश्वरतां दधानाऽप्यशिवप्रकृतित्वमातनोति, बलोपचयमाहरन्त्यपि लघिमानमापादयति, अमृतसहोदराऽपि कटुविपाका, विग्रहवत्यपि अप्रत्यक्षदर्शना, पुरुषोत्तमरतापि खलजनप्रिया, रेणुमयीव स्वच्छमपि कलुषीकरोति।

यथा यथा चेयं चपला दीप्यते तथा तथा दीपशिखेव कज्जलमलिनमेव कर्म केवलमुद्वमति। तथाहि—इयं संवर्धनवारिधारा तृष्णाविषवल्लीनां, व्याधगीतिरिंद्रियमृगाणां, परामर्शधूमलेखा सच्चरितचित्राणां, विभ्रमशय्या मोहदीर्घनिद्राणां, निवासजीर्णवलभी धनमदपिशाचिकानां, तिमिरोद्गतिः शास्त्रदृष्टीनां, पुरस्सरपताका सर्वाविनयानां, उत्पत्तिनिम्नगा क्रोधवेगग्राहाणां, आपानभूमिर्विषयमधूनां, संगीतशाला भ्रूविकारनाट्यानां, आवासदरी दोषाशीविषाणां, उत्सारणवेत्रलता सत्पुरुषव्याहाराणां, अकालप्रावृट् गुणकलहंसकानां, विसर्पणभूमिर्लोकवादविस्फोटानां, प्रस्तावना कपटनाटकस्य, कदलिका कामकरिणः, वध्यशाला साधुभावस्य, राहुजिह्वा धर्मेंदुमंडलस्य।

न हि तं पश्यामि यो ह्यपरिचितयाऽनया न निर्भरमुपगूढो यो वा न विप्रलब्धः। नियतमियमालेख्यगताऽपि चलति, पुस्तकमय्यपि इंद्रजालमाचरति, उत्कीर्णाऽपि विप्रलभते, श्रुताऽप्यभिसंधत्ते, चिंतिताऽपि वंचयति। एवंविधयाऽपि चानया दुराचारया कथमपि दैववशेन परिगृहीता विक्लवीभवंति राजानः, सर्वाविनयाधिष्ठानतां च गच्छंति। तथाहि—अभिषेकसमय एव चैषां मंगलकलशजलैरिव क्षाल्यते दाक्षिण्यं, अग्निकार्यधूमेनेव मलिनीभवति हृदयं, पुरोहितकुशाग्रसम्मार्जनीभिरिवापनीयते क्षांतिः, उष्णीषपट्टबंधेनेवाच्छाद्यते जरागमनस्मरणं, आतपत्रमंडलेनेव वार्यते परलोकदर्शनम्, चामरपवनैरिवापह्रियते सत्यवादिता, वेत्रदंडैरिव उत्सार्यंते गुणाः, जयशब्दकलकलैरिव तिरस्क्रियंते साधुवादाः, ध्वजपटपल्लवैरिव परामृश्यते यशः,। तथाहि-केचिच्छ्रमवशशिथिलशकुनिगलपुटचपलाभिः खद्योतोन्मेषमुहूर्तमनोहराभिर्मनस्विजनगर्हिताभिः, संपद्भिः प्रलोभ्यमाना धनलवलाभावलेपविस्मृतजन्मनोऽनेकदोषोपचितेन दुष्टासृजेव रागावेशेन बाध्यमाना विविधविषयरसग्रासलालसैः पंचभिरप्यनेकसहस्रसंख्यैरिवेंद्रियैरायास्यमानाः प्रकृतिचंचलतया लब्धप्रसरेणैकेनापि शतसहस्रतामिवोपगतेन मनसाऽऽकुलीक्रियमाणाः विह्वलतामुपयांति।

किंच ग्रहैरिव गृह्यंते, भूतैरिवाभिभूयंते, मंत्रैरिवावष्टभ्यंते, वायुनेव विडंब्यंते, पिशाचैरिव ग्रस्यंते, मदनशरैर्मर्माभिहता इव मुखभंगसहस्राणि कुर्वंते, धनोष्मणा पच्यमाना इव विचेष्टंते, गाढप्रहाराभिहता इवांगानि न धारयंति, कुलीरा इव तिर्यक्परिभ्रमंति, अधर्मभग्नगतयः पंगव इव परेण संचार्यंते, मृषावादविपाकसंजातमुखरोगा इवातिकृच्छ्रेण जल्पंति, सप्तच्छदतरव

इव कुसुमरजोविकारैरासन्नवर्तिनां शिरःशूलमुत्पादयंति, आसन्नमृत्यव इव पुरः स्थितं बंधुजनमपि नाभिजानंति, उत्कुपितलोचना इव तेजस्विनो नेक्षंते, कालदष्टा इव महामंत्रैरपि न प्रतिबुध्यन्ते, जातुषा इव सोष्माणं न सहंते, दुष्टवारणा इव महालानस्तंभनिश्चलीकृता अपि न गृह्णंत्युपदेशम्, अतितृष्णाविषवेगमूर्छिताः कनकमयमिव सर्वं पश्यंति, असय इव पानवर्धिततैक्ष्ण्याः परप्रेरिताः विनाशयंति, दूरस्थितान्यपि फलानीव दंतविक्षेपैर्महाकुलानि शातयंति, अकालकुसुमप्रसवा इव मनोहराकृतयोऽपि लोकविनाशहेतवः, श्मशानाग्नय इवातिरौद्रभूतयः, तैमिरिका इवादूरदर्शिनः, उपसृष्टा इव क्षुद्राधिष्ठितभवनाः, श्रूयमाणा अपि प्रेतपटहा इवोद्वेजयंति, चिंत्यमाना अपि महापातकाध्यवसाया इव उपद्रवमुपजनयंति, अनुदिवसमापूर्यमाणाः, पापेनेवाध्मातमूर्तयो न भवंति, तदवस्थाश्च व्यसनशतशरव्यतामुपगता वल्मीकतृणाग्रावस्थिता जलबिंदव इव पतितमप्यात्मानं नावगच्छंति ।

[Extract from Dandin's Avantisundarikatha]

विदितमेव खलु विदितवेदितव्यस्य यथेमाः प्रतिपदसुलभान्तराया दुर्योजनसाधनसमवायाश्च सम्पत्तयः। प्रार्थ्यमाना दुरवापा, समाराध्यमाना दुःखशीला, रक्ष्यमाणा प्रपलायिनी च लक्ष्मीः। प्रत्यक्षमेव चास्याश्चापलम्। एषा खलु देवस्य पितृपितामहसंवर्धितापि रिपुषड्वर्गसम्बाधमुक्तचित्तेन सुचिरलालितापि प्रवीरकरदण्डमण्डलीकृतप्रचण्डचापचक्रटङ्कारमुखरितेषु समरेषु शरीरं जीवितमप्यनवेक्ष्य रक्षितापि, यथेष्टलाभसंवर्धिता तुष्टद्विजवराशीर्वादनन्दितापि, नित्याराधनप्रसन्नकुलदेवताधिष्ठानापि, नित्योयुक्तविद्याधरवृद्धसमाजाजस्रग्राह्यमाणविनयापि, चतुरुदधिवलयमध्यवर्तिसकलनरपतिकुलविरचितांजलिकमलवनविहारमानितमनोरथापि, स्वभावदोषेण दुर्मतिरपरिचिता जीवत्येव तस्मिन्नरिजीवितलेहलोलखड्गजिह्वे महाहिभोगभीषणे...संग्रामे तस्यामिन्दुकरदलितकुमुदकुड्मलोदरदलावदातायामप.........।......अपि चेयं पतङ्गरथमयीव भुजङ्गभोगिनी मुहूर्तमप्यविश्रम्य परिभ्रमति । उपनतापि दैवादुरसि प्रमदमूर्छितेव हठाभिष्पतति । अविदितकल्याकल्यमाकुलीकृताक्षमक्षरमनुभवदुःखमङ्गनिर्भोगैराचक्षाणमारूढशङ्कासाध्वसैरवस्थानुरूपं ...पुरुषमप्रत्यपेक्षा प्रधावति । मधुकृद्भिरिव मलिनवर्णैः क्षुद्रात्मकैः शिक्षिता कर्कशपुरुषसाहसैकहारमना [स्यात्] दुर्ग्रहेष्विव ...।...विटपमारोहति दुष्टमर्कटीयं तमकस्मादेव क्षोभयित्वा विच्युतफलमुद्धूतपत्रमुत्सृज्य विटपमन्यं संक्रामति । यत्र लग्ना ज्वलनशिखेव तमवश्यं भस्मीकृत्यैव प्रशाम्यति । मन्ये च कालकूटस्यास्याश्च भगवत्या निष्पातान्निर्विषीभूतः स्वस्तिमानिदानीं दुग्धासिन्धुः। अथवा नेयं कालकूटतुल्यकक्ष्यायां लक्षयितव्या, यावदमुनैकस्यैवेश्वरस्य कण्ठमात्रं दूषितमनया शतसहस्राणीश्वराणां सर्वाकारं दूषितानि। सैषा मन्दरोद्धूतमहासमुद्रवीचीवलयवेगास्फालनविजृम्भिताङ्गभङ्गज्वरे महान्तमूष्माणमुद्वमति । स्नानाशनशयनेषु धृतिमुपगच्छति

मुहुर्मुहुर्वेष्टते, भक्तं द्वेष्टि, दृष्टिमुद्भ्रमयति, जीवितं च पर्यास्यमाना भयानकां दशामावाहयति। अचलक्षोभतुमुलजलधिगर्भमूर्छन्मारुतातिरेकस्वीकृतेव जातापातवातप्रकृतिः, असङ्गतशीला चानवस्थिता च क्षुद्रा च निष्ठुरप्रलापकारिणी च कृशवर्णा च कृतप्रलोभना च स्वप्नरूपैर्विभ्रमैर्भृशं दुनोति (पुरुष) कारताम्। उरगनायकस्य वासुकेर्मन्दराकर्षणखेदविह्वलस्य निश्वासनिज्वरविषाग्नि-धूमभण्डलान्निकृतेव सदसच्च न पश्यति, परप्रणेया सतीवाजस्रमालम्बते महापथेऽपि स्खलति, नरपशूनपि समापतति, अस्पृश्यानपि स्पृशति, अशुचिमप्यधितिष्ठति। चक्षुष्मद्भिश्च परिभूयते सत्यम्। अचलवृत्तेरत्युदग्रस्यापि भूभृतोऽस्याः समुद्भवे द्विजिह्वसंवेष्टनमतिघोरा च भ्रान्तिरासीत्। सर्वानेव देवान् ब्रह्ममुखान्परिभूय समन्तमायासिद्धान्ततन्त्रतीर्थकरं नारायणमात्मनोपसृत्य भजमा-नयाऽन्ययोद्घोषितमसाधारणं धाष्टर्यम्। अमुनाऽतिमायेनेमां रक्षताऽधोक्षजेनानुभूतावतारभूतावमा-नता। नानाविधविडम्बनार्थपरा चेयं दुग्धराशेरपसृतचटुलकटाक्षदृष्टिक्षेपोन्मादितपुरुषेष्वनिमित्त-सङ्कल्पितानि विग्रहसङ्ग्रहाणि पश्यन्ती वश्येव राजकुलेषु लीलावष्टम्भरसप्रगल्भं भ्रमति, सोष्मयेव जातिं म्लापयति, तेजोरूपतयेव वंशसंततिं दहति, तमोमयत्वादिव वसन्तभवनानि मलिन-यति, व्यभिचारितयेव महाकुलानि पांसुलयति। चित्रभिदमयशोदाऽपि मण्डलं, असुभद्रापि विजय-मातुगुण्येनाकर्षति, अदमयन्त्यपि लोकपालानवधूय नळसारं गुरूकरोति, अमृतैकसत्त्वाद-पारिजातं रत्नाकरमपि नाधिवसति, विरतविग्रहमकरध्वजमपि पुरुषं बुद्धया नाभिनन्दति, कलासंग्रहशीलः कुशल इत्यसुखायमानेव शङ्के शशांकेऽपि न वसति, सुरभिगन्धसंपन्नमित्य-सहमानेव मन्ये महोत्पलेऽपि न पातयति पदं, अङ्गीकृतमसुरस्नेहोपचारमित्यसूययन्त्येव धारातलेऽपि न चङ्क्रमते। तर्कयामि चास्याः सन्निधानादवदातेऽपि चन्द्रमण्डले स्फुटीभूतः नून-मस्ति कलङ्कः, पावनेष्वपि कमलवनेषु प्रोदीर्यते रजोविकारः, स्वच्छेऽपि च कृपाणधाराजले जायते जनुषभेदनशक्तिः। त्यागशक्तिमुत्कर्षिणीमिव दर्शयन्ती त्यागशीलानेव त्यजति, शूरैस्सह शौर्यमिव प्रकाशयन्ती विगृह्यैव तिष्ठति, विनीतेऽपि विनीततरेव तिरस्करोति, अत्यनुरागवत्यतिरागिणांवाधं र्यं ददाति, ... ह्रीमत्सु नितान्तप्रीतेव न रूपमात्मनोऽभिव्यनक्ति, धर्मरतिचण्डरागानति-यन्त्रणासहिष्णुतयेव नावेशयति, प्रणयमर्दनेषु दीनसत्त्वा शीलभेदादिव नावलम्बते मैत्रीकर्म, उच्छ्रितेषु क्षुद्रारोहितयेव नाधिरोढुं क्षमते। ... ...अम्बुगर्भरागमिव निदाघदूषितमाभिजात्यं प्रतिक्षणमवमृद्नाति, चरणमिवानुरक्तमत्यधस्ताद्वर्तयति, जङ्घाकाण्डमिव प्रजानुरक्तं तनुतरं दधाति, ऊरुदण्डमिव स्थिरमुपहितोरुजालं क्लेशयति, जघनमिव महाभोगमावृणोति, उर इव मध्यस्थं भग्नकल्पमुद्वर्तयति, नाभिरन्ध्रमिव गम्भीरं बह्वावर्तमुपयाति, स्तनतटमिव प्रवृद्धं बन्धयति, भुजपाश-मिव मृदुमवाङ्मुखयति, अधरमिव परिस्पन्दमिव क्षतावस्थानमापादयति, दशननिवेशमिवामल-मधरस्थिरस्कार्यमारचयति, लोचनयुगळमिव स्निग्धं विभ्रमेण योजयति, केशहस्तमिवायति-मन्तं संयमयति। खरतरेषु चासौ खलेषु पातिता, धान्यपूलीव दुर्जनवरणमात्रसंहृता, निश्शूक-

तां गताऽपि फलीक्रियते, निर्मर्यादादविभ्रमा च मत्तमातङ्गानपि भ्रमरीवाभिसरति, विद्युद्विलास-तरळा मेघराजिरिव राजहंसानप्युद्वेजयति, जडानप्यन्धानप्यधीरानपि, मूकानपि, क्षयिणोऽपि, श्वित्रिणोऽपि, व्यङ्गानपि, विरूपानपि, वृद्धानपि, क्लीबानपि, कृपणानपि, लुब्धानपि, मुग्धानपि, निष्ठुरानपि, स्वैरिणी न परिहरति । असदृशानेकदुर्जनोपभोगनिर्भयकदर्थिताऽपि नापत्रपते। किं बहुना। न गुणमपेक्ष्याभिवर्धते, नापि दोषेण व्यावर्तते । तथा हि। अजातशत्रोर्धार्मिकतामनिलसम्भवस्याध्यवसायसामर्थ्यमर्जुनस्य पराक्रमं यमयोस्त्वतिमानुषरूपमननुरुद्ध्यमान-शकुनिरचितमक्षद्यूतकपटं चारीकृत्य क्षुद्रमळीकारगर्वं दुर्योधनमतिनिर्भरमालिलिङ्ग लक्ष्मीः। किमनया नाचरितमिन्द्रजालेषु, किमनभ्यस्तं प्रलम्भनेषु, किमशेषितं महापातकेषु, किमगणितमकार्येषु, किमप्रवर्तितं वर्णसङ्करेषु, किमभिन्नं मर्यादासु, किमनुद्भावितं मोहविलसितेषु, किमप्रतिहतं जालवर्त्मसु। रज्जुरियं बन्धनाय सत्यवादितायाः, विषमियं जीवितहरणाय माहात्म्यस्य, शस्त्रमियं विशसनाय सत्पुरुषवृत्तानां, अग्निरियं निर्दहनाय धर्मस्य, सलिलमियं निमज्जनाय सौजन्यस्य, धूळिरियं धूसरीकरणाय चारित्रस्य। चिन्तीयते चेयं सीमन्तिनीविसंवादिवृत्तमस्याः। यतो यमेव पुरुषमेषा समाश्लिष्यति स्वयमेव तमुद्दामकामं परस्त्रीसहस्रेषु योजयति, सदापि वारुणीं हतेयमात्मनः समक्षमेव सेवमानमिममुत्साहयति। गुणानपि दोषीकरोति, दोषानपि गुणीकरोति । अस्याश्च पलातिशये प्रक्रान्ते प्रस्तावोऽपि न दीपार्चिषां, न वार्तापि करिकळभकर्ण-पल्लवानां, न कथापि कदळिकाप्रान्तपारिकाणाम्। केवलमनार्यबुद्धेरेवैनामनवस्थितत्वेनानुसर्तुम-स्ति शक्तिः।

एवंविधापि चेयं दुराचारा सकृद्व्यभिचारितापि स्वभावचापलेन भूयोऽप्य-साधारणपुरुषकारभूषणैर्भवादृशैरेव शक्यते प्रत्याहर्तुम् । धार्तराष्ट्रानुच्छ्रितकपटघत-हारितापि खल्वरण्यवासविनिवृत्तैः पाण्डुपुत्रैः प्रत्युद्धृतैव । इयमपरिमितमहामहीभृत्प्रभूत-वाहिनीवरपरिबृंहितमनेकशतसहस्रनागसङ्कुलं कुरुकुलबलजलधिमनुप्रविश्य शुक्तिमिव वृत्त-मुक्तालक्ष्मीं दुर्लभ......बन्धा। यस्येयं निश्चला चलितामेव खल्विमां दुष्टचेटीमिव पुनः पुनर-वगृह्य निगळयित्वा नीतवन्तः कालं अचलशिलाकूटविकटमांसळांसपीठाः पीठीकृतसप्तद्वीप-सकलरत्नाकरमेखला धरणीभुजः। श्रूयते च नवनळिननाळतन्तुगर्भलीनो नहुषप्रभावसमयं समग्रमेव चक्षमे सहस्राक्षः, पुनरमुष्मिन्पुलोमकन्यकाकरग्रहदुर्विदग्धहृदये ऊर्वशीप्रलोभप्रलम्भ-नाग्रहोदग्रसप्तर्षिनिर्व्यूढशिबिकाधिरूढे निग्रहामर्षितस्य महर्षेरगस्त्यस्य शापादजगरभूयं गतवत्यनघवृत्तं कळत्रमनायकां च नाकलक्ष्मीं प्रापयत।

गोपिकागीतम्

(Sri Bhagavata, X, 31)

[*For the early history of Gita Kāvya*]

गोप्य ऊचुः—

जयति तेऽधिकं जन्मना व्रजश्श्रयत इंदिरा शश्वदत्र हि ।
दयित दृश्यतां दिक्षु तावकास्त्वयि धृतासवस्त्वां विचिन्वते ॥

शरदुदाशये साधु जातसत्सरसिजोदरश्रीमुषा दृशा ।
सुरतनाथ तेऽशुल्कदासिका वरद निघ्नतो नेह किं वधः ॥

विषजलाशयाद्व्यालराक्षसाद्वर्षमारुताद्वैद्युतानलात् ।
वृषमयात्मजाद्विश्वतो भयादृषभ ते वयं रक्षिता मुहुः ॥

न खलु गोपिकानंदनो भवानखिलदेहिनामंतरात्मदृक् ।
विखनसार्थितो विश्वगुप्तये सख उदेयिवान् सात्त्वतां कुले ॥

विरचिताभयं वृष्णिधुर्य ते शरणमीयुषां संसृतेर्भयात् ।
करसरोरुहं कांत कामदं शिरसि देहि नश्श्रीकरग्रहम् ॥

व्रजजनार्तिहन् वीर योषितां निजजनस्मयध्वंसनस्मित ।
भज सखे भवत्किंकरीस्स नो जलरुहाननं चारु दर्शय ॥

प्रणतदेहिनां पापकर्शनं तृणचरानुगं श्रीनिकेतनम् ।
फणिफणार्पितं ते पदांबुजं कृणु कुचेषु नः कृंधि हृच्छयम् ॥

मधुरया गिरा वल्गुवाक्यया बुधमनोज्ञया पुष्करेक्षण ।
विधिकरीरिमा वीर मुह्यतीरधरसीधुनाप्याययस्व नः ॥

तव कथामृतं तप्तजीवनं कविभिरीडितं कल्मषापहम् ।
श्रवणमंगळं श्रीमदाततं भुवि गृणंति ये भूरिदा जनाः ॥

प्रहसितं प्रिय प्रेमवीक्षितं विहरणं च ते ध्यानमंगळम् ।
रहसि संविदो या हृदिस्पृशः कुहक नो मनः क्षोभयंति हि ॥

चलसि यद्व्रजाच्चारयन् पशून् नळिनसुंदरं नाथ ते पदम् ।
शिलतृणांकुरैस्सीदतीति नः कलिलतां मनः कांत गच्छति ॥

दिनपरिक्षये नीलकुंतलैर्वनरुहाननं बिभ्रदावृतम् ।
घनरजस्वलं दर्शयन् मुहुर्मनसि नस्स्मरं वीर यच्छसि ॥

प्रणतकामदं पद्मजार्चितं धरणिमंडनं ध्येयमापदि ।
चरणपंकजं शंतमं च ते रमण नस्स्तनेष्वर्पयाधिहन् ॥

सुरतवर्धनं शोकनाशनं स्वरितवेणुना सुष्ठु चुंबितं ।
इतररागविस्मारणं नृणां वितर वीर नस्तेऽधरामृतम् ॥

अटति यद्भवानह्नि काननं त्रुटियुगायते त्वामपश्यताम् ।
कुटिलकुंतलं श्रीमुखं च ते जड उदीक्षतां पक्ष्मकृद्दृशाम् ॥

पतिसुतान्वयभ्रातृबांधवानतिविलंघ्य ते ह्यच्युतागताः ।
गतिविदस्तवोद्गीतमोहिताः कितव योषितः कस्त्यजेन्निशि ॥

रहसि संविदं हृच्छयोदयं प्रहसिताननं प्रेमवीक्षणम् ।
बृहदुरश्श्रियो धाम वीक्ष्य ते मुहुरतिस्पृहा मुह्यते मनः ॥

व्रजवनौकसां व्यक्तिरंग ते वृजिनहन्त्र्यलं विश्वमंगळम् ।
त्यज मनाक्च नस्त्वत्स्पृहात्मनां स्वजनहृद्रुजां यन्निषूदनम् ॥

यत्ते सुजातचरणांबुरुहं स्तनेषु भीताश्शनैः प्रिय दधीमहि कर्कशेषु ।
तेनाटवीमटसि तद्व्यथते न किंस्वित्कूर्पादिभिर्भ्रमतिधर्भवदायुषां नः ॥

भ्रमरगीतम्.

(SRI BHAGAVATA, X. 47)

[*For the early history of Dūta-Kāvya*]

काचिन्मधुकरं दृष्ट्वा ध्यायंती कृष्णसंगमम् ।
प्रियप्रस्थापितं दूतं कल्पयित्वेदमब्रवीत् ॥

गोपिकोवाच—

मधुप कितवबंधो मा स्पृशांघ्रिं सपत्न्याः कुचविलुलितमालाकुंकुमश्मश्रुभिर्नः ।
वहतु मधुपतिस्तन्मानिनीनां प्रसादं यदुसदसि विडंबं यस्य दूतस्त्वमीदृक् ॥

सकृदधरसुधां स्वां मोहिनीं पाययित्वा सुमनस इव सद्यस्तत्यजेऽस्मान्भवादृक् ।
परिचरति कथं तत्पादपद्मं सुपद्मा अपि बत हृतचेता ह्युत्तमश्लोकजल्पैः ॥

किमिह बहुषडंघ्रे गायसि त्वं यदूनामधिपतिमगृहाणामग्रतो नः पुराणम् ।
विजयसखि सखीनां गीयतां तत्प्रसंगः क्षपितकुचरुजस्ते कल्पयन्तीष्टमिष्टाः ।

दिवि भुवि च रसायां कास्स्त्रियस्तद्दुरापाः कपटरुचिरहासभ्रूविजृंभस्य यास्स्युः ।
चरणरज उपास्ते यस्य भूतिर्वयं का ह्यपि च कृपणपक्षे ह्युत्तमश्लोकशब्दः ॥

विसृज शिरसि पादं वेद्म्यहं चाटुकारैरनुनय विदुषस्तेऽभ्येत्य दौत्यैर्मुकुंदात् ।
स्वकृत इह विसृष्टापत्यपत्यन्यलोकाव्यसृजदकृतचेताः किं नु संधेयमस्मिन् ॥

मृगयुरिव कपींद्रं विव्यधे लुब्धधर्मास्त्रियमकृत विरूपां स्त्रीजितः कामयानाम् ।
बलिमपि बलिमत्त्वावेष्टयद्ध्वांक्षवद्यस्तदलमसितसख्यैर्दुस्त्यजस्तत्कथार्थः ॥

यदनुचरितलीलाकर्णपीयूषविप्रुट्सकृददनविधूतद्वंद्वधर्मा विनष्टाः ।
सपदि गृहकुटुंबं दीनमुत्सृज्य दीना बहव इव विहंगा भिक्षुचर्यां चरन्ति ॥

वयमृतमिव जिह्मव्याहृतं श्रद्दधानाः कुलिकरुतमिवाज्ञाः कृष्णवध्वो हरिण्यः ।
ददृशिम सकृदेतत्तन्नखस्पर्शतीव्रस्मररुज उपमंत्रिन् भण्यतामन्यवार्ता ॥

प्रियसख पुनरागाः प्रेयसा प्रेषितः किं वरय किमनुरुंधे माननीयोऽसि मेऽंग ।
नयसि कथमिहास्मान् दुस्त्यज द्वंद्वपार्श्वं सततमुरसि सौम्य श्रीवधूस्साकमास्ते ॥

अपि बत मधुपुर्यामार्यपुत्रोऽधुनास्ते स्मरति सपितृगेहान् सौम्यबंधूंश्च गोपान् ।
क्वचिदपि स कथा नः किंकरीणां गृणीते भुजमगरुसुगंधिं मूर्ध्न्यधास्यत्कदा नु ॥

INDEX TO INTRODUCTION

* The name Aśoka is said to be found in the XIth Edict. Under the circumstances of expreme improbability of the chronology, it requires complete verification and examination. See V. Smith's *Asoka*.

INDEX (MISCELLANEOUS)

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WITH ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N.B.—The figures by the side of the names represent the number of the paragraph in the text, except where the letter *p* is prefixed which means *page*. The years denote A.D.

(d)=drama

* Appayya Dīkṣita's father's father was Ācārya Dīkṣita (called Āccāndikṣita), "Ācārya Dīkṣita had two wives—the first belonging to an orthodox Śaiva family and the second to an orthodox Vaiṣṇava family of repute known as *Sri Vaikunthācārya-vamśa*. In the days of Acārya Dīkṣita, more than three centuries ago, inter-marriages between orthodox *smārtas* and *vaiṣṇava* were not unknown in South India. He had by his second wife Ṭoṭarāmbā four sons of whom the eldest was Appaya Dīkṣita's father, Rangarājādhvarin who, like his father, performed many vedic sacrifices. He is known to have written many works on Advaita Vedanta—the *Advaitavidyāmukura*, the *Vivaraṇadarpaṇa*, etc. He had two sons, the elder being Appayya Dīkṣita, the younger Āccān Dīkṣita, the paternal grandfather of Nilakantha Dīkṣita. Appādīkṣita was the original name of our author and the honorific '*ayya*' was afterwards added to it in recognition of his greatness as a literary prodigy. Ācārya Dīkṣita was much praised by King Kṛṣṇadevarāya. "When the king, during his visit to Conjeevaram.

worshipped God Varadarāja in company with his wife and retinues, Ācārya Dikṣita composed the verse—

काञ्चित्कांचनगौरांगीं वीक्ष्य साक्षादिव श्रियम् ।
वरदस्संशयापन्नो वक्षःस्थलमवैक्षत ॥

"Beholding a woman glittering like gold and looking like Laksmi, Varada fell into a doubt and looked at his bosom (to see if Laksmi were there)." The God mistook the Queen for Lakṣmi, suspected that His consort had quitted her permanent place in His bosom and looked at His bosom to ascertain whether she was there. The king was very much pleased with Ācārya Dikṣita's poetic description which is both original and suggestive of his (the king's) greatness and consequently honoured him with the title *Vakṣasthūlacārya Dikṣita*. [V. A. Ramaswami Sastri's *Introduction to Siddhantabindu*, Annamalai University, pp. 95-103].

Appaya Dikṣita is said to have lived in 1520-1591 according to Adayapalam Inscription See Y. Mahalingasastrin's *Age of Appayya Dikshita*, *JOR*, II. 225-237. In his Introduction to Yādavābhyudaya, (Ed. Srirangam) the date is given as 1552-1626.

* In para 137 supra Abhirāma Kāmākṣi is described as the daughter of Sabhāpati (son of Abhirāma). *That is an error*. Kāmākṣi or Kāmakoti is the son of Sabhāpati and father of Rāma ond Kṛṣṇa. In the geneology at *page* 222 *read* Kāmākṣi *for* Kamakṣi. This Kāmāksi was the son of Sabhāpati, and composed the inscription of Venkatapaṭirāya, King of Vizianagar, in Śāka 1510 (see *IA*, XLVII. 81).

Abhirāmakāmākṣi praises Dindima in her introductory verses thus:

प्रशस्यते यस्य विकुण्ठवादिप्र ...मो डिण्डिम एव नाम ।
अणीयसी स्तोतुममुं ममोक्तिः कथं प्रगल्भा कविसार्वभौमम् ॥

Abhirāma was also known as Dindimaprabhu (see *IA*, XLVII, 98) and she might therefore be the daughtor of this Abhirāma Dindimaprabhu (the 1st in the geneology given in page 222) who married Rājanāṭha I and who was mother of Aruṇagirināṭha I (see para 135).

In para 137 *read*: Abhirama (Dindimaprabhu) of Kāśyapagoṭra had a son Sabhāpaṭi and a daughter Abhirāmanāyikā. This Abhirāmanāyikā married Rājanāṭha I. Sabhāpati had three sons Gaṇapārya, Kāmākṣi or Kāmakoti and Swayambhu. Gaṇapārya's son was Kāmaya and Kāmaya's son was Somanāṭha. Kamakṣi or Kamakoti had two sons Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. Abhirāma-Kamakṣi, wife of Rājanaṭha I, wrote *Abhinava-Rāmābhyuḍaya*, a poem in 24 cantos on the story of Ramayaṇa (*TC*, IV. 5202).

*The names Nirmala (*CC*, I. 32) and Ṭrimalla are in correct.

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*The following geneology of the PAYYUR BHATTATIRI (Patteri) family is of much interest. [Between 1300-1500 A.D.] Ṛṣi I (*m.* Gauri) had three sons, Bhavadāsa, Śānkara and Parameśvara I. This Parameśvara had five sons, Ṛṣi II. (Maharṣi) (*m.* Gopālikā) Bhavadāsa, Vāsudeva, Subrahmaṇya and Śānkara. Of these, Ṛṣi III had 2 sons Parameśvara II and Vāsudeva (see para 170). And Parameśvara II had a son Ṛṣi III. and his son was Parameśvara III.

Ṛṣi II (Maharṣi) is mentioned by Uddaṇḍa in his Kokilasandeśa (See paras 169-170)

See *Int. to Tattvabindu* by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri. (Annamalai University) 87-92.

* [An anonymous poem. Here in the colophon श्रीकमलालयमाहात्म्ये गजशालाकलिविडबंनं नाम प्रथमोऽध्याय: Apparently it is part of a bigger and interesting work, which is worth looking for. It contains a complaint lodged against the officers in charge of elephant stables of king Sābaji of Tanjore describing their frauds and iniquities.]

* On the present head of the Mutt Candraśekharasaraswaṭi the present author (M. Krishnamacharya) composed this Rathabandha.

श्रीमान् कामपि चिन्मयाद्वयरुचेः कोटिं परामावहन्
कौटिल्यं श्रुतिविद्विषां प्रकटयन् चन्द्रार्धमौलेरयम् ।
आकारान्तरभद्रमूर्तिरधुना यस्यास्ति पीठो वशे
काञ्चीधामनि कामकोटिखचितो जीयाच्चिरं भास्वरः ॥
[श्रीकामकोटि-चन्द्रशेखरः]

*TC, II. 2374. In para 146 he is described as of Kānci. It is wrong. He belonged to Tirupati).

Delete in the foot-note the words "His life is described in a poem by Rangasami Tatacarya of Kumbakonam."

*On this Yaṭi the present author (M. Krishnamacharya) composed this Raṭhabandha:

श्रीमद्रामाङ्करागी स्फटिकमणिशतप्रोल्लसद्धाम दद्यात्
पन्था ज्ञानामृताब्धेः श्रुतिशिखरगुरोः प्राभवद्यत् प्रसादात् ।
शङ्कावादिग्रहर्त्री ललिताशितल्सद्वाक् च लब्धप्रतिष्ठा
हेयप्रत्यर्थिसंस्थामतितिमिरपटां वन्दितां पारदृग्भिः ॥
[श्रीवागीशपरकालयतिवर]

*In para 493 *delete* words " among in 1934" misprinted.

* Kṣemendra's views on Sanskrit Grammar were critisised by Dhaneśvara in his Sārasvataprakriyā (*Oxf.* 555) as Kṣemendrakhandana. See Belwalkar, *SSG*, 99 and P. V. Gode's article in *PO*, I. iv. 30.

*He was the son of Devasimhamakhin and grandson of Samarapungava Dīkṣita of Vādhulagotra. No. (1) is only a preface to No. (2) above. In *Tanj.* VII. 3274 there is a formula for *chess play*.

* The following verse composed by the author of this book (M. Krishnamacharya) is a summary of all the stories given in the Gayā-Māhāṭmya on Gayākṣetra.

श्रीशं संश्रुतसत्यवाङ्नतगयं ध्यायेद्गदाधारिणं
यो नः फल्गुशिलावटान् सदसती सन्तारकान् सन्तती ।
प्रादात्सार्थपदो जनार्दन इति न्यासाय पिण्डं वहन्
दत्तं जीवति यो ददात्यपुनरावृत्तिं तिरश्चामपि ॥

[Composed in 1780. He also wrote a commentary on Gīta-Govinda.]

*[This Krsnadatta received a village (Pachaharaba) as a grant, from the King of Nepal. There is a rumour that Krsna datta was ordered to be hanged for using foul words about the King of Nepal. The King, while on bed, remembered a Hindi poem which he could not understand. In the morning he called the Pandit to explain it. But the Pandit was waiting for the arrival of the sad time. On hearing, he went to the King and the King remembering his past order, and desiring to cancel it, asked what prayascitta should be done for cancelling his order. Thereupon the Pandit told him, that he should offer 10 thousand Rupees, one villge, one Elephant and a Salagram to a learned Brahmana So the King did and gave him the above mentioned village. That village is still in the hands of his generations, residing at Hatarba village, P.O. Jhanjharpur, Dharbhanga.] *MM.* II. 47.

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* [He was son of Peda Tirumalācārya of Bhāradwāja gotra. He composed this work at Tirupati Hills in 1537. It is engraved in three copper plates in the Tirupati Devasthanams. The first verse is in Sanskrit and the second verse contains words of Sanskrit and other prakrit dialects. This is 2nd verse ;

आयस्व आत भक्ता वियगयपयरो देव्व तेल्लोक्कनाहो
णं अह्मं हेपि दन्धे णचिय तिहुवणं पोम्मणी हे मुळाळी ।
अंजो दंचो सताते कुनक्कससहियो माणवो तानवाळी
रागाचन्दाहवत्तप्पयड दिहुवणो बङ्गरो वेङ्कटेसो ॥

His father Peda Tirumalācārya and his grand-father Annamācārya have composed samskṛitā-gītas, Songs on s'rī Venkatesa, in all the rasas. [Printed T.T.D. Press, Madras.]

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* Dasavatma Sarma on Nagaraja of Bhavasataka, *Jl.* of *Indian History* III, 303 The following note is found *Manuscripts in Mithila*, II. 9; *Bhavasataka*. "It was written for Ganapati Naga, the Naga king of Padmavati and the adversary killed by Samudra Gupta in battle. Although the book has been once printed in the Kavyamala our manuscript gives the crorect name and establishes the identity in the opening verse :

नाकराजसमं (शतं) ग्रन्थं नागराजेन तन्वता ।
अकारि गजवक्त्र श्रीर्नागराजो गिरां गुरुः ।

गजवक्त्रश्री ('Elephant-faced' = गणपतिश्री = Sri Ganapati Naga) was printed as गतवक्त्र in the Kavyamala which fully obscured the name. Ganapati again occurs in verse 80 which also shows that there were several Naga kings in the time of Ganapati. There is an allusion to Padmavati in 'Padmalaya' in verse 100. The king's famiiy is called Karpati (कर्पटि) gotra which is known to the Mahabharata. The M.B.H. enumerates it in the company of the Malavas (Sabha, C. 35. 7, Kumb. ed., Bengal C. 32). His dynastic name was Taka. In the Bhavasataka we have a work of 300 to 350 A.D., that is,. a work just before Kalidasa's time. Every verse is complete in itself like the verses of the Gatha-Saptasati. Very short comments (evidently by the author himself) are given. Ganapati Naga was a Sanskrit scholar and a man of stern character (verse 76) and a worshipper of Siva (शिवभक्तितया) The style anticipates Amaru."

* This play is referred to by Vedānṭa Des'ika in his Rahasyaṭrayasāra when he quotes the Nāndī

अनन्याधीनकल्याणमन्यमङ्गलकारकम् । जगन्निदानमद्वन्द्वं द्वन्द्वं वन्दामहे महः ।

[See Telugu Edn. p. 747] and also in Sārasāra p. 196

"स्वयं वस्तूकुर्वन्जनमिममकस्मात्सारसिजप्रकारौ पद्मायास्तव च चरणौ नश्शरणयन् इति लक्ष्मीकल्याणे "

* [Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, *Subandhu and Bana, Who is earlier ? IHQ.* (1929) 699. Sivaramamurti, *Printing and allied arts as revealed in Bana's works*, *JOR*. VI. 395, VII 59]

* Mentioned in मार्कण्डेयपुराण. She is said to have taught her son, and her words are here quoted (*Sury Jl*):

धरामरान् पर्वसु तर्पयेथाः समीहितं बन्धुषु पूरयेथाः ।
मायां प्रबोधेन निवारयेथा अनित्यतामेव विचारयेथाः ॥
सदा मुरारिं हृदि चिन्तयेथास्तद्ध्यानतोन्तष्षडरीञ्जयेथाः ।
मनः परस्त्रीषु निवर्तयेथा भार्यामृतावेव विचिन्तयेथाः ॥
राज्यं कुर्वन् सुहृदो नन्दयेथाः साधून् रक्षंस्तात यज्ञैर्यजेथाः ।
दुष्टान्निघ्नन् वैरिणश्चाजिमध्ये गोविप्रार्थं वत्स मृत्युं भजेथाः ॥
बालो मनो नन्दय बान्धवानां गुरोस्तथाऽऽज्ञाकरणैः कुमारः ।
स्त्रीणां युवा सत्कुलभूषणानां वृद्धो वने वत्स वनेचराणाम् ॥

* This book appears to be a history of King Lalitāditya *(Raj. IV. 131–145)* and the following verses from it are quoted as for the 5th Ullās'a by Ātmānanda in his commentary on Gururatnamālā alluding the installation of the son of Queen Ratta who had been deposed by the Kashmir invader, on the Kanataga throne. (*See* N. Venkatarama's *Sankaracarya The Great*, 78–9 pp. 78–9.)

रट्टां कर्णाटराज्ञीं प्रसभमभिभवन् केरळीयांश्च कोश-
प्रख्यान् प्रख्यापयिष्यन्नचलदजहद्दीर्घकौपीनपुच्छान् ।
म्लेच्छान् मूर्धार्धमुण्डानपि विदधतो विग्रहत्रीहित्रुत्यै
श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटीमठमसददसौ श्रीगुरोस्सेवनाप्त्यै ॥

चोलानभ्येत्य लीलावलयितवसुधामध्यकांच्यां स काञ्च्या-
मास्ताचार्यान् सपर्या प्रमुदितहृदयानादधानस्स सम्राट् ।
यत्स्मृत्यै ज्येष्ठमुद्रालयमपि विदधे साधुसाहस्रभक्तम्
नाम्नालक्षोत्तराणामपि तदशनदं वेश्म कास्मीरदेशे ॥

† Edited by P.P.S. Sastri, Madras. Ed. by P. Kinjamdekar, Bombay with Nilakantha's commentary. Ed. by V. S. Sukthankar (ādiparvama love) with illustrations

N. V. Thadani, *Mystery of the Mahabharata, Age of Mahabharata*, (Mys. Arch Rep. (1927), 8.

E. P. Rice, *Mahabharata, Analysis and Index*. Jagannatharow, *Age of Mahabharata War*. Pramathanatha Mallik, *Mahabharata, A critical study* (Allahabad), and its review by V. V. Ramasami in *The Hindu*, 27th Nov. 1934.

* This is one of the finest poems in S. India *e. g.*

सुग्रीवोऽसि गजोऽसि वपुषा नीलः प्रमाथी तथा
धूम्रश्चासि महानुभावमहिष त्वं दुर्मुखः केसरी ।
इत्थं ते सततं महाकपिशताकारस्य साहाय्यतः
सीतां प्राप्य विलंघ्य दुःखजलधिं नन्दाभिरामस्स्वयम् ॥

Like this poem is *Kākas'aṭaka* directed against Kākāji friend, of King Ekoji. e.g.

रसालकुलमावृतं सकलमेव काकात्मजैः
कथञ्चिदपि नीयते विरसवासरः कोकिलैः ।
द्विजैरपि तथा कथं सरसमानसा कान्तिभिः
मरालकुलनायकैः कथय कास्थितिः कार्यता ॥ [*Tanj.* VII. 3929]

* [Is he the same as महेश्वर next *supra*. Ed. Cal. Or. Series with a fine analysis in English.]

‡ (*CC.* I 260. *BRI*, No. 436 of 1887–91 It contains 135 verses composed at the instance of King Māḍhavasimha, son of Jaisimha II of Jaipur about 1750. Gangārāma, Rāmeśvara, Gopīrāṭha, Vajranāṭha, Suḍhākara, Hariḍaṭṭa, Kevalarāma, Saḍāsiva, Raviḍaṭṭa, Sambhāraḍaṭṭa are mentioned in the poem as the learned men of that Court.

* (His songs are printed at Madura in Sri Guhaguṇāmṛtavarsiṇi in which Navar ṇana Kirṭanas express devotion to Universal Mother.)

† [Ed. Translation by H. Dhruva. S. Srikantha Sastri, Date of Mudrarakshasa, *IHS.* (1931), 163; K. H. Dhruva, Verses mistaken for prose, *PO.* Oct. 1936]

* There is a manscript in the Bhandarkar. O. R. institute B. K. R. (1874-5) p. 9-10 has a critical notice. The hero is not Sultan Mohammad of Ghazni, but Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad. In the colophon the line of Gujarat Kings from which this Mohammad came is given. I am in indebted for this information to P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute.

* (He was son of Kāṇṭimaṭī and Kes'ava Bhatta. His mother's brother was S'rīsāilapūrṇa, who was one of the disciples of Ālavandār. It is *wrongly* printed in para 206 that Rāmānuja was *Alavandar's son's daughter's son*. Rāmānuja's date of birth and death are in the chronogram धीर्लब्धा धर्मो नष्टः (949 and 1054 S'āka)).

† See S. Aiyaduraiaiyar, *Ramayana as an illustration of Yogasastra* (Printed Kumbakonam).

" The Ramayana is the story of Atma Vijayam. Ramais the Atma who is in quest of Sita who is Brahmavidya with the help of Lakshmana, who is Buddhi, and Hanuman, who is Manas, by destroying Ravana, the Rajoguna with the ten

senses for ten heads, and Kumbhakarna, Tamoguna, after enlisting the services of Vibhishana, the Satvaguna. Lanka, wherein Sita is made captive, is Muladhara Chakra and Rakshasas are the evil forces that lie coiled up in Muladhara. In fact, all the characters and all the geographical names that occur in the Ramayana are identified with certain portions of the human body, and every such identification is sought to be supported by the meaning which the word is capable of yielding or other reasons are given why it ought to be so.

See also for a similar exposition, *An esoteric study of Ramayanam* by C. Doraisami Aiyangar, Chittoor. Articles in *Dharmarajya*, Delhi.

* Rāsakrīdā is thus finely described in Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.

अङ्गनामङ्गनामन्तरे माधवो माधवं माधवं चान्तरेणाङ्गना ।
इत्थमाकल्पिते मण्डले मध्यगः सञ्जगौ वेणुना देवकीनन्दनः ॥

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† He must have written his commentary on Murāri after he became an ascetic and assumed the name Rāmānandās'rama [*Tanj* VIII. 3322]. He had a brother Kondubhatta (Paṇḍitapattabhaḍra).

‡ He was son of Visvanātha and Pārvaṭī of Hariṭagotra. In his colophon to the commentary on Saunḍaryalaharī (*Tanj*. No. 20664) he describes his ancestors, all great in learning. Of these were Mahāḍeva (para 889) Laksmiḍhara, (author of Sahityaparijāṭa), Virincimis'ra, (author of Bharaṭārṇavapoṭa and Sāhiṭyamīmāmsā). He was in the Court of King Gajapaṭi Virarudra of Orissa and wrote Sarasvaṭi-vilāsa (on Hindu law) and poems Laksmīḍhara, Barhāvaṭamsa and Karṇā-vaṭamsa. After Kṛsṇaḍevarāja married the daughter of Praṭāparuḍra, Lakṣmīḍhara appears to have gone to Vijayanagar and lived in the Court of Kṛsṇaḍevarāja, whom he thus praised.

श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कवीनां गृहाः
नानारत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः ।
अब्धिः केवलवारिपूरनिलयस्संभाव्यते सज्जनैः
अम्बोधिर्जलधिःपयोधिरुदधिर्वारांनिधिर्वारिधिः ॥

E. V. Viraraghavacharya gives his date as about 1465–1530. Inscriptions in Kondavidu mention Lakṣmīḍpara [*EI*. VI. 230 dated 1520 A.D.]

Has the same Lakṣmīḍhara written a commentary of Ānandalaharī? [*CC*. I. 538. Here his name is noted as Lakṣmīḍhara Ḍes'ika.]

* [The correct name seems to be this and not वञ्चेश्वर as printed in para 163. The senior Vānches'vara was a poet of the Court of Praṭāpasimha and his son Tukkoji of Tanjore. His forefathers were the donees of Shabarajapuram. He wrote Mahiṣasāṭaka or Lulāyasāṭaka (Tanj. VII 2954.) He was a rival of Ghanas'yāma and directed his satires against him whom he alluded to as Vṛṣala. His great-grandson Vanchesvara wrote a commentary on it (Tanj. VII. 2956). His commentary on Hiradṇyakes'isūṭra (Tanj. No. 2072) is dated 1816 A.D. See under Mahiṣas'āṭaka.

* दारिद्र्यक्षितिपः स मे निजपतिस्तस्य प्रसादादभू-
द्राज्छा जीवनमम्बरं दश दिशो वासश्च देवालये ।
अस्मद्वैरिणि लब्धसङ्गतिरितित्वय्याश्रये कुप्यता
मद्वृत्ति विनियोजितास्त्वदरयः का नाम वृत्तिर्मम ॥

Compare

अर्धं दानववैरिणा गिरिजयाप्यर्धं शिवस्याहृतं
तेनेत्थं धरणीतले पुरहराभावे समुन्मीलति ।
गङ्गा सागरमम्बरं शशिकला नागाधिपः क्ष्मातलं
सर्वज्ञत्वमधीश्वरत्वमगमत् त्वां मां च भिक्षाटनं ॥

* He was be desciple of Śiva Sūrya Yajvan whom he describes thus:

कलाधरत्वात् कमलापतित्वात् पद्मासनश्रीचतुराननत्वात् ।
मूर्तित्रयात्मापि विशुद्धसत्त्वो यो राजते विश्रुतधर्मकीर्तिः ॥

† He is also said to have translated the Tiruvaymuli into Sanskrit. I heard a verse repeated from it, though I have not been able to trace any such manuscript:

लोकं पुष्कलमेकनायकतया ये शासितारो नृपाः
श्यामाङ्गेन शुना प्रदष्टचरणास्ते भग्नभिक्षाघटाः।
अस्मिन् जन्मनि सार्वलौकिकतया भिक्षामटन्ति स्वयं
श्रीनारायणपादसेवनरताः भो भोऽस्समुज्जीवताम् ॥

* [On Dwaraka Mutt Chronology, see The *Theosophist*, XIV 253–56. & XVI. 292–96. For a full discussion of these mutt histories, see N. Venkataraman's *Sankaracharya, The Great and His Successors in Kanci*, Madras; and Gopinatharao's *Sri Sankaracharya Mutt Inscriptions*.

† [*BR*. I. No. 236, *CC*. I. 196, 626. P. K. Gode says the Nānānṛpati and Pratāpasīmha mentioned in the poem are respectively Nanasahib Peshva (1740-61) and King Pratapasimba of Tanjore (died 1765); Bhṛsabala (भृशबल) means *Bhonsle*]

* Bhavabhūṭi is thus praised.

माधवस्य रतिं यद्वत् विरुद्धैरप्रबाधिताम् ।
भवभूतिः श्मशानाङ्के जगाद रसिकप्रभुः ॥

The following are quoted :

Aks'apāḍa, Kunṭales'vara, Bhoja, Vindhyavāsin, Dhanadaṭṭa and Bhagavadajjuka.

* (According to Puṇyas'lokamañjarī this Somes'vara became Bodha II (Sandrananda) the 44th Ācārya of Kāmakoṭipītha in 1061-1098 A.D. Mr. Duff gives dates for Somes'vara 1063-1082.)

* He praised Shajakhan thus :

भूभृन्मौळितटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेऽस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूप सरस्वती विजियिनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमत्साहिजहा ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं
यस्यां मज्जति पङ्कजीयति शिवस्तन्मूर्धजे लीयति ॥

SUPPLEMENT

अच्युत [*Sanskrit Jl.* Kasi]
अण्णङ्गराचार्य 255
अनन्तदास (विश्वनाथकविराजपुत्र)
अनन्तदेव (आपदेवपुत्र)
See कृष्णभक्तिचन्द्रिका [*Bendall* 29]
अनन्तभट्ट [*PO.* I. i. 39)
अनन्तरामशास्त्रिन्, (वेताल) [*Sury Jl*]
अनन्तराम (त्र्यम्बकपुत्र)
स्वानुभूति (d) [*Bendall*,]
अनिरुद्धमिश्र
सरस्वतीस्तुति [*Sury Jl*]
अन्नदाचरण 254
अमरभारती [*Sanskrit Jl.* Benares]
अलङ्कारमञ्जूषा [For contents, *see* *PO.* I]
आशारामशास्त्रिन् (of Lakshmanjula) [*Sury Jl.*]
इन्दुमतीपरिणय (d) [*Tanj* No. 23844]
इन्द्रप्रसाद त्रिपाठिन् [*Sury Jl*]
ईश्वरत्तदौरात्तिशास्त्रिन् (of Mirzapur)
भक्तिलहरी etc. [*Sury Jl*]
ईश्वराभ्यर्थन [*Sury Jl*]
उत्तररामचरित
by नारायणभट्टशिष्य [*TSS*]
उदयवर्मचरित [*TSS*]
उद्धृतवृकोदर (d) 790
एकादशी व्रतनाटक (d) [*Bendall*, 42. 1480 A.D.]
एकावली *See* [*PO.* I. ii. 15]
कथाकोश (prose) [Ramghat Jain Library, Benares]
कमलिनीकलहंस (d) [*TSS*]
कम्पनीप्रतापमण्डन (d)
by बिन्दुमाधव (Printed Poona)
कर्पूरचरित (d) [*GOS*]
by वत्सराज
कलङ्कमोचन (d)

by पञ्चाननतर्कतीर्थ

[on a tale in Bhāghvaṭa about Rāḍhā, *JSSP.* XX]

कलिङ्गराजसूर्य

सूक्तिरत्नहार [*TSS*]

कविराक्षस

[E. V. Veeraraghavacarya says that he was a native of Drākṣārāma, E. Godavari Dist., and lived between 1050 and 1220. See Veeresalingam's *Telugu Poets.*]

कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय 373-B

कालिदास 12–33, 309, 317, 615–623

काव्यसुभाषित [*Bendall* 52]

काव्यादर्श [*TSS.* with two commentaries]

कूर्मपुत्रकथा [*Bendall* 50]

चन्द्रशेखरसरस्वति [Present Head of Kamakotipitha]

सिद्धेश्वराष्टक (on Prayag)

गङ्गावंशानुचरित

[See R. Subbarao's *History of Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, AHQ,* V. 193.]

गीतगोविन्द

[The verses about ten Avaṭāras have been sung in *Twin Records* by Madabusi Dikshitar S'rīnivāsāchāriar, Teacher, Board High School, Chittoor, who is an adept in singing this poem and Rāmāyaṇa. Some verses have also been sung by Chittoor sisters in *H.M.V. Records.*]

गुणवर्मचरित

by माणिक्यसुन्दर of (अचलगच्छ) [A collection of tales. *Bendall* 64]

गोविन्दमिश्र(=एम्बार्)

विज्ञानस्तुति

[He was deciple of Rāmānuja. Born at Mathuramangalam Lived 1026–1129.]

गोविन्दराज p. 23

[Bhavānācārya son of S'rīrangācārya made a gift to Tirupati Temple on 5-7-1535 and lived at Tirupati; see *Tirupati Devastanam Inscriptions.*]

घटपार्थकाव्य [*Bendall* 51]

घृतकुल्या (d).

[A farce, Ms. dated. sam. 1731, *Bendall,* 28]

चण्डकौशिक

[See V. V. Mirashi on Rajasekhara's works in Pathak's Com. Vol. Poona]

चिन्नम्मा poetess, *Sarng* [*BTC.* 164, Ms. Peterson's Edn. does not contain it.]

जानकीराघव (d)

by युवराजरामसिंह, son of Jayasiṃha (1625) [*Bendall*, 28]

दत्ता (novel)

by श्रीश्वरचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय [*JSSP.* XIX]

दूताङ्गद (d)

by रामचन्द्र [*Bendall*, 28]

देवशङ्करभट्ट [For date, see *PO.* 1. ii. 14]

देशिखामणि अलशिङ्गराचार्य [Sanskrit Pandit, Triplicane, Madras!]

पार्थसारथिशतक

तिरुप्पल्लियचि (Tr. from Tamil)

धर्मबुद्धिकथा [*Bendall* 50]

नञ्जराजयशोभूषण [For contents, see *PO.* I. ii. 19.]

नयचन्द्र [*PO.* I. ii. 22]

नाट्यशास्त्रसमीक्षा

by T. K. रामचन्द्रअय्यर् [Printed Mylapore, Madras]

नृत्ताञ्जलि

by श्रीरागिणीदेवी

[An illustrated introduction to Hindu dancing, Bombay]

नेपालवंशावलि [See Table of Inscriptions in *Bendall.*]

पञ्चानन तर्करत्न

(नन्दलालपुत्र of Bhatpara, Bengal.)

See कलङ्कमोचन [*JSSP.* XX]

पद्यवेणी [*PO.* I. ii. 54]

पूर्णचन्द्रडे उद्भटसागर (of Calcutta)

उद्भटश्लोकमाला

[An anthology of fine verses of the *author and of others. Printed Calcutta.]

प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण [*PO.* I. ii. 16]

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* Here is a verse of the author for benediction to live for 120 years.

इष्टं खचन्द्रगुणितं शशिना समेतं रामान्वितं युगयुतं निहतं शरेण ।
यच्छेषितं शरकरेण वसुन्नमब्दं त्वं जीव हे वसुवर ! स्वजनैः पृथिव्याम् ॥

(*JSSP.* XX 152 for a review)

[*N.B.*—*Bendall* = A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, by Cecil Bendall, Cambridge, 1886.

इति

श्रीमदखिलाण्डकोटिब्रह्माण्डनायकस्य श्रियःपतेः देवदेवस्य श्रीशेषाचलशिखरालयस्य श्रीनिवासस्य
नित्यान्तरङ्गभृत्यगोष्ठीधुरीणस्य - परश्शतकृत्वः पठितपाठितव्याख्यातश्रीमद्रामायण - चतु-
श्शास्त्रपारावारपारीण - श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्थानगीर्वाणकलाशालाप्रथममहोपदेशकाध्यक्ष -
धार्मिकशिरोमणि - सुगृहीतनामधेय - कमलम्बासहचरित - स्वपितृव्य -
श्रीनिवासरङ्गनाथाचार्य - वात्सल्यलब्धसाहित्यसर्वस्वस्य, अंशावतारित-
फणिपतिधिषणाधवलप्रभाभासुरपरिच्छद - निरन्तरप्रतिभासमुल्ल-
सितहृद्यानवद्यप्रवचनचातुरीसमुपस्थापितकालिदासमहा-
कवि - शब्दशास्त्रविशारद मण्डकोळत्तूरभिजन - श्री
कृष्णशास्त्रिणः, अनवरतश्रुतमतनिध्यातशब्द-
ब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य समधिगतपाणिनीयसर्वस्वस्य
अरशाणिपालै - शठकोपाचार्यस्य
च, प्रियान्तेवासिनः

नैध्रुवकाश्यपगोत्रोद्भवस्य अमृताम्बागर्भसम्भवस्य श्रीनिवासराघवतनूभवस्य
श्रृङ्गाराम्बासहधर्मचारिणः माडभाषि कृष्णमहाचार्यस्य कृतिषु
देववाणीसाहित्यचरितं
समाप्तम् ॥

श्रियःकान्ताय कल्याणनिधये निधयेऽर्थिनां ।
श्रीवेङ्कटनिवासाय श्रीनिवासाय मङ्गलम् ॥

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